

Our Country

by Benson J. Lossing, LL. D.

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Introduction

I acquired this wonderful history of these united States of America as a document included on one of several CD's that came with a computer I had purchased, now many years ago, back in the days of DOS. I have long since lost track of the original CD, but not before extracting this United States history to a hard drive. It reads like an adventure.

The original version of this history was originally published, I believe, back in the 1880's. This version was published in 1905. Obviously scanned and then using an *optical character recognition program*, converted into text. However, it was not proof-read, thus there are *conversion errors* within. For example "he" might be "be" or even "lie". Generally, the errors will be obvious, and easily corrected.

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Book: Our Country: Volume 1
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Chapter I

The Extent and Character of Our Country - The Form of its Government - Its Discovery by Norwegians - Icelandic Navigators - Their Attempts to Found a Colony Here - Traditions Respecting other Discoveries - The North American Indians in the Sixteenth Century.

OUR Country occupies a large space on the Map of North America. It extends, in a broad irregular belt across the Continent, from the Atlantic Ocean on the East to the Pacific Ocean on the West. Its breadth is from far down each end of the Gulf of Mexico on the South to a line even with the northern shores of Lake Superior, with a large separate territory in the far northwest, on the confines of Asia. It comprises an area (not reckoning its island possessions) of over 3 million square miles; equal to over 20 million farms of 100 acres each, if it were all land. It contains over 81 million human beings, of whom nearly fifty-six million are natives of the land. The remainder are from almost every country on the globe. The latter, mixing with the native citizens, make us a strong people.

Over all this vast domain, favored with every variety of climate, soil and productions, great lakes and rivers, and the grandest and most beautiful natural scenery, now divided into many States and several organized Territories (the germs of States), is felt the benign influence of a free and enlightened government. It is a model government which the older nations of the Earth are gradually copying as the wisest and most sturdy on the globe. It is a government by the people. How? The people, the true source of all power in government, choose a few of their number to make laws for the whole, and others are chosen to execute those laws. It is therefore a Representative Republic, or a government exercised by the whole people through their chosen representatives. Its wisdom and strength have been tested by the most severe strains and the superiority of such a government, *with an educated people as its basis*, has been demonstrated.

In contemplating the majesty of our Republic, the question naturally arises in the mind, By what processes has this great and expanding nation been planted, nurtured, and strongly rooted here, where less than four hundred years ago brooded the darkness and solitude of a wilderness over the whole continent, populated only by savage hunters or half-civilized barbarians. The answer to this question will be the marvelous story which I am about to relate.

Fully nine hundred years ago, a famous Norwegian sailor named Eric, called Eric the Red because he had red hair and florid complexion, settled in Iceland, the northern shores of which touch the Arctic Circle. Whilst he was on a voyage westward from that far north country, he discovered Greenland and made it his home. His son Lief, an ambitious young man, wished to become a discoverer, like his father. He bought a ship, one of those queer little Norwegian

vessels which were moved sometimes by sails and sometimes by oars. They were used by those old Sea-kings, as they were called, of Northern Europe, who spread terror by their piracies over the British Islands and the coasts of Western Europe from the Rhine to the Straits of Gibraltar, more than a thousand years ago.

Lief's ship was stout and tight. She had made many voyages safely. He furnished her with twenty-five strong men, and invited his father to go with him as the commander. Eric thought himself too old for such an undertaking, but was persuaded to go. Embracing his younger sons Thorwald and Thorstein, and his fiery daughter Freydisa, he bade them farewell, mounted his horse and rode toward the ship. The animal stumbled. Eric thought it was an Omen of evil. "I do not believe it is given to me to discover any more lands, and here I will abide," said the old navigator, and he returned to his house.

Lief and his companions sailed southwesterly. It was in the early summer of the year of our Lord 1002. They were soon fighting the storms and waves of the North Atlantic Ocean between Greenland and Labrador, and were sometimes chilled by slow-drifting icebergs. At length they saw land. It was flat and stony near the shore, with high snow-capped mountains a little back from the sea. They did not land, but sailing southward they soon came to another country, flat, and covered thickly with woods. It had a broad beach of white sand sloping gently to the sea. The adventurers anchored their little ship, went on shore, and fed themselves with sweet berries. A few hours later they sailed away southward.

These bold seamen soon came in sight of another land. It was hilly - gently so - and mostly covered with trees. Its northerly shores were sheltered by an island. They found there an abundance of small fruits, delicious to the taste. No traces of human beings were found excepting some burnt wood and the bones of large fishes and 110 sounds were heard from the songs of birds and the chirping of squirrels. Charmed by the soft climate, they sought a harbor, and found one at the mouth of a river where the vessel was swept by the tide into a bay. The waters were filled with the finest salmon, and wild deer abounded in the woods. The days and nights were nearly equal in length, at first. As they remained all winter, they noticed that when the days were the shortest, the sun rose at half-past seven o'clock and set at half-past four o'clock.

A young German of Lief's company, who was Eric's servant, was missing one day. They searched for him in all directions. He had wandered deep into the forest, and when they found him he was full of joy because he had discovered grapes, delicious and abundant, such as grew in his own country. So Lief named the country Vineland. He and his company built huts and wintered there, and in the spring they returned to Greenland. Eric had lately died, and Lief, his eldest son, came into the possession of his estate and patriarchal office. Eric's family were Christians, but Eric died a pagan.

Thorwald, Lief's younger brother, bought the good ship and, with thirty companions, sailed for Vineland. They passed the winter there, occupying the huts built by Lief and his companions, and subsisting as they had done, upon fish. In the spring, Thorwald and a part of his company

explored the neighboring coasts, finding many sandy islands, on which there were no traces of wild beasts and few of human beings. The summer was spent in these explorations, and the next was passed at their old quarters in Vineland. Other explorations were made the following summer, by the whole company. In the early autumn they entered a large inlet. There were high lands on each side, thickly wooded. "Here," said Thorwald, "is a goodly place; I will make my abode." There they found some natives - dusky people, of small stature, like the Esquimaux of Greenland. They were in canoes, and were timid and harmless. The Northmen caught them and cruelly put them to death, excepting one who escaped to the hills and aroused his countrymen. The angry savages went silently in their canoes and surprised Thorwald and his company. A sharp fight ensued. Arrows flew thick and fast. Thorwald was mortally wounded, but his companions escaped unhurt. The savages fled to the wooded hills, and Thorwald's companions buried the body of their chief on the promontory where he intended to settle, with a cross at its head and another at its feet. The survivors passed the winter in Vineland, in mortal fear of the enraged savages, and in the spring they returned to Greenland.

Thorstein, Eric's third son, on hearing of the death of his brother, sailed for Vineland, with twenty-five companions and his young wife, Gudrida, a beautiful blonde, to whom he had been married only a few weeks. Adverse winds drove their little vessel on a desolate shore of Greenland, far up the eastern border of Baffin's Bay. There the company suffered dreadfully, and were compelled to stay until spring. A contagious disease broke out among them, and Thorstein and a greater portion of his companions perished. Sadly the young wife carried home the body of her husband. So died two of the brave sons of the valiant Eric the Red, leaving their wayward sister, Freydisa, alone with Lief.

During the next summer, a rich citizen of Norway, young and comely, arrived in Greenland. His name was Thorfin. He saw and loved Gudrida, and demanded her in marriage of Lief her patriarchal brother-in-law. They were wedded and the Norwegian, accompanied by his bride and five other young women with their husbands and other men, sailed for Vineland, to plant a colony there. They landed near the spot where Lief had passed the winter. Upon the shore, with the little Norwegian vessel anchored near, that company of sturdy emigrants presented a picturesque group. Thorfin, stout, but not very tall, was clad, on that occasion, we may imagine, in the costume of the Norwegian nobility. If so, over his linen shirt he probably wore a dark woolen tunic that descended to the knees, with long sleeves reaching to the wrists. The borders of the skirt, the collar, and the ends of the sleeves were ornamented with various colored cloth in a variety of devices. Around his waist was a girdle or belt of dressed leather, ornamented with bosses of silver and gold and over all was a short cloak of rich stuff made of silk and wool, of a purple color, fastened to his shoulder by a brooch of gold and precious stones. His legs were covered with white hose, bandaged with crossed fillets of gay colors from the ankle to the knee and on his feet were black buskins, open in front, and secured by thongs of silk, with tasseled ends depending from the top of the shoe. His long, dark wavy hair fell upon his back and shoulders, and his flowing beard covered his bosom.

The beautiful Gudrida, tall and slender but muscular and lithe, stood by the side of Thorfin,

whilst he audibly thanked God for their deliverance from the perils of the waters and near them in the shadows of great trees were gathered the rest of the company, silently uniting in the thanksgiving. Gudrida, we may imagine, was dressed in a manner befitting the rank of her husband. She might have worn, in the costume of that day in Norway, a white linen tunic that descended to the instep. Over this a black gown of silk reaching only to the knees, with short flowing sleeves that left half the arm bare below the elbow, and clasped by a golden bracelet. A broad band of gold embroidery extended from the waist to the lower edge and around the bottom of the gown, and also around the edges of the sleeves; and over all hung gracefully a gray woolen mantle of fine and light texture, fastened at the throat with a brooch of gold and pearls. It hung in graceful folds to her waist, in front, and behind as low as the gown. Upon her head was a veil or hood of silk, loosely and tastefully arranged over the portion back of the ears, and falling in folds upon her shoulders and bosom. In front of this hood hung her beautiful auburn hair in a rich profusion of curls and ringlets. On her feet were black buskins, their open fronts laced with silken cords, showing her white hose.

Thorfin remained with the colony in Vineland about three years, when he and Gudrida, with a part of the company, sailed for Norway, with specimens of fruits and furs which they had gathered in the new country. After making several voyages Thorfin settled in Iceland, where he built a fine mansion, and lived in a style unrivaled by the richest chieftain in that country. There Thorfin died. Gudrida, who had become the mother of a son whilst she was in Vineland, then went with her boy on a pilgrimage to Rome, where she told the stories of the adventurers in the ears of Pope Benedict. After her return, she entered a convent. Her son, whose name was Snorre, became, in time, master of his father's estate, and the ancestor of a long line of descendants. Among these was Albert Thorwaldsen, the great Danish sculptor, who died in 1844.

Those of Thorfin's colony who remained in Vineland, were joined by two brothers, named Helgi and Fiombogi, with about thirty followers. They were Icelandic chieftains, who fitted out their expedition in Greenland. Freydisa, the daughter of Eric the Red, obtained a willing permission to go with them, and share in the profits of the voyage. She was an artful, intriguing, deceitful and fiery-tempered woman, and Lief and his family hoped she would remain in Vineland and be decently buried there. She was a fury and a firebrand among the colonists. Where peace had reigned she enthroned discord. Quarrels ensued which ended in a fight and the death of thirty persons. Then Freydisa, finding her own life in peril, returned to Greenland, where she died universally detested.

Such is the substance of the accounts of these adventurers, given in the chronicles of Iceland. They reveal the fact that Norwegians discovered America almost five hundred years before Columbus sailed westward from Spain, in search of India. The stony land with the snow-capped mountains was, doubtless, Labrador. The flat, wooded land, with its white beach, must have been Newfoundland; and the time given of the rising and the setting of the sun at the winter-solstice - the shortest day at about Christmas time - indicates some point on the New England coast between Boston harbor and Narragansett bay, as the spot where the German lad discovered the grapes, and Lief named the country Vineland.

Where Thorwald was buried, or where Thorfin and Gudrida landed and lived, nobody knows. The best informed students of the subject believe it to have been on Rhode Island, and that the mysterious stone tower at Newport, with its massive cylindrical walls resting on seven columns, whose foundation stones are wrought spheres, was built by these Norwegian colonists. It was there when the English settlers came, and the Indians had no knowledge of its origin. If the Northmen did not build it, who did? Perhaps Gudrida's son was born there. Who knows?

All positive traces of that colony in America, after the departure of Freydisa, are lost. Icelandic histories called Sagas, and poems called Eddas, give us glimpses of it for a few years, when it fades into utter forgetfulness. These histories and poems tell us that a navigator named Gudlief made a trading voyage from Iceland to Ireland at about the year of our Lord 1030. Whilst he was sailing along the western shores of Iceland, a strong wind blew his ship far into the Atlantic Ocean toward the southwest. After many days he and his crew saw land, anchored their ship in a safe harbor, and were made prisoners by dark-colored people who came from the woods in great numbers. Their captors took them into the forest, where they were met by a white chieftain who spoke to them in Icelandic, and procuring their release, advised them to depart immediately, for the dark people were cruel to strangers. He refused to tell them his name but inquired after Snorre and other well-known persons in Iceland. Taking a gold ring from his finger, he asked Gudlief to present it to Thurida, Snorre's sister. Gudlief bore the jewel to the daughter of Gudrida. It was believed that the white chief was Bjorn, a famous Icelandic bard, who had been a lover of Gudrida and a rival of Thorfin and who left his country in the year 998. If this story be true, Bjorn the bard and Lief the navigator, may fairly contend in the halls of Odin for the honor of having been the first of all Europeans to discover America.

It is also related that thirty years after the event just mentioned, a Saxon priest from Ireland, who had been laboring among the pagans of Iceland, went to Vineland, and was murdered there and that a bishop of Greenland undertook the same voyage, and was never heard of afterwards.

From that time, for more than four hundred years, America lay hidden from the knowledge of Europeans, a wild, uncultivated waste. There are some traditions, that seem to have facts for their substance, that tell us of other voyages to this Western world during that period. The most reasonable of these stories, is that of Prince Madoc of Wales, said to have been drawn from the chronicles of that country. It is believed by some historical students that Madoc, who was a son of Owen Gwynneth, disgusted with the domestic contentions about the rightful successor to his father, went on a voyage of discovery, with ships well manned, in the reign of King Henry the Second, of England, that he went westward from Ireland and found a most fruitful country, in the year 1170; that he returned home, and with a squadron of ten ships sailed for the same lands with a colony of men, women and children, to settle there, and that he was never heard of afterwards. It has been asserted by more than one traveler in this country, that light-colored Indians have been met by them who had many Welsh words in their language. Humboldt refers to this tradition; and Southy, the English poet, made it the theme of one of his finest productions. Until the translation of the Icelandic Chronicles revealed the story of the Norwegian voyagers, the Chronicles of Wales claimed for Madoc the honor of being the discoverer of America. There are traditions of voyages

to this country in the fourteenth century, but they are so vague and improbable that I will not weary you with a recital of them.

During the centuries whilst America again lay hidden from Europe, great changes had taken place among the nations of the Eastern hemisphere. The wild tribes of this portion of our continent had evidently been subjects of great change, too. Stronger bands of warriors and women had displaced the weaker ones; and when the Europeans again appeared on our shores, the dwarfed Esquimaux, whom the Northmen encountered, had been annihilated by a nobler race or driven toward the frozen regions of the Arctic Circle. There had evidently been great migrations from one part of the continent to the other, during which half-civilized barbarians had been expelled from fertile territories by savages, whilst once savage regions seem to have been colonized by sun-worshippers from Central and South America. They have left remains of art, in buildings and pottery, which tell of a crude civilization.

We know that in South America there existed a native empire that competed favorably with any one in the Eastern hemisphere at that time. We know that between the Rio Grande, or Grand River, which divides our country from Mexico, to the Isthmus of Darien, there was an Empire whose rulers and people displayed many of the nobler virtues and some of the arts and sciences of civilized life, and whose laws evinced as profound respect for the great principles of morality as is to be found in the most civilized nation. We know, too, that the softening influences of that empire were beginning to spread among the cruder tribes of the North, when Cortez and his followers - civilized ruffians from Spain - overturned that empire. They extinguished the light that was beginning to shine in the darker regions within the present domain of our Republic. *With professed Christian zeal they barred the way to the advance of a civilization more practically Christian than that which the Spanish conquerors displayed.*

‘Whence came these dusky inhabitants of our land?’ is an unanswered and seemingly unanswerable question. Out of isolated facts - facts like the following - bold theories have been formed. Remains of fortifications like those of ancient European nations have been discovered. An idol, composed of clay and gypsum, representing a man without arms, resembling one found in Southern Russia, was dug up near Nashville, in Tennessee. A Roman coin was found in Missouri, a Persian coin in Ohio, a bit of silver in the Genesee country, New York, with the year of our Lord engraved on it, split wood and ashes, thirty feet below the surface of the earth, at Fredonia, New York; a silver cup, finely gilded, within an ancient mound near Marietta, Ohio, and in a tomb near Montevideo, in South America, two ancient swords, a helmet and shield, with Greek inscriptions upon them, showing that they were made in the time of Alexander the Great, more than three hundred years before Christ. The mysterious mounds found in various parts of our country have made strange revelations such as weapons and utensils of copper; catacombs with mummies, ornaments of silver, brass, and copper; stones with Hebrew inscriptions, traces of iron utensils wholly reduced to dust, mirrors of isinglass and glazed pottery, and other evidences of the existence of a race here, far more civilized than the tribes found by Europeans. And nearly all of these modern Indian nations have traditions respecting their origin. Some of them told of a partial or universal deluge and some said their particular progenitor came in a bark canoe after that

terrible event.

These facts have been the texts of long argumentative discourses. One theorist tells you that they came originally from Phoenicia, another that they are Egyptians, Hindus or Chinese while others insist with great pertinacity that they are the descendants of the ten Lost Tribes of Israel, who made their way from Asia to our Continent, over the Aleutian Islands or across Behring's Straits. Others dismiss the question with the positive assertion that they are the products of this continent alone - that they originated here as did the plants and trees. "The land you sleep on is ours," said a Micmac chief, in Nova Scotia, to Colonel Cornwallis, of the British army, a century and a quarter ago. We sprung out of the Earth like the trees, the grass and the flowers." Who knows? Ethnology, history, revelation and reason are all dumb before the questioner concerning these mysteries. The pious and superstitious parson, Cotton Mather, of Boston, who wrote more than one hundred and ninety years ago, took a short method of solving the question by shrewdly guessing that the Devil [whom he called the old usurping landlord of America] decoyed these miserable salvages hither, in hopes that the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ would never come here to destroy or disturb his absolute empire over them." But the mounds and their contents, the relics and the theories have not solved the great question. The mounds scattered all over the continent - huge interrogation points of deep significance - and the mound-builders are yet the subjects of sharp speculation and we might show wisdom if we should follow the example of Parson Mather, who, when the delusion of witchcraft had made him ridiculous, declared that the subject was too deep for ordinary comprehension, "and referred its decision to the day of judgment." We can afford to dwell, without further inquiry for the present, in the dim light reflected by Bryant's soliloquy:

And did the dust of these fair solitudes once stir with life and burn with passion? Let the mighty mounds that overlook the rivers, or that rise in the dim forests, crowded with old oaks, answer. A race that long has passed away, built then a disciplined and populous race heaped with long toil the earth, while yet the Greek was hewing the Pentelicus to forms of symmetry, and rearing on its rock the glittering Parthenon."

Chapter II

Indian Population at the Beginning of the Sixteenth Century - Their Language, Religion, Government, Records, Literature, Domestic and Military Habits, and Their Physical and Mental Characteristics - The Iroquois Confederacy - Their Civil and Military Government - The Five Nations - The Story of Hi-a-wat-ha - Origin of the Confederacy - Geographical Distribution of the Indians.

THE number of human inhabitants of the entire continent of America, from the Frozen Ocean to Cape Horn, did not exceed five million, it is supposed, when Columbus sailed from Spain and that within the present domain of our Republic - the united States of America - there were only a little more than one million souls, or one to each three and a half square miles of territory. The people of the latter region seemed to have all come from the same original stock excepting some on the borders of the Gulf of Mexico. They had high cheek bones and broad faces, heavy dark eyes, jet black hair, lank and incapable of curling because of its peculiar structure and skins of a dull copper color. They spoke more than a hundred dialects, or peculiar forms of expressing language, all springing, evidently, from a common root. They were all taciturn or habitually silent, in society, and could endure great mental or physical suffering without visible emotion. Their plan of government was simple, and there were very few transgressors of the law. Their theology or religious system was as simple as their civil government. They believed in a great GOOD SPIRIT and a great EVIL SPIRIT, each supreme in its sphere. And they deified, or made God, the sun, moon, stars, meteors, fire, water, thunder, wind, and everything else which seemed to be superior to themselves. There were no unbelievers among them. They had no written language, excepting crude picture-writings made on rocks, barks of trees or the dried hides of beasts. Their historical records were made upon the memory from parent to child, as were their legends, and so transmitted from one generation to another. Their dwellings were crude huts made of poles leaning to a common center, and covered with bark or the skins of beasts. The men were engaged in war, hunting and fishing, whilst the women did all of the domestic drudgery. The women also bore all burdens during long journeys, put up the tents, or the wigwams, as their dwellings were called prepared the food and clothing, wove mats for beds, and planted, cultivated, and gathered the scanty crops of corn, beans, peas, potatoes, melons and tobacco, wherever these products were raised. In winter the skins of wild beasts formed the clothing of these crude people, and in summer the men wore only a wrapper around the loins. They sometimes tattooed themselves, that is, pricked the skin in lines to form shapes of objects, and making them permanent by coloring matter put in the punctures; and they were generally ornamented with the claws of bears, the pearly parts of shells, and the plumage of birds. Their money consisted of little tubes made of shells, fastened upon belts or strung on little thongs of deer hide, which was called wampum. These collections were used in traffic, in treaties, and in giving tokens of friendship. Their weapons of war were bows and arrows, tomahawks or hatchets, war-clubs, and scalping knives. Some wore shields of bark, and also corselets of hides, for protection.

The civil governor of a tribe or nation was called a Sachem whereas the military leader was called a Chief. They were naturally proud and haughty, and had great respect for personal dignity

and honor. It was offensive to a Chief or Sachem to ask him his name, because it implied that he was unknown. Red Jacket, the great leader of the Seneca nation, was once asked his name, in court, in compliance with the legal form. He was very indignant, and replied; "Look at the papers which the white people keep most carefully" -(land cession treaties) "they will tell you who I am."

Elevated as were their conceptions of the dignity of the men, they utterly degraded the women to the condition of abject slaves. They made them beasts of burden and mere objects of convenience. They were never allowed to join in the amusements of the men, but were permitted to sit, with their children, as spectators around the fires at war-dances or the horrid orgies after a victory. The husband had absolute control of the body and destiny of the wife, even to the taking of her life and so far was she removed from a position of equality with the opposite sex, that there was no society for the cultivation of those refining qualities of woman which give the chief beauty and charm to civilized communities.

The mental characteristics, or the workings of the mind of the Indian, was the same everywhere. He subjected his body to the control of his will. He was schooled in taciturnity - taught to be a silent man - because it was necessary in a society where the sharp weapon was the quick response to an unguarded or insulting word. He was trained, too, to accept physical endurance as a virtue. Apparent insensibility to fear or pain was significant of most sturdy manhood. It was regarded as an evidence of weakness or cowardice for an Indian to allow his countenance to be changed by surprise or suffering. And so his nerves and muscles were steeled against fear or pain, and made absolute slaves to his will. An Inca or King of ancient Peru, caused some of his warriors to be instantly put to death because they had shown some surprise at the appearance of Pizarro's cavalry, the horse being a novelty and wonder to that people. Coward exclaimed Pontiac, an Ottawa chief, when he saw one of his followers startled by muskets fired in the gloom of night by the English garrison at Detroit, and instantly cleaved his head with a tomahawk. Squaw cried Cornstalk, the leader of the Shawnoese in the battle of Point Pleasant, when he saw one of his warriors hiding behind a clump of bushes, and immediately ordered him to be dressed in a petticoat and to carry a papoose - an Indian baby.

The brain of the Indian seemed to be cast in a poetic mold. In his simple language - too poor to allow a profusion of words - he would express ideas in elegant and poetic forms, his figures of speech being drawn from the objects of nature around him. What he lacked in words, would be supplied by those figures. "I stand in the path," said Pontiac, haughtily, to the commander of a British force that marched into his country, signifying that he held kingly dominion over all that region, and defied the intruder's power. When Red Jacket, the Seneca chief, who became intemperate in his later years, saw all of his eleven children die one after another with consumption. he regarded the calamity as a punishment for his sin. To a lady who had known him many years before, and who, ignorant of his misfortune, enquired of his family, the old chief, with bowed head replied Red Jacket was once a great man, and in favor with the Great Spirit. He was a lofty pine among the smaller trees of the forest. But after years of glory he degraded himself by drinking the fire-water of the white man. The Great Spirit has looked upon him in anger, and his lightning has stripped the pine of its branches." At a council at Vincennes, over which Governor

Harrison presided, Tecumsa, the great Shawnoese warrior, made a speech. When it was ended, it was observed that no seat was provided for him. An officer handed him one saying, in the foolish phraseology of talk with Indians, Your father [meaning Harrison] requests you to be seated in this chair." "My father?" said the chief scornfully, whilst his eyes flashed with indignation. Wrapping his broad blanket around him, and assuming the most haughty attitude, he continued, "My father is the Sun, and the Earth is my mother." I will recline upon her bosom." And then he seated himself upon the ground.

Notwithstanding the Indians exhibited many of the nobler traits of human nature, they were, with a few notable exceptions, cruel savages, as a whole, throughout the entire country north of the parallel of Alabama, when the Europeans came and made permanent settlements here. Among these exceptions, the most conspicuous were the five nations who formed the Iroquois Confederacy within the domain of the present State of New York, and the dwellers in the softer climate around the shores of the Gulf of Mexico.

The Iroquois Confederacy was a remarkable fact in history. It was composed of five large families, each having the dignified title of a nation. These nations were named respectively, Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas, and Senecas. They were subdivided into smaller families or tribes, each having its symbol - coat-of-arms - such as the bear, the wolf, the eagle, the heron, the beaver, the deer, the turkey or the tortoise. They occupied a belt of country extending across the present State of New York from the Hudson River to Lake Erie, south of the Adirondack range of great hills, and north of the Kaatsbergs, or, as they are commonly called, the Catskill Mountains.

When Europeans became acquainted with the nations of this league and the form of their government, they were filled with admiration because of its wisdom and strength. They called these nations "The Romans of the New World," because they seemed to have many things in common with that ancient people, especially in military affairs. As in old Rome the soldiers were honored above all other citizens, so they were among the Iroquois and the warriors, under their chiefs, were all-powerful in public affairs whatever was done in the civil councils of the separate nations, or of the confederacy, was subjected to review by the soldiery, who had the right to call councils whenever they pleased, and approve or disapprove public measures. And so careful were the civil authorities to pay deference to the warriors that general answers to questions of state policy were postponed until the opinions of the soldiers might be known. Therefore, in nearly every such council, decisions were made by unanimous consent.

As each of the confederated nations was divided into several tribes, there were thirty or forty sachems in the league. These had inferior officers under them, answering to our magistrates in towns and so the civil power of the government was quite widely distributed. There was not a man who gained his office otherwise than by his own merits, and he held it only during good behavior. Any unworthy action was attended by dismissal from office and the penalty of public scorn. They, as well as the military leaders, accepted no salary, and gave away any perquisites of their offices in time of peace and their share of plunder in time of war. There was no bribery nor

corruption in office, for they had not learned these arts of civilization. They felt themselves amply rewarded by the confidence and esteem of the people. Chosen by the voice of universal suffrage, and feeling the responsibilities which that trust imposed upon them, their department was as dignified as their position.

Each canton or nation was a distinct republic, entirely independent of the others in what may be termed the domestic concerns of the state but each was bound to others of the league by ties of honor and of general interest. Each had an equal voice in the General Council or Congress of the league, and each possessed a sort of veto or prohibitory power, which was a guaranty against a central despotism. The powers and duties of the chief magistrate of the Confederacy were similar to those imposed upon the President of the United States. He had authority to "light the great Council Fire" - to assemble the General Congress - by sending a messenger to the sachem of each nation, calling him to a meeting. With his own hand he kindled a blaze around which the representatives gathered and each lighted his pipe. He had a cabinet of six councilors of state, whose powers were only advisory. In the Council, he was only the moderator or presiding officer. He had no power to control, directly, military affairs, nor interfere with the internal policy of the several states of the league. There was really no coercive or compulsory power lodged anywhere, that could act upon a state or individual, excepting that of despotic public opinion. There was a third party in the government, who exercised great influence. These were the matrons or elderly women, who had a right to sit in the councils and there exercise a negative or veto power on the subject of a declaration of war or to propose or demand a cessation of hostilities. Theirs was a highly conservative power. They were preeminently the peace-makers of the league, for their personal happiness depended upon peaceful pursuits. They modestly refrained from making speeches in the legislature, but they furnished materials for masculine orators, and so wielded a potent influence. And so it was that in that notable confederacy of barbarians, formed long before their contact with Europeans, woman was man's co-worker in legislation - a thing unheard of in civilized nations. It was a government the nearest to a pure democracy, and yet highly aristocratic - a government of the best of the people - that the world has ever seen. It had all of the essential elements of our form of government.

I have said that the soldiers of the league controlled the legislators. The military leaders, like the Sachems, derived their authority from the people, who recognized and rewarded their ability as warriors. They held the relations to the civil heads of the nations, similar to that of Roman generals to Emperors, whom they elevated to and deposed from office. The army was composed wholly of volunteers, for there was no power to conscribe men. Every able-bodied man was bound, by custom, to do military duty, and he who shirked it incurred everlasting disgrace. The ranks of the army were, therefore, always full. The war-dance and the assemblages for amusement were the recruiting stations, for there the veteran warrior painted and decorated, recounted their brave deeds in wild songs, as they danced around great fires, singly or in a ring formed by clasped hands. These stirring war songs inspired the young men with desires to emulate their example and win the honors of war. Sometimes young men - mere lads - seated among the women as spectators, inspired by these songs, would spring to their feet, and rushing out into the magic circle in a complete frenzy, would seize each other by the hand and dance and yell around

the blazing pile, to the delight of the old warriors. Such was the method of "beating up for recruits" among all the barbarian nations of North America. In the perfect freedom of this voluntary system lay the amazing strength of the league, for every servant of the state was an inspired and willing one. And so much did the people of this league reverence the inalienable rights of man, that they never made a fellow-man a serf or slave - not even their captives in war.

There is no positive proof as to the time when the Iroquois Confederacy was formed. It was probably at the beginning of the fifteenth century, or about a hundred years before Columbus crossed the Atlantic Ocean. When Europeans found it, it was powerful and aggressive. Like old Rome, the state was constantly increasing in area and population, by conquests and annexations. Had the discovery of America by Europeans been deferred a century longer, no doubt that republic would have embraced the continent; for the FIVE NATIONS, as the league was called, had already extended their conquests from the great lakes on our northern border almost to the Gulf of Mexico, and were the terror of all the other Indian tribes east and west of them. In unity was found their strength. For a time even the French in Canada, who had taught them the use of fire-arms, maintained a doubtful struggle against them. "Our wise forefathers," said one of their leading sachems to commissioners of Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia, in 1744, "established unity and amity among the Five Nations. This has made us formidable. This has given us great weight with our neighboring nations. We are a powerful confederacy and by observing the same methods our wise forefathers have taken, you will acquire fresh strength and power. Therefore I counsel you, whatever may befall you, not to fall out with each other."

Like every other unlettered nation whose history is unrecorded in books, and whose origin is obscure, the Iroquois have colored their traditions of the beginning of the league with the hues of the supernatural or miraculous. Their story is only another form of the old story - older than the ages of history and as widespread as the race. It has come floating down the stream of time from Central Asia - the home of the true Hindu - the Eden - the Paradise - the garden - which produced the root of the languages and the germs of the religion and laws of Europe and of the Caucasians of this continent. That teeming East is the mother of those historic myths in which figure, in divine grandeur, the founders of nations. Among these is Hi-a-wat-ha, the founder of the Iroquois Confederacy. Their traditions tell us that this personage, whom, in later years, they revered as the incarnation of wisdom, came from his serene dwelling in the skies, and took up his abode with the Onondagas, then the most favored of the Five Nations of the great Iroquois family, living within the domain of the present State of New York. The Onondagas occupied a central position, the Mohawks and Oneidas being east of them, and the Cayugas and Senecas west of them. Hi-a-wat-ha taught them the art of good living; the value and strength of mutual friendship and good-will, and the advantages of having fixed habitations and the cultivation of the earth. He was yet among them when a band of fierce warriors came down like an icy blast from the land north of the great lakes, slaying everything human in their path. He advised these related nations to call a council of their wise men for the purpose of forming a league for the common good, to oppose the destructive enemy. His advice was approved and immediately acted upon. The chief men of the Five Nations, followed by their women and children, gathered in great numbers on the banks of the Onondaga Lake. To the representatives of each nation was assigned a particular

position in that council, with an appropriate title.

That was a notable gathering of gaily-decked savages at the dividing line between the woods and the waters. There the grave and dignified Mohawk of the east, met the fierce and fiery Seneca of the west, and all waited in silence for the presence of Hi-a-wat-ha, who appeared on the lake in a mysterious canoe with a beautiful and gentle maiden, his daughter. He landed on the pebbly shore, and as he and his sweet child ascended the bank, a strange sound was heard in the air - like a wind rushing by. In the far distant sky a white speck was seen, which grew larger and larger as it approached, in rapid descent, toward the spot where the great multitude stood. It assumed the shape of a monster bird. As it was evident that it was about to fall upon the council ground, the people fled in terror, all but Hi-a-wat-ha and his daughter. "Stand still, my child," he said, "It is cowardly to fly from any danger. The decrees of the Great Spirit may not be averted by flight." He had just ceased speaking, when the bird, an enormous white heron, with extended wings, fell upon the maiden and crushed her to the earth. Its fall was so violent, that its beak and head were buried in the ground, and the bird and the maiden both perished. Hi-a-wat-ha, though so suddenly and awfully bereaved, showed no signs of emotion. Not a muscle was moved by the calamity. He calmly beckoned to the warriors, who came forward and plucked the beautiful white plumes of the dead heron, and each placing one on his head, wore it as a commemorative decoration. Thenceforth, for many generations, it was the custom of the braves of the Five Nations to wear a white heron-plume on their heads when going out on the war-path, or as a national insignia and memento of the origin of the league.

On removing the body of the bird, no traces of Hi-a-wat-ha's daughter could be found. The disconsolate father was moody for awhile, and the people waited in respectful silence until he aroused himself and proceeded to the discharge of his grave duties. He placed himself at the head of the council and guided its action. He was seated on a mossy stone, and was clad in a wolf-skin mantle and a tunic of soft furs that hung from his waist. His arms and legs were bare, and without ornaments, and on his feet were rich moccasins. On his head was a cap formed of a band of soft deer-skin covered with the small plumage of many colored birds. From this arose a stately pile of feathers of every sort, from those of the white heron and the gray eagle to the smaller ones of the golden Oriole and the flaming scarlet Taniger. Near him were seated the chief warriors and councilors of the tribes, who joined in the brief debates and listened with profound attention to the words of wisdom that fell from the lips of Hi-a-wat-ha. After listening to the discussion, he arose and addressed the people by nations, saying, as he pointed toward the heads of each:

"You (the Mohawks) who are sitting under the shadow of The Great Tree whose roots sink deep into the earth, and whose branches spread wide around, shall be the first nation, nearest the rising of the sun, because you are warlike and mighty.

"You (Oneidas) who recline your bodies against The Everlasting Stone, emblem of wisdom, that cannot be moved, shall be the second nation, because you always give wise counsel.

"You (the Onondagas) who have your habitation at the foot of The Great Hills, and are

overshadowed by their crags, shall be the third nation, because you are all greatly gifted in speech.

"You (the Cayugas) the people who live in The Open Country, and possess much wisdom, shall be the fourth nation, because you understand better the art of raising corn and beans, and making houses.

"You (the Senecas) whose dwelling is in The Dark Forest nearer the setting sun, and whose home is everywhere, shall be the fifth nation, because of your superior cunning in hunting.

Unite, you five nations and have one common interest, and no foe shall disturb or subdue you. You, the people, who are as the feeble bushes, and you who are a fishing people (addressing some who had come from the Delawares, and from the sea-shore), may place yourselves under our protection, and we will defend you. And you of the South and West may do the same - we will protect you. We earnestly desire the alliance and friendship of you all. Brothers, if we unite in this great bond, the Great Spirit will smile upon us, and we shall be free, prosperous and happy. But if we remain as we are we shall be subject to his frown. We shall be enslaved, ruined, perhaps annihilated. We may perish under the war-storm, and our names be no longer remembered by good men, nor repeated in the dance and song Brothers, these are the words of Hi-a-wat-ha. I have said it. I am done."

The confederation was formed the next day. Then Hi-a-wat-ha's mission to the Iroquois was ended. He gave them more wise advice, and then announced his intention to return to his divine habitation. Whilst the multitude stood in silence and awe, he went down to the water's edge and entered his mysterious canoe. Suddenly the air was filled with delicious music, like the warbling of innumerable birds, that charmed the senses of the wondering people. Slowly the canoe and its precious burden arose in the air, higher and higher, until it was lost in the blue depths to the vision of eager eyes gazing after it until it vanished. Hi-a-wat-ha had returned to the region of the Blessed.

Atatarho, a chief of the Onondagas, and eminent for his wisdom and valor, was chosen President or Grand Sachem of the League. A delegation of the Mohawks were sent to offer him the honor. They found him seated in grim solitude in the dark recesses of a swamp, smoking his pipe, with drinking vessels around him made of the skulls of his enemies, as were those of the old barbarian Northmen centuries before Lief came to Vineland. The delegation could not go near his person, for he was clothed with hissing serpents, emblems of wisdom. The Mohawks stood at a distance under the branches of a tamarack, whilst their leader approached nearer and announced their errand. Atatarho arose, and with dignity accepted the office. The serpents were transformed into a mantle of bear's skin; and following the delegation, the president of the league went to the council and there declared that he would do the will of the sages and warriors of the confederated nations. From that time the Iroquois Confederacy was invincible until the white man came and, by craft and power, paralyzed its strength and finally destroyed it.

When the white man came, early in the sixteenth century, to make permanent settlements in

our country, he found the dusky inhabitants, as we have observed, speaking about a hundred different dialects. But there were only eight radically distinct nations. They are known as the Algonquins, Huron-Iroquois, Cherokees, Catawbas, Uchees, Natchez, Mobilians or Floridians, and Dakotahs or Sioux. Algonquin was a name given by the French to a large collection of families north and south of the great lakes, who speaking dialects of the same language, seemed to belong to the same nation. These inhabited the territory now included in all Canada, New England, a part of New York and Pennsylvania, the States of New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland and Virginia, Eastern North Carolina above Cape Fear, a large portion of Kentucky and Tennessee, and all north and west of these States eastward of the Mississippi River. Within the folds of the Algonquin nation were the Huron-Iroquois in Canada, New York, Pennsylvania and Ohio; a few families in Southern Virginia and upper North Carolina, and the Iroquois Confederacy in the State of New York.

The Cherokees inhabited the picturesque and fertile region in the upper part of Georgia and its vicinity, where the mountain ranges that form the watershed between the Atlantic Ocean and the Mississippi River melt into the lowlands which border the Gulf of Mexico. They were called the mountaineers of the South, and were the most formidable of all the foes of the conquering Iroquois. Their neighbors on the east were the Catawbas, who dwelt upon the borders of the Yadkin and Catawba rivers on both sides of the boundary line between North and South Carolina. The Iroquois made incursions into their country, but they never brought the Catawbas under the yoke of that confederacy. The Uchees were only the remnant of a once powerful people. They were living in the beautiful land in Georgia between the sites of Augusta and Milledgeville, along the Oconee and around the head-waters of the Ogeechee and Chattahoochee. They claimed to be the descendants of a people more ancient than those around them, and they had no traditions, as all the others had, of having migrated from another country.

The Natchez, who occupied a territory east of the Mississippi stretching north-eastward from the site of the City of Natchez, along the borders of the Pearl River to the head-waters of the Chickasaw River, claimed to be an older nation than the Uchees. Like the other Indians of the Gulf region, they were fire and sun worshippers, and made sacrifices to the great luminary. The Mobilians or Floridians occupied a very large territory that bordered on the Gulf of Mexico. It stretched along the Atlantic coast from the mouth of the Cape Fear River to the extremity of the Florida peninsula, and westward to the Mississippi River. They also held jurisdiction up that stream to the mouth of the Ohio River. Their domain included the States of Florida, Alabama and Mississippi, all of Georgia not occupied by the Cherokees and Uchees, and portions of South Carolina, Tennessee and Kentucky. The nation was divided into three confederacies, known respectively as the Creek, Choctaw and Chickasaw.

Under the general title of Dakotas or Sioux, have been grouped a vast number of tribes west of the Mississippi River and the great lakes, with whom the earlier French explorers came in contact. They spoke, apparently, dialects of the same language, and were regarded as one nation. They inhabited the vast domain stretching northward from the Arkansas River to the western tributaries of Lake Winnipeg, and westward along that line to the eastern slopes of the Rocky

Mountains. These have been arranged in four classes, namely, the Winnebagoes, the Assinniboins or Sioux proper, the Minetarees and the Southern Sioux.

Such was the general geographical distribution of the Indians when European settlements were begun among them. They were not stationary residents of a fixed domain; nor, with the exception of the Iroquois Confederacy, was there the semblance of a national government amongst them. They had wandered for centuries, and some of them had evidently traversed the whole continent. Yet they were not a nomadic race, or a people seeking pasture for cattle, living in tents, and having no fixed home for a month at a time. Neither were they agriculturists, steadily cultivating the soil. The horse, cow, sheep and swine were unknown to them. They had never tamed the buffalo nor the stately elk for labor or food nor had they sheared a fleece from the great-horned Rocky Mountain sheep. Like primitive man, the Indian was a hunter and fisher, and depended for his sustenance chiefly upon the chase and the hook.

Chapter III

The Indians of the Gulf Region - Their Religious Ceremonies as Sun-Worshippers - Their Domestic Habits, Costumes, Dwellings and Productions - Their Military Defenses and War-like Operations - Their Marriage and Funeral Ceremonies - The Fate of the Indians - European Society in the Fifteenth Century - Theories Respecting the Shape of the Earth - Discoveries of the Portuguese - Popular Traditions Concerning the Atlantic Ocean - Christopher Columbus: His Theories and Aspirations - His Family Relations and Early Voyages - His Efforts to Obtain Means for Making a Voyage of Discovery - Conduct of the King of Portugal.

IN the warmer region around the Gulf of Mexico dwelt a people having the same general hue of skin, form of features and texture of hair, as those of the more northern countries. They were either the descendants of the Central or South Americans, or their habits of life had been modified by contact with the half-civilized people of those countries. They were an athletic and vigorous race. The men were well-proportioned, active and graceful in all their movements. The women were smaller, exquisitely formed, and some of them were very beautiful.

In the colder weather of the winter, the common men wore a mantle made of a sort of cloth manufactured of the soft inner bark of trees interwoven with hemp or a species of flax. This was thrown gracefully over the shoulder, leaving the right arm exposed. Around the loins was a very short tunic, extending half way down the thighs, or only a wrapper. The richer and nobler sort of men wore beautiful mantles made of feathers of every hue, exquisitely arranged, or the skins of fur-bearing animals, with dressed deer-skin tunics wrought in colors, and moccasins and buskins of the same materials. The women of the better sort, at the cooler season, wore a garment of cloth or feathers or furs wrought like the mantles of the men. It was wrapped more closely around the body at the waist, and fell gracefully almost to the knee. The rest of the form was left bare excepting in the coldest weather, when they wore short mantles that fell from the neck to the hips. Their heads were always uncovered, but the men wore a skullcap of cloth ornamented with beautiful sea-shells, the claws of beasts, or strings of pearls. It is related that a queen, on the banks of the Savannah River, took from her neck a magnificent string of pearls and twined it around that of De Soto, the early Spanish discoverer of the region. Sometimes they wore pearl pendants in their ears. In summer both sexes went without clothing, excepting a drapery of what is now known in that region as Spanish moss, gathered from the trees. This was fastened at the waist, and fell in graceful negligence to the thighs. The chiefs, and prophets, and ether principal men, and their wives, painted their breasts and the front part of their bodies, with stripes of white, yellow and red and some practiced a kind of tattooing. Sometimes the fops of this class might be seen promenading, at evening, in beautiful mantles of deer-skins and of the marten, which trailed on the ground, or were held by attendants and if they were warriors, on their heads might be seen lofty plumes of the eagle and the flamingo.

The houses of the chiefs, spacious and airy, stood upon large mounds, natural or artificial, that were ascended by steps of wood or earth. These dwellings were built of timber, sometimes in the form of a great pavilion with a broad piazza around it, furnished with benches. They were

covered with the leaves of the palmetto, or thatched with straw and sometimes they were roofed with reeds after the manner of tiles. Their winter houses were daubed inside and out with clay.

The weapons of the Floridians for hunting and war were strong bows and arrows, and javelins. Their arrows were made of fine dried cane, tipped with buck-horn and pointed with flint, hard wood, or fish bones. They were carried in a quiver made of the skin of the fawn, cased at bottom with the hide of the bear or the alligator, and slung by a thong of deer's skin so as to rest on the hip. The warriors all wore shields in battle composed of wood, split cane, or the hide of the alligator and buffalo. On the left arm they wore a small shield of bark to protect it from the rebound of the bow-string. They also had short swords made of hard wood. When a chief was about to declare war, he sent a party at night toward the town of the enemy, to stick arrows in the ground at the cross-paths or other conspicuous places near it. From these arrows waved long locks of human hair as tokens of scalping. Then he would assemble his painted warriors, and after some wild ceremonies, would turn reverentially toward the sun, with a wooden javelin in his hand, and invoking the aid of the great God of Fire, he would take a vessel of water, and sprinkle it around, saying: "Thus may you do with the blood of your enemies." Raising another vessel of water, he would pour it upon the fire which had been kindled, and as it was extinguished he would say: "Thus may you destroy your enemies and bring home their scalps." When the battle was over, the victors cruelly mutilated the bodies of their captives. Carrying their dissevered limbs and their scalps upon spear-points, into the public square, they were there placed on poles, and the people celebrated the triumph by dancing around these trophies and singing wild songs of joy. The widows of those lost in battle gathered around the chief with piteous cries, praying him to avenge the deaths of their loved ones, asking him for an allowance during their widowhood and permission to marry again as soon as the law would allow. Then they visited the burial-places of their husbands, and cutting off their long tresses, strewed them over the graves. When their hair had grown to its usual length they were ready to marry again.

Hunting, fishing and the cultivation of the rich land were the chief employments of these people. The cotton plant was unknown to them, but hemp and flax were quite abundant. The women assisted the men in the fields, in the cultivation of corn, beans, peas, squashes, and pumpkins, which yielded enormous returns for the little labor bestowed. These productions were stored in granaries made of stone and earth and covered with mats, for winter use also preserved meats. They obtained salt by evaporation, and the women were generally good cooks of the simple food. They made and used pottery for kitchen service, some of it skillfully constructed and quite beautiful. They were skillful artisans, as evinced by their arms, houses, beautiful barges and canoes, and ornaments. They had fortifications with moats or ditches and walled towns and some of their temples were grand, imposing and beautiful. Their roofs were steep and covered with mats of split cane, interwoven so compactly that they resembled the rush carpeting of the Moors. At the entrances to some of the temples, and in niches in the interior, were well-wrought wooden statues, some of them of persons who were entombed in the sacred place. Between these were shields of various sizes, made of strongly woven reeds adorned with pearls and colored tassels. Rich offerings of pearls and deer-skins, and the furs of martens and other animals were seen in these temples in great profusion, all dedicated to the Sun, the great God whom they worshiped.

The theology or religious system of these people was very simple. They regarded the Sun as the Supreme Deity, and venerated the moon and certain brilliant stars. In all their invocations of blessings upon their chiefs or upon themselves, the Sun was appealed to, as we appeal to God. May the Sun guard you May the Sun be with you were usual forms of invocation. At the beginning of March the men of a community selected the skin of the largest deer, with the heads and legs attached, which they filled with a variety of fruit and grain. It was served up, and appeared like the live creature in form. Its horns were garlanded with fruits and early spring flowers. Then the effigy was carried in a procession of all the inhabitants, to a plain, and placed at the top of a high post. There, at the moment when the sun appeared upon the eastern horizon, the people all fell upon their knees, with their faces toward the rising luminary, and implored the god of day to grant them, the ensuing season, an abundance of fruit and grain as good as those which they then offered.

The funeral ceremonies of these people, especially those on the death of a chief or prophet, were very peculiar. The body underwent a sort of embalming, when it was placed in the ground in a sitting posture by the nearest relatives of the deceased. Then food and money were placed by its side, and a conical mound of earth was piled over it, at the foot of which was made a paling of arrows stuck in the ground. Around this tomb the people gathered in great numbers, some standing, some sitting, and all howling. This ceremony continued three days and nights, after which, for a long time, chosen women visited the tomb three times a day, morning, noon and night. The chief, whilst he was alive, was held in the greatest veneration, for, like the Assyrian kings, he was both monarch and pontiff - the chief magistrate and the high priest. A cruel sacrifice was made to him of every first-born male child, a custom learned from the Central Americans. It symbolized the devotion and surrender of the entire strength of the nation to the chief. Sitting upon a bench on one side of a large circle, a block two feet in height was placed before him. The child was brought by a dancing-girl and placed upon the block, and the young mother, weeping in agony, was compelled to stand near it, to make the offering. A prophet dashed out its brains, and then a group of girls danced around the altar of sacrifice, singing songs.

When a young chief desired to marry, he would send a few of his principal men to select from the daughters of the first families one of the youngest and most beautiful of the marriageable ones. The chosen bride was then painted and decorated in the most tasteful manner, preparatory to the nuptials. Brilliant colors, and costly pearls and shells, adorned her person. She was covered from her waist almost to her knees with a beautiful tunic of rich feathers. Then she was placed in a sedan chair, the top of which was an arch of green boughs festooned and garlanded with flowers. In that state she was conveyed to the presence of her future lord on the shoulders of six noblemen who were preceded by musicians and two men bearing magnificent feather fans, and followed by dancing-girls and the immediate relatives of the bride. When arrived at the residence of the chief she was received by the lords in waiting, who conducted her to a seat by the side of her husband, on an elevated dais, where great pomp and ceremony were displayed by those in attendance. The bride and groom were constantly fanned by beautiful maidens, if the weather was warm; and they were regaled with the unfermented juice of the grape, in its season, or with a kind of sherbet made of orange juice, at other times. At near the sun-setting the chief and his young wife walked out

into an open field, followed by all the people, and at the last parting ray of the luminary, they prostrated themselves toward the west and invoked the blessings of the Sun upon themselves and their children. From that moment until the stars appeared the people indulged in music and dancing - the music of the reed and a sort of tambourine and the dancing of young men and maidens - when the chief and his bride retired to their dwelling, there, with friends, to partake of a marriage-feast by the light of lamps.

Such is an outline picture of the people with whom the Spaniards first came in contact on the continent after the discoveries of Columbus and his contemporaries. These, with the Iroquois Confederacy, are the two notable exceptions spoken of to the general character and habits of the dusky nations who then inhabited North America. We now have a tolerably correct impression of these barbarian and savage communities whose history, down to the present time, forms an important part of that of our Republic. Some of them have gone up in the social scale, and others have gone down: some of them have disappeared, and other tribes have been discovered. All are gradually fading away from the earth and the time cannot be far distant when the last of the dusky race may sit on the verge of the Pacific Ocean, with his face toward the Setting sun, and chant the death-song of his people, saying:

"We, the rightful lords of yore, Are the rightful lords no more. Like the silver mists we fail; Like the red leaves in the gale - Fail like shadows when the dawning Waves the bright Bag of the morning."

But they will leave behind them myriads of memories of their existence here, in their beautiful and significant names of our mountains and valleys, our lakes and rivers, our states, counties, villages and cities. We may say to our people,

That, mid the forests where they warr'd, There rings no hunters shout; But their name is on your waters - Ye may not wash it out."

At this point in our story, the scene shifts, as in a dissolving view, to another continent, and presently appears the grand procession of discoverers who opened the way to settlements in this new-found land.

We have remarked that from the period of the visits of the Northmen to Vineland (America) until Columbus crossed the Atlantic Ocean, great changes had taken place in Europe. The empire of the Franks, founded by Charlemagne, had been succeeded by that of the more progressive Germans, in the mastery of Europe, with Otho the Great as the initial Emperor. The Crusades had broken up the inertia or stagnation of European society. They had unbarred the gates of the East, and let in a flood of light from the sources of science and philosophy. The Northmen or Normans had taken possession of some of the fairest regions of France (Normandy), and had invaded, conquered, and refined England. The feudal system - a system in which lands are held by a few nobles who farm them out as a privilege secured by military service - had given way to an established political system in the form of monarchies or powerful republics. Commercial cities

were gathering and distributing the products of industry and flecking the seas with white sails, proving that the arts of peace are far more productive of happiness than the pursuit of war. Over all Europe - from the Carpathian mountains to the sea, and from the Mediterranean to the Baltic, there was wonderful intellectual, moral and physical activity at the middle of the fifteenth century. Trade had linked various peoples in bonds of mutual interest and sympathy, and Europe, with the birth of the printing-press at that time, was prepared to enter upon that new and bright era of scientific investigation and maritime discovery which speedily appeared. When Lief came to America, the gloom of the dark ages was most intense - it was the world's midnight. When at near the close of the fifteenth century Columbus crossed the Atlantic, the faint gleam was seen of the dawn of that glorious day in the history of civilization, whose sunrise was heralded by the bold assertion that man had an inalienable right to the free exercise of his reason in faith and practice, whether in religion, politics, or morality.

Early in the fifteenth century, commerce had stimulated maritime adventure which led to maritime discoveries. Its most wonderful activity was seen in the Mediterranean and Adriatic seas. For the control of this commerce, Genoa on the Mediterranean and Venice on the Adriatic, both in Italy, were powerful and zealous rivals. The commerce of India was very profitable, and for the monopoly of it these rivals fiercely contended through diplomacy and arms. That commerce found its chief communications with Genoa by way of the Indus, the Oxus, and the Caspian and Black Seas. It found its chief communications with Venice by way of the Persian Gulf the river Euphrates and the Red Sea to Syrian and Egyptian ports. To these and the ports of the Black Sea the Italian vessels resorted for the silks, and spices, and other rich commodities of the Orient.

In the sharp contests of these rival republics for commercial supremacy, the Venetians finally out-generated the Genoese. They acquired by diplomacy and business activity such influence over the ports of the Black Sea and the Levant that the Genoese saw ruin before them and they began to look in other directions for relief and continued prosperity. With the revival of learning which the Crusades (or the wars of Christians for the rescue of the Holy Sepulcher of Jesus, at Jerusalem, from the hands of the Turks) had been chiefly instrumental in producing, came into Europe a knowledge of the theories and demonstrations of the Arabian astronomers, concerning the globular form of the earth. Intelligent mariners and others had become satisfied that it was globular; and the idea was finally impressed as truth upon the minds of the Genoese merchants, whilst the clergy vehemently opposed it. Reason and Faith came into collision. Reason prevailed, and the Genoese merchants were willing to allow the navigators of their ships to sail westward in quest of India.

Meanwhile the merchants of Western Europe, who were wholly excluded from direct participation in the commerce of the East through the Mediterranean by the jealous Italians, were seeking other channels of communication with India. In this enterprise they had the powerful aid of Prince Henry, son of John the First, King of Portugal and the English Princess Philippa of Lancaster, sister of King Henry the Fourth of England. Whilst Prince Henry was with his father on an expedition into Africa, he received much information from the Moors concerning the coast

of Guinea and other parts that were then unknown to Europeans. He believed that important discoveries might be made by navigating along the western coast of that continent, and on his return home the idea absorbed his whole attention. He retired from court, and at a beautiful country seat near Cape St. Vincent, in full view of the ocean, he drew around him men of science and learning. Being a studious and profound mathematician himself he had become master of all the astronomy then known to the Spaniards. With these scientific men and scholars, he studied every branch of learning connected with maritime art, and they became satisfied, from ancient chronicles and fair induction, that Africa was circumnavigable - that India might be reached by going around the southern shores of that continent. This idea was contrary to the assertions of Ptolemy, the standard geographer at that time, and of many learned men but Prince Henry adhered to his belief in the face of threats of the priests and the sneers of learned professors.

Wild tales were believed of dreadful reefs and stormy headlands stretching far out at sea, and of a fiery climate at the equator which no living thing, not even whales in the depth of the ocean, could pass because of the great heat. It was believed that the waves rolled in boiling water upon the fiery sands of the coasts, and that whoever should pass beyond Cape Bajador would never return. Against every species of opposition Prince Henry persevered. His navigators scattered all these fallacies and tales to the winds by doubling Cape Bajador and penetrating the tropical regions. At length, in the year 1497, Vasquez de Gama, a Portuguese mariner who had been in Prince Henry's service in his youth, passed around the Cape of Good Hope (which he so named), with an Arabian chart directing his course, and crossing the Indian Ocean landed in India at Calcutta. Africa was circumnavigated and a new way was opened to India by the ocean pathway of Pharaoh Necho. Prince Henry had then been dead twenty-four years. He saw the promises of this achievement from afar, but he did not live to enjoy this full triumph of reason. But a greater triumph had lately been achieved than when De Gama passed the Cape of Good Hope.

Just at the evening twilight of a beautiful day in October, 1485, a man about fifty years of age (tall, well-formed, and muscular long visaged a face of fair complexion, a little freckled and usually ruddy, but now pale and careworn in expression an aquiline nose, rather high cheek bones, eyes a light-gray his hair thin and silvery, and his whole demeanor elevated and dignified) might have been seen standing at the gate of the Franciscan Convent near Palos, in Spain, asking for a little bread and water for his palefaced, motherless child, whom he was leading by the hand. It was CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS, then in extreme poverty, making his way, with his boy Diego, on foot for the Spanish Court. While he lay sick near Belem, a mysterious voice had said to him in a dream: "God will cause thy name to be wonderfully resounded through the earth, and will give thee the keys of the gates of the ocean which are closed with strong chains." It was a prophecy of the imagination - a sequence of intense thought and weary study on the subject. To the mind of Columbus it had all the reality of a revelation from God.

Columbus was the son of a wool-comber in Genoa, where he was born about the year 1435. Like other boys with busy fancies in that maritime city, he showed a fondness for the sea at an early age, and his father, though straitened in means, sent him, for a short time, to the University of Pavia to study the sciences which might fit him to be a navigator. It was an age of rapid

intellectual development. Learning was leaving the monasteries to take up its abode with the laity. Geographical discoveries had created an intense longing for geographical knowledge, and the writings of Pliny, Strabo and others, which the newly-discovered art of printing soon multiplied, were read with avidity.

Columbus became a passionate disciple of geographical teachers. He made his first voyage when he was only fourteen years of age. As his practical knowledge deepened with experience, and wonderful tales of mariners concerning mysterious lands seen in the far-off Atlantic fell upon his ears, his soul burned with an intense desire to penetrate the unknown waste of waters. There was then a popular tradition that there was a very large island in the Atlantic called Antilla, mentioned by Aristotle, which Carthaginian mariners had visited. There was also a tradition of another island, on which St. Brandon, a Scotch priest, landed in the sixth century, and found magnificent cities. Still another spoke of the Island of Seven Cities, on which seven Spanish bishops, who fled from Spain with an immense number of followers, on the invasion of the Moors, had settled and founded seven grand cities. Even the learned geographer, Martin Behm, whom the King of Portugal employed, placed these islands on a globe which he constructed as being contiguous to the eastern coast of Asia. And with the revival of letters, came from Greece the story of Atlantis, which Plato had learned from the Egyptians and told to his countrymen - a story which gave an account of an immense island in the Atlantic, in early times, larger than Asia and Africa together, full of inhabitants, great cities and mighty kingdoms, which, by tremendous earthquakes, had been shaken from their foundations and swallowed by the sea. These traditions, the stories of the people of the Canary Islands concerning land frequently seen westward of them (a mirage?) and scores of other marvelous tales, fired the imagination of Columbus, and he conceived the grand design of attempting the discovery of unknown lands in the West.

Finding very little encouragement in his native city, and Prince Henry of Portugal being then engaged in his explorations of the western coast of Africa, Columbus went to Lisbon. He arrived there about the year 1470, when he was in the prime of his young manhood. There he was a strict attendant at religious services in the chapel of the Convent of All Saints. In that convent several ladies of rank boarded or resided. Among these was Dona Felipa, daughter of Bartolomeo de Perestrello, an Italian cavalier then lately dead, who had been one of Prince Henry's most noted navigators. He had discovered, colonized and governed the island of Porto Santo, one of the Madeiras. Columbus and Dona Felipa became acquainted. The acquaintance ripened into love and resulted in marriage.

Columbus and his bride resided with her mother in Porto Santo. Madame Perestrello placed in the hands of her son-in-law the maps, charts, journals and memoranda of her late husband. They opened new fields for the contemplation of the navigator, and inspired him with an irrepressible desire for attempting discoveries in the West. These desires were stimulated by facts that were given him by Pedro Correo, an eminent navigator, who had married a sister of the wife of Columbus. He told him of timber handsomely carved, and of immense canes such as it was said grew in India, that had been found floating on the sea, from the westward also of the bodies of two men which had been cast ashore on one of the islands of the Azores by a westerly gale,

whose faces were large and their skins a copper color. These things confirmed Columbus in a budding belief that he might reach India by sailing westward, and he formed plans accordingly. These he communicated to the eminent Toscanelli, of Florence, who wrote to him an encouraging letter, and sent him a map projected partly by Ptolemy and partly from descriptions of Marco Polo, a Venetian, who made an overland journey to China late in the thirteenth century, and was in the public employment of the Great Khan or Emperor of Tartary. With this map before him Columbus studied the narrative of Polo, and was impressed with the belief that by sailing westward he would find the rich country of Cathay described by that traveler (now known to be China) and the great island of Zipangi, supposed to be Japan. These were the subjects of his dreams, whilst cruising among the islands in American waters, many years afterward.

Columbus made voyages in the service of the Portuguese; and in 1477 he sailed to Iceland and beyond. There he doubtless heard the traditions concerning the voyages of the sons of Eric the Red, or listened to rehearsals of the sagas in which they were recorded. On his return he was filled with zeal for undertaking western discoveries. But comparative poverty was hid so he appealed to the King of portion. He was not able to fit out a ship, so appealed to the King of Portugal for assistance. That monarch was too much engrossed in a war with Spain to listen to him. He waited patiently until his successor, the young John the Second, ascended the throne. John was endowed with the spirit of his great uncle, Prince Henry, and listened to Columbus gladly. The scheme of the navigator was referred to a junta composed of two eminent cosmographers or describers of the universe, and a learned bishop. They decided that his project was extravagant and visionary.

The king was not satisfied. He called a council of learned men, who also decided against the project. Still the king was not satisfied when the bishop (who was his confessor) proposed to him a mean stratagem. It was that he should get from Columbus his plans, charts, proposed directions for sailing and all other necessary information, under the pretext that he cherished his propositions. Then he was to send a caravel (a small three-masted vessel) to the Cape de Verd islands on the pretext of carrying provisions there, with instructions to go as far westward as possible, to ascertain if there were any foundation for the navigator's theory. This was to secure advantages to the state without committing it to what might turn out to be a mere chimera. The king permitted himself to follow the advice of the bishop. The cowardly crew of the caravel did not go far, before they were frightened back by the great waves. Columbus discovered the infamous trick to defraud him of the honors of such a discovery, and with lofty pride he scorned all offers of the monarch to renew the negotiations. His wife was now dead. She had borne him a son, whom they had named Diego. The domestic ties which bound him to Portugal were broken, and turning his back upon the faithless king and priest, he took his boy and secretly departed from Lisbon late in the year 1484. Whither he went then nobody certainly knows. He first reappears in history in the south of Spain, standing, in the twilight of a beautiful October day, at the door of the Franciscan monastery near Palos, asking for a little bread and water for his famishing boy.

Chapter IV

Columbus at the Convent of De Rabida - Asks Aid of the Sovereign of Spain - The Spanish Monarchy at that Time - Columbus Kept in Suspense - The Council at Salamanca - Delays and Disappointments - Queen Isabella Resolves to Fit Out Vessels for Columbus - He is Appointed Admiral and Sails for Palos - The Voyage Westward - Discovers an Island supposed to be a Part of the East Indies - Lands, Takes Possession, and Calls the Native Inhabitants Indians.

IT is supposed by some that Columbus, after leaving Portugal, applied for aid to the Republic of Genoa. If he did, he was unsuccessful and so we find him at the gate of the convent near Palos, in Andalusia, which was dedicated to Santa Maria de Kabida. Whilst the porter was getting refreshments for his boy, the prior of the convent, Friar Juan Perez de Marchena, happening to pass by, was attracted by the dignified aspect of the stranger. He soon learned that he was on his way to the neighboring town, Huelva, to seek for his brother-in-law, probably Pedro Correo, already mentioned. He also learned, from a brief conversation, that the stranger was an extraordinary man, and he invited Columbus to remain as his guest. With increasing wonder and admiration he heard the lips of the navigator unfold his theories, his plans and his hopes that such a man should stand a beggar at his convent gate was a marvel to Father Marchena.

The friar was learned in geographical science. Able, therefore, to comprehend the grandeur of the views of Columbus, he was deeply impressed with the wisdom of the navigator, which seemed to him like inspiration. Distrusting his own judgment, he sent for Garcia Fernandez, a scientific friend in Palos, to come and converse with his guest and within the quiet cloisters of La Rabida, the project of Columbus received the most profound respect, such as powerful courts and learned philosophers in council had not deigned to bestow. There he was brought in contact with old and eminent navigators of Palos, whose stories of the sea confirmed his faith in his theory. Marchena, impressed with the same faith, and the importance to Spain of a successful result of an enterprise like that proposed by Columbus, not only offered to give him a favorable introduction to the court, but he also offered to take his son Diego into the convent, and there educate him.

It was now one of the most remarkable and brilliant periods in the history of the Spanish monarchy. Ferdinand, King of Aragon, and Isabella, Queen of Castile and Leon, had been joined in marriage. Their kingdoms were united, and formed a strong empire. So was consolidated the Christian power of the Spanish Peninsula, and gave a prophecy of a speedy conquest of the Moors who were confined to Grenada, the kingdom which they had set up on Spanish soil more than two hundred years before. To effect that conquest, the efforts of united Spain were now directed. The two monarchs were one in love, respect, interest, views and aims, and were happily united in their councils for the good of the realm, yet they ruled as separate sovereigns, each having an independent council, and sometimes holding court and exercising sovereignty at widely separate points at the same time. They were wise in council and brave in action. Sometimes they were both in the field at the head of troops in their warfare with the Moors; and the armor worn by the queen on these occasions may be seen in the royal arsenal at Madrid. The monarchs were a unit,

however, in the general administration of the consolidated kingdoms. All acts of sovereignty were executed in the names of both; public documents were signed by both; their profiles were stamped together on the national coins, and the royal seal displayed the united arms of Castile and Aragon. They were both extremely religious and were warmly attached to the Church of Rome, then at the height of its temporal power, whose head claimed to be "King of Kings."

It was an inauspicious time for Columbus to lay his projects before the monarchs. The court was moving from place to place, and was continually surrounded by the din and pageantry of war. So the navigator remained quietly at La Rabida, the guest of Father Marchena, until the spring of 1486, when the court had arrived at the ancient city of Cordova, where [he troops had assembled for a vigorous spring campaign against the common enemy. To that old city, and to the court of the young sovereigns, Columbus repaired, bearing a letter from Marchena to the friar's intimate friend, Fernando de Talevera, prior of the monastery of Prado and confessor to the Queen. He was a man high in the royal confidence, and possessed great weight in public affairs. With bright hopes Columbus presented the letter. The prior read it carefully, listened patiently to the explanations of the bearer, and coldly shaking his head in token of his doubts, bade the disappointed mariner good morning. He was not favorably impressed with the project of Columbus, and it is probable that he did not even mention it to the sovereigns.

For a long time Columbus lingered in Cordova. He went no more to the priest, but found a friend and an advocate of his theory in Quintanillo, the controller of the finances of Castile. That officer obtained for the navigator the friendly aid of Mendoza, Archbishop of Toledo and Grand Cardinal of Spain. By that important personage he found admittance to the royal court. The sovereigns listened with wonder and deep interest whilst he unfolded his theory and gave them corroborating facts. The prior of Prado was ordered to assemble a council of astronomers and cosmographers at Salamanca to confer with the navigator. There, in the Convent of St. Stephen, they listened to his theories and his arguments. These were confuted by the books of Moses, the Psalms of David, the prophecies, the Gospels and Epistles, and by the writings of the early fathers of the Christian Church. Plain reason confounded his wild notions. "If the earth is round," said the wise men of that council, "you will be compelled to sail up a kind of mountain from Spain, which you cannot do, even with the fairest wind, and you could never get back." The Grand Cardinal of Spain intimated that the theories of Columbus were irreligious and the astonished navigator was really in danger of being consigned to the Inquisition, which was about to be revived, as a heretic, instead of receiving aid and honor as a discoverer.

Columbus was again doomed to long delay. Disappointed, wearied, almost in despair, he humbled his just pride and wrote a letter to the King of Portugal, whose overtures he had rejected, again asking aid. That monarch invited him to Lisbon. It was now the early spring of 1488. Circumstances had just then revived his hopes of help from the Spanish monarchs, and Columbus did not go. He was attached to Cordova, for there Beatrix Enriquez had borne him a son whom he named Fernando, and who became the historian of his father. But another year passed away before he was again summoned to confer with scientific men at Seville. The war was then at its height. The clangor of arms disturbed every peaceful occupation, and the conference

was not held.

Another year passed away and Columbus, wearied by the suspense, pressed for a decisive answer to his petition. Another council of wise men decided that his project was vain, and beneath the dignity of sovereigns to engage in. Not so secretly thought the monarchs. They were unwilling to reject his suit altogether, and they sent him word that so soon as the war should be closed they would treat with him on the subject. So encouraged, Columbus went to the court at Seville, but saw little prospect of success there. He felt impelled to seek aid at other European courts, but he did not wish to leave Spain. Diego was at La Rabida, and Beatrix and his infant son Fernando were at Cordova. So he turned from the monarchs to the rich nobles of Spain. But he found no one among them willing to embark in his enterprise. The Duke of Medina Celi, to whom he applied, advised him to make another application to the Spanish monarchs, and gave him a letter to the queen.

The proud spirit of Columbus would not permit him to again wait upon the court in the character of a suppliant. He had received an invitation from the king of France to come to Paris, and he resolved to go. He went to the convent for Diego, to place him with Beatrix, at Cordova. The good father, Marchena, was touched with tenderest pity when he saw that great man, after years of weary waiting, again standing at his gate as poor, almost, as when he first stopped at that portal and asked food for his famishing boy. The friar's patriotism was also enkindled when he heard from the lips of the disappointed navigator that he was about to leave the country forever, for he wished Spain to be a sharer with Columbus in the brilliant honors which would be acquired by the great discoveries which Marchena believed he would soon make. He summoned his scientific friends of Palos to a council for consultation. Among them came Martin Alonzo Pinzon, the head of a wealthy family of navigators there. Pinzon approved the project of Columbus, and showed his faith in the theory by offering to engage in a voyage of discovery, with his person and his purse, and to pay the expenses of another application to the court. Columbus was willing to delay his departure for France, but he would not be a suppliant again at the feet of the Spanish monarchs. So the warm-hearted Father Marchena resolved to seek a personal interview with Queen Isabella. He had once been her confessor, and he knew that persons of his sacred order found easy access to the presence of that devout woman.

Isabella was then at the military city of Santa Fe. Thither Marchena sent a letter to the queen by an eminent navigator, who, within a fortnight, brought back a note from her majesty summoning the friar to her presence, and giving Columbus the assurance that he might confidently expect royal aid. That note was laid before the little junta of friends at the convent, and produced much joy. Before midnight Marchena had saddled his mule and departed secretly for Santa Fe, where the sovereigns were superintending the close investment of the capital of Granada. An audience of the queen was readily obtained, when the friar pleaded eloquently in behalf of Columbus and Slain. His honest zeal and earnest eloquence secured Isabella's favorable attention. Her favorite, the Marchioness of Moya, seconded Father Marchena's pleading, and the queen requested that Columbus should be sent to her again. She forwarded money to him wherewith to purchase clothes, a mule for his journey, and to bear his traveling expenses.

With renewed hope Columbus journeyed toward the camp before Granada, where he arrived in time to see the Moors surrender to the Spanish power. He was soon admitted to the presence of the sovereigns. "What do you expect?" asked the king. "To be invested with the title and privileges of an admiral and viceroy over all the countries I may discover," Columbus replied. "Also one-tenth of all the gains either by trade or conquest," he added. One of the courtiers said: "By such an arrangement you would secure the honor of a command, without any loss in case of failure." Columbus instantly replied: "I will furnish an eighth of the cost provided I may enjoy an eighth of the profits." His terms were pronounced to be inadmissible. Others were offered. He refused to compromise, and the conference seemed fruitless. Columbus, again disappointed and heartily disgusted, turned with a heavy heart from the royal pavilion, resolved to go immediately to France. He mounted his mule and started for La Rabida. Some powerful persons who were zealous converts to his theory, learning of his departure, deeply deplored the event. One of these was St. Angel, receiver of the ecclesiastical revenues of Arragon. He obtained an immediate audience of the monarchs, and ably vindicated the judgment of Columbus. The king was not convinced; the queen was. "Our treasury," said Ferdinand, "has been too much drained by the war, to warrant us in engaging in the undertaking." "I will undertake the enterprise," said Isabella, "for my own crown of Castile, and, if necessary, I will pledge my jewels for the money." St. Angel said, with emphasis, "It will not be necessary."

A courier was sent to bring Columbus back to the presence of the queen. He was two leagues away when the messenger overtook him at the bridge of Pinos. The oft disappointed mariner hesitated. The injunction, "Put not your trust in princes," was deeply impressed on his mind. When he was assured of Isabella's earnestness, he turned back. An immediate audience was granted. The queen received him graciously. She was seated in a richly-cushioned chair by the side of her husband, whilst Columbus stood before her with St. Angel at his right hand. He was then fifty-six years of age; the queen was forty. In person she was of medium height, and exquisitely formed. Her complexion was fair, her hair a rich auburn color, and her eyes a clear blue. There was a mingled gravity and sweetness in her countenance which made it very winning, and a singular modesty which graced the firmness of her purposes, her earnestness of spirit, and her courage to do right. She possessed more genius and grandeur of soul than her husband and could far better than he comprehend the theory of Columbus, and estimate the mighty results of his success should he achieve it.

The ambition of the navigator was lofty and noble. His piety was heartfelt his religious convictions were deep and controlling, and his zeal was fed by an earliest desire to serve God and benefit mankind. And when, with a tongue that seemed to be touched with the flame of inspiration, he told the queen of his faith and hope, - a belief that he was ordained of God to bear the Gospel of Jesus to the heathen of unknown lands, and a hope that he should bring back to her the glad tidings of pagans converted to the true faith - her face kindled with enthusiasm and beamed with angelic benignity. And when he spoke of giving to Spain the honors and emoluments of his anticipated discoveries, and promised to devote the profits of the enterprise to efforts for the recovery of the Holy Sepulcher at Jerusalem from the hands of the Paynim, the beautiful queen was transported with joy. She arose quickly from her chair, and stretching forth her

clasped hands, sparkling with jewels, and with her soft eyes raised toward heaven, she fervently invoked the blessing of Almighty God upon the person and deeds of Columbus. The navigator stood in awe, with bowed head, before the seeming transfigured sovereign. The colder Ferdinand's soul was warmed, and to the uttered benediction he responded "Amen."

Isabella assented to all of the demands of Columbus, and urged him to depart on his great mission as speedily as possible. Ferdinand acquiesced in the arrangements. The contract was signed by the sovereigns, at Santa Fe, on the 17th of April, 1492. On the 30th of the same month, his commission of admiral and viceroy was signed by both of them in the city of Granada. By that instrument, the dignities and prerogatives of viceroy were made hereditary in the family of Columbus, and his heirs were entitled to prefix to their names the title of Don, a token of rank and estate. Early in May the queen appointed Diego, the son of Columbus, page to her majesty's son, Prince Juan or John. Then Columbus departed for La Rabida with a light heart, and was there received by the good Father Marchena with open arms.

The Port of Palos had lately sinned against the monarchs, and the citizens had been condemned to serve the crown one year with two armed caravels - small three-masted vessels. Furnished with authority from the monarchs, Columbus went to the Church of St. George, in Palos, and in the porch of the fane, in the presence of the public offices of that seaport town and many citizens, he caused a royal order to be read commanding the authorities to had two caravels ready for sea within ten days, and they and their crews placed at the disposal of the admiral. By the Army order he was empowered to fit out a third vessel; and the people of that portion of the Andalusian coast were directed to furnish supplies for the three ships at fair prices.

When the destination of Columbus was made known, the greatest consternation spread amongst the seamen of Palos and their friends. The stories of the awful terrors of the far-western Atlantic, which everybody believed, made the stoutest hearts of the mariners quail. Many of them fled to avoid the service, and for weeks no progress was made toward the equipment of the vessels. Finally Martin Alonzo Pinzon, and his brother, Vincent Yanez, navigators of Palos, of great wealth and well-known courage and ability, having ships and seamen in their employ, came forward and not only engaged to furnish one of the vessels, but to go themselves with Columbus on the perilous voyage, each as master of a ship Martin also agreed to furnish Columbus with the money to pay his promised one-eighth of the cost. These acts of the Pinzons had a powerful effect upon the people, soothing their fears and inspiring them with confidence and very soon three vessels - all that were required - were ready for sea. Two of them were no larger than our river and coast sailing vessels - without decks, pierced for oars to be used in calms, with each a forecabin, and a cabin in the high stern for the accommodation of the ship's company. The largest, which was fitted expressly for the expedition, was decked, and was named Santa Maria (or Holy Mary). She was the flag-ship of Columbus. One of the caravels was called the Pinta, and was commanded by Martin Alonzo Pinzon, who was accompanied by his brother, Francisco Martin, as pilot. The other caravel was the Nina, with lateen sails, and was commanded by Vincent Yanez Pinzon. There were three other pilots an inspector-general of the armament; also a native of Cordova, Diego de Avana, as chief alguazil, an officer corresponding in his functions

with our constable. Roderigo de Escobar was with Columbus as royal notary, an officer always sent with the armaments of the crown, as historian of the expedition. There were also a physician and surgeon, some private adventurers, servants, and ninety mariners; in all one hundred and twenty persons. After appropriate religious ceremonies in the Church of St. George in Palos had been performed, the expedition sailed on Friday the 3rd of August, 1492. On the 9th, the little flotilla reached the Canary Islands, where they were detained more than three weeks, and early in September they passed the western-most of the group, escaped some Portuguese caravels which had been sent out to intercept them, and sailed boldly toward the unknown. Columbus carried with him charts constructed on the basis of that which Toscanelli had formerly sent to him. Expecting to find the eastern coast of Asia, he also bore a letter from the Spanish sovereigns to the Grand Khan (Emperor) of Tartary, in whose service Marco Polo had been employed two hundred years before.

With wonderful endurance the three little vessels buffeted with the waves of the Atlantic. They encountered no heavy storms such as sometimes lash that sea into fury; nor did they observe any of the expected terrors of the trackless deep. Phenomena sometimes startled the mariners, and day after day they were agitated by alternate hopes and disappointments. The volcanic blaze of the peak of Teneriffe scared the sailors as it shot up behind them. When they were two hundred leagues or more westward of that peak, Columbus observed, for the first time in his life, a variation of the needle of his compass from a true line with the north star. It inclined five or six degrees to the northwest, and this variation increased as they sailed on with no sure guide but the stars. Very soon they encountered vast masses of sea-weeds, which retarded the vessels, and seemed like a green island hundreds of miles in extent floating on the bosom of the ocean. It was doubtless the mysterious Sargasso Sea, now so well known to mariners, and which probably gave rise to the legends concerning fertile islands in the Atlantic. Then they were cheered by the sight of a flying heron and a tropical bird which were harbingers of land. The sailors, who had been mutinous at times, were quieted by these promises of nature but when they seemed to be deceptive, the crews again became stormy and almost ungovernable. They reproached their sovereigns for trusting the ambitious Italian, who would sacrifice their lives to make himself a great lord and they resolved to retrace their course and seek the shores of Spain. With kind words, tempting promises of reward, and threats against the more mutinous, Columbus quelled the rising insurrection for the time.

For eleven days after leaving the Canary Islands, the ships had sailed before the easterly trade winds now gentle breezes came from the south-west, and often diminished into dead calms. At early twilight one evening, Martin Pinzon, standing on the high stem of the Pinta, and pointing toward the southwest, shouted to the admiral, "Land! land! senor; I claim my reward " - a pension promised by the sovereigns to the first man who should discover land. Believing the report to be true, Columbus knelt and returned thanks to God; and his own crew and that of the Pinta, sailing close by, joined with the commanders in repeating the Gloria in Excelsis. Alas! the apparition was only a cloud which vanished before the dawn.

Days passed on, and the sun each evening set in the waves. Martin Pinzon believed that a

more southerly course would be wiser, and he was confirmed in his opinion by seeing a flock of parrots flying toward the southwest. He advised Columbus to follow them, but the admiral kept on his due west course. The crews again became discontented and mutinous. They had lost all hope, and in their desperation they defied Columbus. With great dignity and calmness, and with the coolness of true courage, he said: "This expedition has been sent out by your sovereigns, and come what may I am determined, by the help of God, to accomplish the object of the voyage. "We will cast you into the sea and return to Spain," said the exasperated sailors and just at sunset, on the evening of the 11th of October, they were about to carry their threat into execution, when a coast-fish was seen to glide by; dolphins played near the surface; a branch of thorn with berries on it floated near, and a staff artificially carved, came upon the waters to testify of human habitations near. Such unmistakable signs of land close by hushed the voice of rebellion, and the tigers became as meek as lambs. After the vesper hymn to the Virgin had been sung at the close of twilight, as usual, Columbus addressed his crew in words of kindness and congratulation. Recounting the many blessings which they had received from God on the voyage, he assured them that a greater blessing was about to be bestowed upon them - that probably land would be seen in the morning. He enjoined them all to watch, and promised that to whosoever should first discover land should be given a doublet of velvet, in addition to the pension offered by the sovereigns.

Not an eye was closed. Eagerly every man watched far into the night. Columbus, sitting on the high poop of the Santa Maria, more eagerly than they, gazed upon the western horizon. At about ten o'clock he thought he saw the glimmer of a distant light. He called Gutierrez, gentleman of the king's bed-chamber, who was one of the private adventurers, and inquired whether he saw a light. "I do," said Gutierrez. Columbus then called Sanchez, another adventurer, and after a few minutes they all three saw it, gleaming like a torch in a fisherman's boat, rising and falling with the waves. At length, at two o'clock in the morning, whilst the vessels were continuing on their course, a gun fired on board the Pinta announced the joyful tidings that land had been seen. It was first observed by a mariner named Rodrigo de Triana, but, as Columbus had seen the lights several hours before, the award was given to the admiral. The land was clearly seen at a distance of about six miles. The vessels were laid to, and all waited impatiently for the dawn. When it came a beautiful picture was revealed. Wooded shores were in full view. The perfumes of flowers came upon the light land breeze. Birds in gorgeous plumage hovered around the vessels caroling morning hymns, which seemed like the voices of angels to the late despairing seamen. In spite of every difficulty and danger, Columbus had accomplished his object. "The great mystery of the ocean was revealed," says Mr. Irving. "His theory, which had been the scoff of sages, was triumphantly established he had secured to himself a glory as durable as the world itself."

At sunrise, Columbus and his companions landed in small boats. Many naked men and one woman, with skins of a dark copper color, who had watched the movements of the Europeans with mingled feelings of curiosity, wonder and awe, now fled in alarm to the deep shadows of the forest. The admiral, dressed in gold-embroidered scarlet cloth and bearing the royal standard, first stepped upon the shore. He was followed by the Pinzons, each carrying the white silk banner

of the expedition. It was pennon-shaped, emblazoned with a green cross, on one side of which was the letter F and on the other side the letter Y, the initials of Ferdinand and Isabella, and each was surmounted by a golden crown. When the officers and crews were all landed, the whole company knelt, kissed the earth, and with tears of joy filling their eyes, chanted the Te Deum Laudamus. Rising from the ground, Columbus displayed the royal standard, and drawing his sword, took possession of the land in the name of the sovereigns of Spain. To the island (for such it proved to be) he gave the name of San Salvador - Holy Saviour. His followers crowded around him with the most extravagant demonstrations of delight. Those who had been most insolent and mutinous were foremost in the utterance of vows of faithfulness thereafter. Each gladly took an oath of obedience to him as admiral and viceroy, and the representative of Ferdinand and Isabella. Now the triumph of Columbus was complete.

The native inhabitants had watched the approaching ships since the dawn with fear and awe, regarding them as monsters of the deep; and when they saw the white men come from them, dressed in gay colors, with shining lace and glittering armor, they supposed them to be superior beings who had come down from the skies. Each party was a wonder to the other. The naked people with dusky skins painted with a variety of colors and devices, the men without beards and both sexes having long black hair falling from their heads over their shoulders and bosoms in great profusion, were unlike any human beings of whom Columbus and his companions had ever heard. By degrees the alarm of the timid natives subsided, and they approached the Europeans giving and receiving signs of amity and good will. As the boats of the navigators moved along the shore, in an exploration of the coast of the island, the inhabitants of villages, men, women and children, ran to the beach, throwing themselves on the ground, and assuming attitudes of worship of the supposed celestial beings. They made signs for the Spaniards to land; and when they found that the boats kept on their way, many of them went into the sea and swam after them, and others followed in canoes. Believing that he was upon an island of Farther India, Columbus called these wild inhabitants Indians, a name which all the native tribes of America have since borne.

Chapter V

Columbus Discovers Cuba and San Domingo - Leaves a Colony on San Domingo - Their Conduct there - Columbus Returns to Spain - Unrighteous Ambition of Pinzon Defeated - Columbus Invited to the Court - His Brilliant Reception at Barcelona - His Audience with the Sovereigns - Columbus at the Feast Given by Cardinal Mendoza - He Makes Other Voyages and Discovers South America - He is Falsely Accused and Sent from San Domingo to Spain in Chains - Indignation of Isabella - Ingratitude and Injustice of Ferdinand - Columbus Dies in Poverty and Neglected - His Remains - A Monument to His Memory in Genoa.

THE native name of the island whereon Columbus landed was Guanahana. To the Spaniards and others it is yet San Salvador; but the English having given it the vulgar name of Cat Island, persist in calling it so. It lies about two hundred and fifty miles E.S.E. of the southern point of the peninsula of Florida, and is one of the larger of the Bahama group. After examining it, the admiral cruised among others of the same group, naming some of them. He also touched at outlying islands as he sailed southward, and on the 28th of October he saw the northern shores of Cuba. Entering a beautiful river, which he called San Salvador, he anchored, and in honor of Prince Juan (John), the son of Isabella, he named the great island Juana. But it has retained its native name of Cuba. He sailed northwesterly along its coast as far as the eastern entrance to Laguna de Moron, which was the nearest approach to the North American continent ever vouchsafed to Columbus. There he first saw a weed, the leaves of which the natives rolled into long slim packages, called tobacco, and smoked. It was the modern cigar. The Spaniards considered the habit a nauseous indulgence, and did not adopt it. They left to an Englishman, born fifty years afterward, the fame of introducing this use of tobacco to Europeans.

Columbus persuaded several of the native inhabitants of Cuba, of both sexes, to go with him to Spain, and at the middle of November he sailed in that direction. Head winds and rough weather caused him to return to Cuba. He signaled for the Pinzons to follow him. Martin Alonzo did not heed the order, and very soon the Pinta disappeared on the eastern horizon.

Early in December, Columbus saw the eastern end of Cuba, and a few days later, as he sailed toward Europe, the charming vision of beautiful Hayti, now St. or San Domingo, burst upon his sight. The country so much resembled Spain in its natural features, that he named it Hispaniola - Little Spain. On its shores he lingered with delight many days. He received an invitation from one of the leading caciques or native rulers to anchor his vessels near his residence, and whilst sailing along the coast for the purpose of casting anchor in the harbor of the friendly chief the Santa Maria was wrecked late on Christmas eve, in consequence of bad steering. Columbus and his crew took refuge on board the caravel Nina, commanded by Vincent Pinzon, where a matin hymn to the Virgin was chanted by the admiral and his followers in the morning twilight, and utterances of thanksgiving went up to God for their deliverance from great peril on that holy festival of the church. When the cacique heard of the disaster, he sent men and canoes in abundance to unload the vessel. It was soon done with willing hands, for a truly Christian spirit animated these pagans. "So loving, and tractable, and peaceable are these people," Columbus

wrote to Ferdinand and Isabella from Hispaniola afterward, that I declare to your majesties that there is not in this world a better nation or a better land. They love their neighbors as themselves. Their discourse is ever sweet and gentle, and accompanied with a smile."

Satan had entered that paradise. Many of the followers of Columbus asked permission to remain on the island. The Nina was crowded and, delighted with the idea of planting the germ of a Christian colony there, the admiral gave his consent. Of the wreck of the vessel they built a fort, which Columbus named La Navidad - the Nativity, in commemoration of their having escaped shipwreck on Christmas day. A fort What need had they of a fort among such a people Alas it was a sign of premeditated wickedness. Thirty-nine remained. Arana, the alguazil, was placed in command of them, and they were conjured by Columbus to act honestly and live united in good-fellowship. As soon as the admiral had departed, they broke every promise. Each, bent upon private gain and incited by a desire and expectation of acquiring great wealth in a short time, broke from the social tie and acted independently. The gentle natives were compelled to yield to their avarice and lust. The golden ornaments of the women were seized, and two or three of them were made wives by each of the Spaniards. Robbery and licentiousness marked every step in the career of these Europeans. They went to different parts of the island in search of reported treasures, and soon found an incarnation of retributive justice in the person of a fierce Carib chief who ruled much of Hayti, and who slew the Spaniards and burnt their fortress to ashes. These acts of the intruders were only the beginnings of similar performances, as the Spaniards colonized the West India Islands, and especially Hayti. These savage Christians made that Pagan Eden a wilderness and a land of unutterable woes, for the real Christian kindness of the so-called savages was requited by the most barbarous cruelty. Thousands of men, women, and children perished under the hardships imposed upon them as slave-workers in the fields and in mines, and many were made abject beasts of burden for the gain of their white conquerors.

Early in January, 1493, Columbus left La Navidad, in the Nina, and sailed for Spain. He soon saw the Pinta. The avaricious Pinzon had heard of a region of gold, from one of the natives, and with a desire to secure the treasure for himself he had deserted the admiral. He had returned to Hispaniola, and there heard of the shipwreck of the Santa Maria, but he did not go to the assistance of Columbus because it might interfere with his own selfish projects. The admiral would have cruised longer among the islands, but this conduct of Pinzon, and the fact that the latter had kidnaped four men and two girls for the purpose of selling them as slaves in Spain, had destroyed his confidence in that commander, and he determined to hurry home and rid himself of so undesirable a companion. The Nina's prow was turned toward Europe, and the Pinta followed.

The caravels encountered dead calms and fierce tempests on that winter voyage, and were separated. In one of these storms, Columbus, fearing the destruction of the vessels and with them the loss of all knowledge of his discoveries, placed a written narrative of his adventures in a sealed cask, and committed it to the waves. The sailors, in affright, vowed that they would if spared, attend mass in their shirts only at the first Christian church they should come to. That vow they performed at the Azores, which they reached in February. They were all saved. At dawn on the 4th of March, about eight weeks after she had left La Navidad, the Nina appeared off the rock of

Cintra at the mouth of the Tag us, in Portugal, and soon afterwards she was anchored in the waters of that river.

Columbus immediately sent a courier with a letter to Ferdinand and Isabella, in which he announced his great discovery. He also wrote a letter to John, King of Portugal, who was then at Valparaiso. That monarch sent a cavalier to Columbus with his congratulations and an invitation for the admiral to come to his court. Columbus went and was treated with distinguished attentions. A numerous train of cavaliers escorted him back to his ship. He stopped at a monastery on the way to visit John's queen, who had expressed a strong desire to see the great discoverer; and on the 13th of March he again put to sea. Two days later, at noon, the Nina entered the harbor of Palos, where the admiral was received with the greatest demonstrations of joy. It was then seven months and twelve days since he left that harbor for the regions of the unknown, and out of those mysterious regions he had brought the wonderful tidings of a new-found world.

On the evening of the same day, the Pinta sailed into the harbor of Palos. Martin Alonzo Pinzon, her commander, after she had been driven into the Bay of Biscay by a storm, had entered the port of Bayonne, and from thence had sent a letter to Ferdinand and Isabella recounting his adventures and the discoveries, hoping to gain for himself the prepossessions of the Spanish court. He also expected to be hailed at Palos with great acclamations, and to receive royal honors from his sovereigns, for he supposed Columbus was yet fighting the waves of the Atlantic, or was engulfed in their bosom. When, therefore, he saw the flag of the Nina fluttering in the breeze at Palos, and heard the praises of him whom he chose to regard as his rival, Pinzon, jealous, and fearing the admiral as his accuser, sought seclusion until the discoverer had left the port. And when an answer to his letter was received from the monarchs filled with reproaches, and forbidding him to appear at court, his heart died within him." Killed by disappointed ambition and mortified pride, the body of Martin Alonzo Pinzon was laid in the grave a few days after the reading of the royal epistle.

Columbus hastened to Seville, where he received a letter from the monarchs expressing their delight because of his great achievements, and inviting him to repair immediately to their court at Barcelona. The letter was addressed to Don Christopher Columbus, our admiral of the ocean sea, and viceroy and governor of the islands discovered in the Indies." To their presence the honored Italian hastened, taking with him six of the Indian: whom he had brought from Cuba - four young men and two beautiful maidens. Great preparations had been made for his reception, for his discoveries and the recent conquest of the Moors were regarded by the sovereigns as special indications of the favor of God. A procession was formed on a brilliant April day (such as may be seen only in Catalonia), composed of priests, nobles, and military men. In that procession, among the hidalgos, rode the admiral, richly dressed, the cynosure of every eye, preceded by music, soldiers, and brilliantly dressed Catalonian guards, and followed by the dusky natives of the West Indies. The latter wore handsomely embroidered white tunics, with jeweled bands around their heads bearing lofty plumes of gay colors, and golden circlets around their bare arms and legs. They carried birds of strange and brilliant plumage from the tropical islands. After them came the

crews of the vessels of the expedition, carrying a crown of gold sent by the friendly cacique of Hispaniola, and many curious things, such as images of stone rudely wrought a masque with eyes of gold a living alligator; palm branches with the fruit dried on them reed arrows winged with beautiful feathers, and a hundred other strange objects from those far-off lands. Over these waved the Green Cross banner which had floated over those mysterious islands of the sea; also the modest white banner of the admiral, bearing the arms which had been granted to him, namely, those of the Spanish kingdom quartered by a group of islands surrounded by billows, and inscribed with the words, in golden letters,

POR CASTILLA Y POR LEON, NUEVO MUNDO HALLO COLON: "For Castile and for Leon, Columbus has discovered a New World."

In a vast hall open to public view and access, two thrones had been erected under a rich canopy of brocade, and near them waved thirty Moorish banners captured at Granada and Malaga, trophies of the recent conquest. Seated upon these thrones, Ferdinand and Isabella waited the arrival of the discoverer. He entered among a crowd of brilliant Spanish knights, his tall and erect figure, his flowing gray hair and beard, his lofty bearing, his benignant aspect and his great deeds making him appear, as he really was, the noblest champion of them all. The sovereigns arose to receive him, when a murmur of applause burst from the lips of the haughty grandees present. The admiral net before the monarchs, when the queen bade him rise. He then asked permission to kiss the hands of Ferdinand and Isabella, who, after God, had most favored him. The boon was granted, when the admiral took his seat among the nobles, and with a clear and steady voice he recounted the chief incidents of his voyage, exhibited gold and spices, and of the productions of the country he had discovered, and then declared that all this was but the foreshadowing of greater marvels to be revealed. His words were listened to with the most profound interest. When they had ceased, the monarchs cast themselves upon their knees, and with tears coursing down their cheeks, thanked God for so great a messenger. The whole multitude followed their devout example. As they arose to their feet, the choir of the royal chapel chanted the Te Deum. Every voice in the great hall took up the words of that glorious hymn of praise, and it seemed, says Las Casas, as if in that hour, they communicated with celestial delights." The company were dismissed with the apostolic benediction by the Grand Cardinal of Spain, and the streets of Barcelona echoed and re-echoed with shouts of joy.

That Grand Cardinal of Spain, Gonzales de Mendoza, Archbishop of Toledo, who had hinted to a council that the theory of Columbus' was irreligious, was now among the first, after the monarchs, to honor him. He invited the admiral to a feast, at which were gathered some of the highest prelates and nobles of Catalonia. To the navigator he gave the seat of honor at the table, and other marks of superior distinction. These attentions to one who was so lately a poor Italian mariner excited the envy of some of the guests. A courtier present, moved by a narrow feeling of personal and national jealousy, asked the admiral whether he thought that in ease he had not discovered the Indies (which it was believed he had found), there were not men in Spain who would have been equal to the enterprise? Columbus immediately tool: an egg that was before him, and invited the courtier to make it stand on one of its ends. He could not. All the company

tried in vain to do it. Then the admiral struck the egg upon the table so as to flatten the end by a fracture and left it standing. "Any one could do that," cried the courtier. "After I have shown the way," replied the admiral. "Gentlemen," continued Columbus, "after I have shown a new way to India, nothing is easier than to follow." The courtier was answered.

After giving an account of his voyage and discoveries in a letter to Sanchez, the treasurer of Spain (which was printed), Columbus, at the request of the monarchs, immediately fitted out another expedition to continue his researches in the western seas. The harbor of Cadiz was very soon the scene of busy preparation, and late in September, 1493, the admiral left the bay with three large ships of heavy burden, and fourteen caravels, with fifteen hundred men. We will not follow him in his subsequent voyages in detail, for they have no special bearing on the history of our country. It is sufficient to say that he made three others from Spain, and that during the last but one, he discovered the continent of America. When he left Cadiz on his second voyage in the autumn of 1493, his good fortune seemed to forsake him. His followers were largely selfish adventurers who went out in search of gold and other treasures. Quarrels and mutinies followed disappointed expectations. The chief blame was laid upon the shoulders of the admiral, and he finally became a victim to the intrigues of vicious men, who, envious of his fame and dignities, sought continually to build up their own fortunes out of the ruins of his character.

Columbus sailed on his third voyage, at the close of May, 1498, with six ships, from the port of San Lucar de Barrameda, near the mouth of the Guadalquivir. Passing the Cape de Verde Islands, he proceeded toward the equator in a southwesterly direction, and then sailed due west with the trade winds, in search of a continent. Supposing Cuba to be a great cape of Asia, he believed that under the equator he would find not only the main land, but every production of nature in greater profusion, perfection, and preciousness, than elsewhere. He was not disappointed, for on the 1st of August he saw the continent, not of Asia, but of South America, near the mouth of the Orinoco River. That was not many days after Sebastian Cabot, an English navigator, discovered North America.

Columbus coasted for awhile near the shores of South America, and then, broken in health by his labors, anxieties and exposures, he sailed for his colony on Hispaniola. There he found everything in disorder; and in his efforts to bring order out of confusion, he so interfered with the selfish projects of leading adventurers there, that they determined to ruin him. Preferring malicious and false charges against him at the court of Spain, they induced the sovereigns to send out a commissioner to inquire into the causes of the difficulties. Francisco de Bobadilla was sent. He was as ambitious and as unscrupulous as any of the adventurers, and after deposing Columbus from the vice-royalty, he sent him in chains to Spain. Valleja, who was sent with the admiral as a sort of guard, and also the master of the caravel in which Columbus was conveyed, were grieved by this cruel treatment of the man whom they revered. They would have removed his irons, but Columbus would not allow them to do so. "No," he said proudly; their majesties commanded me by letter to submit to whatever Bobadilla should order in their name; by their authority he has put upon me these chains; I will wear them until they shall order them to be taken off, and I will preserve them afterwards as relics and memorials of the reward of my services." It was done. I

saw them always hanging in his cabinet," said his son and biographer, Fernando, "and he requested that when he died they might be buried with him."

When, after the arrival of the caravel at Cadiz, Isabella heard of the cruel treatment of Columbus, she was very indignant, and sent an order for his immediate restoration to liberty. The sovereigns wrote a letter to him couched in terms of affection and gratitude, expressing their grief because of his sufferings, and inviting him to the court. The people, too, were very indignant, and were loud in their denunciations of the treatment of such a benefactor of their country. When he arrived at Granada, in December, 1498, he was cordially received by the monarchs, who, disavowing the doings of Bobadilla as contrary to their instructions, promised that he should be dismissed from office. But the Spanish nobles, jealous of Columbus because he was evidently a royal favorite, persuaded the king who was dissatisfied with the apparent unproductiveness of the admiral's discoveries, not to reinstate him in the vice-royalty. Another was appointed in the place of Bobadilla. After experiencing neglect, and alternate hope and disappointment, for almost four years, whilst others were reaping the harvest of his seed-time, the admiral was entrusted with the command of a small expedition to find a passage through "the sea" now known as the Gulf of Mexico, into the Indian Ocean. He sailed with four caravels and one hundred and fifty men, early in May, 1502, and after much suffering, returned to Cadiz in November, 1504, sick and dejected. Nineteen days after his arrival, the good Queen Isabella died. She was one of the purest spirits that ever ruled over the destinies of a nation," says Mr. Irving. With her died the hopes of the admiral, for he knew how cold and calculating was the disposition of the king. That ungrateful monarch, after torturing the discoverer with the cold politeness and evasive promises for which he was noted, rejected the legal and equitable claims of Columbus to the dignities and emoluments of vice-royalty which had been secured to him by royal contract; and this great and good man, then about seventy years of age, who had given more real honor and glory to Spain than had the whole line of her kings or the families of her nobles, was allowed to pass the remnant of his days in comparative poverty and obscurity. "I have," Columbus once wrote, "no place to repair to excepting an inn, and often with nothing to pay for my sustenance." At length, when he was utterly prostrated, and hopeless of justice, death came to his relief at Valladolid on the 20th day of May, 1506, as he was uttering the words, "Lord, into thy hands I commit my spirit." His remains were put into the convent of San Francisco, where, for seven years, no stone or inscription marked the place of his burial. Then the ashamed king, when the navigator's bones were removed to a monastery in Seville, ordered a marble tomb to be placed over them with the inscription:

A CASTILLA Y A LEON, NUEVO MUNDO DIO COLON.

"To Castile and Leon, Columbus gave a New World." He "asked for bread and he gave him a stone." More indelibly than on brass or marble, is the truth of that inscription engraved on the memory of mankind.

Columbus died with full faith that although princes might neglect him and wicked men might defraud him, God and eternal justice would vindicate his honor and his fame, and that the world would pay to him the just homage due for his services. He also died in the belief that he had

discovered Farther India, and not an unknown continent; and such was the belief of all navigators and scientific men at that time.

In the year 1536, the remains of Columbus and of his son Diego, were taken to Hispaniola, and interred in the Cathedral at San Domingo. There they remained two hundred and sixty years, when, in 1796, they were conveyed with great pomp to Havana, in Cuba, where they now repose. A few years ago, a magnificent monument to the memory of Columbus, was erected in his native city of Genoa, in the center of one of its public squares, where it is surrounded by flowers and shrubbery. It is composed of Carrara marble, and is about forty feet in height. On four panels between four pedestals are represented, in relief sculpture, four great events in his life, namely, his Conference with the Council at Salamanca; the Landing in America; Presenting the Indians to Queen Isabella; and the Admiral in Chains. Upon each pedestal is a figure personifying respectively Navigation, History, Astronomy and Wisdom. On a round shaft which rises between these figures are sculptured in high relief the prows of ancient vessels. This shaft is surmounted by a slightly colossal statue of Columbus, resting his left hand on an anchor, whilst with his right hand he presents a naked Indian maiden, sitting modestly at his feet, holding in her hand a small cross upon which she is gazing intently, her head adorned with the plumage of birds. This figure represents America, and the faith of Columbus that the New World would receive the religion of Jesus Christ is indicated by the symbol of the Atonement.

In summing up the character of Columbus, Mr. Irving wrote: "In him were singularly combined the practical and the poetical. His mind had grasped all kinds of knowledge, whether procured by study or observation, which bore upon his theories impatient of the scanty alimment of the day, his impetuous ardor, as has been well observed, threw him into the study of the fathers of the church, the Arabian Jews, and the ancient geographers; while his daring but irregular genius, bursting from the limits of imperfect science, bore him to conclusions far beyond the intellectual vision of his contemporaries. If some of his conclusions were erroneous, they were at least ingenious and splendid. And their error resulted from the clouds which still hung over his peculiar path of enterprise. His own discoveries enlightened the ignorance of the age, guided conjecture to certainty, and dispelled that very darkness with which he had been obliged to struggle. It has been said that mercenary views mingled with the ambition of Columbus, and that his stipulations with the Spanish court were selfish and avaricious. The charge is inconsiderate and unjust. He aimed at dignity and wealth in the same lofty spirit in which he sought renown they were to be part and parcel of the achievement, and palpable evidence of its success they were to arise from the territories he should discover, and be commensurate in importance. No condition could be more just."

We have now traced, in brief outline, some of the principal causes which led to the discovery of America, and the chief events in the career of the great pioneer of such discovery. He demonstrated the fact that the earth is globular, and that fertile lands might be found by sailing westward from Europe across the Atlantic Ocean. Having discovered and pointed out the way to these lands, he retired, and other navigators and discoverers appeared upon the scene. The exploits of some of them, we will now consider.

Chapter VI

Henry the Seventh of England - He commissions the Cabots to Make Discoveries - Voyage and Discoveries of Sebastian Cabot - King Henry's Ambitious Designs - Cabot in Spain - Americus Vespuccius - His Pretended First Discovery of America - How, by Fraud, Our Continent was Called by His Name - The Pope's Gift of America to the Spanish Monarch - Voyages of Cortereal to Labrador and Their Results - Young Columbus in San Domingo - Discovery of Central America - Ponce de Leon's Search for the Fountain of Youth, and Discovery of Florida - Discovery of South Carolina - Cruel Treatment of Natives and Their Revenge - Attempts to Colonize Central America - The Spaniards in Cuba - Their Introduction to the Natives of that Island.

WHEN Columbus was about to leave Portugal for Spain, he sent his brother Bartholomew to England to ask assistance of the British monarch. The ship in which he sailed was robbed by pirates, but he reached England, where he appears to have lived several years. For reasons not made clear by the chroniclers, he did not apply to the monarch until about the time when his brother was on his first voyage of discovery. Henry the Seventh was then King of England. He was the first of the Tudor dynasty, of which queen Elizabeth, in whose honor our Virginia was named, was the last. He was an energetic and enlightened prince, and responded to Bartholomew's request promptly and generously. He sent him to Spain in search of his brother, and to invite him to the English court. At Paris, whilst he was on his way, the Italian heard the joyful news of the great discoveries by his brother, and of Christopher's return in triumph to Andalusia.

When King Henry heard of the marvelous success of Columbus, he felt a disappointment because he had failed to secure for his crown and country the renown and advantages which their assistance in the great achievement would have given. But he was not thereby discouraged nor deterred from assisting in further attempts at discovery, though such assistance was, at first, only a permission. By royal charter he gave to John Cabot (a Venetian merchant at Bristol), and his sons, in 1496, permission to explore any seas with five ships and as many seamen as they might choose to employ, at their own expense, to discover and occupy isles or countries of the heathen or infidels before unknown to Christians, accounting to the king for a fifth part of the profit upon their return to the port of Bristol. It was then the favorite theory of both church and state that all lands occupied by pagan or right belonged to Christians. There is no positive evidence that the Cabots took advantage of this privilege, or that any of them engaged in a voyage of discovery before the year 1498, when John Cabot was dead.

All Europe was then ringing with the fame of Columbus, and excited by the wildest stories of the marvelous discoveries by Spanish navigators. Maritime nations and seamen everywhere were crazed with a desire to be discoverers of new lands and to gather immense riches from glittering mines. Englishmen caught the infection, and their ambitious and avaricious monarch was as eager as any to wear such laurels as then graced the brows of Ferdinand and Isabella, and to hold the key of a vast treasure house. He was seeking to secure the land of a daughter of the Spanish

sovereigns for his eldest son Arthur, whose suit the cold King of Arragon repelled on pretexts of state policy. Piqued by this circumstance the proud Henry gladly promoted the English thirst for discovery, hoping by its results not only to gain riches and honor, but to either diminish the glory of his Spanish rival or win his favor by some splendid achievement in the new field of contest. So he listened with eager attention to a proposition of Sebastian, a young son of John Cabot, concerning a voyage of discovery.

Sebastian Cabot appears to have been an ardent student of geography and the kindred sciences, from early life. When he reached young manhood he was proficient in the theory and practice of the navigator's art. To him King Henry not only gave a commission to go on a voyage of discovery, but fitted out two small vessels for him, in the year 1498. The history of that event was given by Sebastian to the Pope's legate in Spain in a few quaint sentences. "When my father died," he said, "in that time when news were brought that Don Christopher Columbus, Genoese, had discovered the coast of India; whereof was great talk in all the court of King Henry the Seventh, who then reigned, insomuch that all men with great admiration affirmed it to be a thing more divine than human, to sail by the west into the east where spices grew, by a way that was never known before by this fame and report, there increased in my heart a great flame of desire to attempt some notable thing. And understanding by reason of the sphere, that if I should sail by way of the northwest, I should, by a shorter tract, come into India, I therefore caused the king to be advertised of my desire, who immediately commanded two caravels to be furnished, with all things appertaining to the voyage."

All accounts of that voyage are very meager, and most of them are some- what contradictory. Sebastian Cabot had probably sailed as far as Cape Farewell, in Greenland, on trading voyages in his father's ships, and knew of the cold, icy sea beyond. Now he voyaged in the same direction, hoping to make a passage to India during the warm summer time. Leaving Bristol in May, 1498, with the two caravels and a full supply of men, he sailed to the northwest until the ice pack in Davis' Straits barred the way. Turning southward, he discovered land late in June or early in July, which he named Prima Vista - First View. Whether this was the northern shores of Newfoundland, or the continent on the coast of Labrador, near Cape Charles, cannot be determined. Unlike Lief the Northman, who sailed southward after seeing the land, Cabot turned northward in search of a passage to Cathay, and followed the coast of the continent almost to the sixtieth degree of north latitude, when the ice would permit him to go no further. Although it was then about mid-summer, the weather was very cold and seeing no prospect of an open sea further northward, Cabot sailed back, discovered a large island which he called New-found-land - Newfoundland - and observed the immense numbers of codfishes which have continued to fill the waters there ever since. He divulged this secret to Europe after his return, and within five or six years thereafter fishermen from England, Brittany and Normandy were off Newfoundland gathering these treasures of the sea. Leaving Newfoundland, Cabot coasted as far as the shores of Maine, and some writers think no farther; but if the reports of his conversation with Butrigarius, the Pope's legate, be true, he went as far as the Carolinas. "There," he said to that functionary, "my victuals failing, I departed from thence and returned into England, where I found great tumults among the people and preparations for wars in Scotland, by reason whereof there

was no more consideration had to this voyage. Whereupon I went into Spain, to the Catholic king."

Henry was then struggling for his throne against righteous claimants. Ferdinand refused to give his daughter in marriage to Arthur whilst these claimants existed. The unscrupulous Tudor beheaded two of them in the tower, and eagerly depressed and despoiled the old nobility who were adherents of the fallen house of York, his rival. "These things caused the tumults among the people," mentioned by Cabot. "The king's eagerness to enrich himself by despoiling that old nobility; the agreement of Ferdinand to bestow his daughter Catharine upon Arthur, and the failure of Cabot to bring back gold from America, all caused the monarch to give no more consideration to this voyage." Prince Arthur died soon after the nuptials, and Catharine became the unfortunate wife of Henry VIII.

The discovery of North America, by young Cabot, then only twenty-one years of age, had conferred more immortal honor upon the English monarch and the English nation, than all the royal affiliations and the heaping up of gold. He was a native of England, and had opened a pathway for his countrymen to a new continent. But he was neglected by his king, and he finally went into the service of the Spanish sovereign whose daughter was then the wife of the monarch of England. On the death of Ferdinand, he was so annoyed by the jealousies of the Spanish nobles, that he returned to his native country, and not long afterward we find him on another voyage in search of a northwest passage to the Indian Seas. He penetrated to Hudson's Bay, and after fighting the ice-pack there, he returned to England discomfited, and never made another voyage to the coasts of North America. The successor of Ferdinand invited him back to Spain, and made him chief pilot of the realm. After several voyages, in one of which he made researches along the southeastern coast of South America, he, in his old age, resigned his office into the hands of the Spanish monarch, and returned to his native land. There he was highly honored and liberally pensioned by the "boy-king," Edward the Sixth. Queen Mary, whose husband was a son of the Spanish monarch whose third invitation to return to Spain was rejected by Cabot, neglected the eminent navigator, and he was allowed to die in comparative poverty, in the town of his birth (Bristol) [Venice], when he was eighty years of age. His happy temperament, which made him always cheerful, was displayed the year before his death, when he danced at an assembly of young seamen with all the vivacity of youth.

The name of Americus Vespuccius or Amerigo Vespucci, as the Spaniards call him, appears prominent in history as one of the discoverers of America. He has no valid title to that distinction. Proofs accumulate as investigations proceed, which show conclusively that he was the author or abettor of a stupendous historical fraud by which Columbus was cheated out of the honor of having his name given to this continent.

Vespuccius first appears in history as a mercantile agent of the Medici family of Florence, first in Barcelona and soon afterward in Seville, in Spain. He was then about forty years of age, having been born in Florence in 1451. In Seville he was actively engaged in furnishing supplies for ships fitting out for exploring and mercantile expeditions. In that capacity he had much

personal intercourse with Columbus, whilst the admiral was preparing the large fleet for his second voyage. The narratives of the great Genoese inspired Vespuccius with a strong desire to make a mercantile venture in a voyage to the new-found world, and he had ambitious dreams of becoming a discoverer likewise. He studied geography and the kindred sciences, to fit himself for such an expedition; and when, in May, 1499, Alonzo de Ojedo sailed from Port St. Mary, opposite Cadiz, with four ships, following the southern route of Columbus to South America, Vespuccius accompanied him simply as an adventurer and self-constituted geographer. They discovered mountains in South America, when off the coast of Surinam, and then ran along the continent to the island of Trinidad, which Columbus had named the year before. Thence they cruised along the coasts and islands of Venezuela, and crossing the Caribbean Sea, touched at Hispaniola. Proceeding towards Spain, they engaged in kidnaping the natives of the Antilles, and in June, 1500, entered the port of Cadiz, the four vessels crowded with captives who were sold as slaves to the Spanish grandees.

Vespuccius, who seems to have been a shrewd, audacious, and unscrupulous man, immediately sent an account of the discoveries, in a letter, to one of the Medici family, assuming for himself the credit of that discovery and in order to establish his claim to first discoverer of the American continent, he antedated the time of the commencement of the voyage, making it in 1497, the year before Columbus and Cabot made their respective discoveries, and saying that the expedition was absent from Spain twenty-five months. To this statement, the learned and conscientious Charlevoix says: "Ojeda, when judicially interrogated, gave the lie direct." Herrera, an early Spanish historian, accuses Vespuccius of "falsifying the dates of two voyages in which he was engaged, and of confounding the one with the other, in order that he might arrogate to himself the glory of having discovered the continent."

Vespuccius in other letters, told of other voyages and great discoveries which he had made whilst in the service of the King of Portugal, but contemporary navigators and chroniclers made no mention of them. They were probably fictions of the boastful Florentine who had become expert in the construction of charts, and was familiar with the details of the numerous exploring voyages made from Spain and Portugal in his day. Finally, when Columbus was dead and no voice of accusation or denial could escape his lips, these letters of Vespuccius, giving an account of his pretended voyages and discoveries, were published at St. Diey, in Lorraine, and dedicated to the reigning duke of that country, which was then, as now, a German province. In that publication the name of America, as applied to our continent, was used. For this Vespuccius is responsible. It is possible that the letters themselves were forgeries, and that Vespuccius was not blameable for their publication; but he became an abettor in the fraud by not repudiating them. They were published in 1507, the year after the death of Columbus and four years before that of the Florentine.

That Vespuccius is responsible for the fraud involved in giving his name to the newly-discovered continent, seems clear from other circumstances. He was in communication with a learned German schoolmaster and cosmographer, named Woldseemuler, who pedantically transformed his name (Wood-lake-miller) into the Greek one of Hylacomylus. He was a

correspondent of the Academy of Cosmography which the Duke of Lorraine had established at Strasburg, and at the request or suggestion of Vespuccius he proposed to the members of that academy, under whose auspices the letters of Americus were published, the name of America for the western continent. At about the same time Hylacomylus issued at St. Diey a little work entitled "Cosmographie Rudimenta," in which it was proposed to name the continent America. He took an active part in the publication of the letters of his friend, and he may be regarded as the chief perpetrator of the fraud with Vespuccius as the accessory, at least, because he sanctioned it by his silence. "Considering the intimacy of the two parties," says the learned Viscount Santarem, "there is no doubt that the geographer was guided by the navigator in what he did." Referring to the honor so conferred on Americus Vespuccius, the late Dr. Francis Lieber wrote to the author of this history: "Ethically speaking, there has never been erected a monument so magnificent, enduring and cruelly unjust; as if the Madonna di Sisto were not called by Raphael's name but by that of the man who framed it first." It is probably too late now, after centuries of use, to correct the injustice by changing the name of America. Washington, with his usual clear conception of right, did justice to Columbus by giving to the territory in which the seat of our national government was permanently established, the name of the District of Columbia. Although Cabot probably discovered the continent a few days before Columbus touched the shores of South America, he is not entitled to the honor of giving his name to our continent. Voltaire justly declared: "The glory of having discovered the New World undoubtedly belongs to him who had the genius and courage to undertake the first voyage." Newton observed: "Those who follow are only disciples." Cabot was a noble disciple.

Many other voyages in search of new lands and great treasures, which were made from Spain at the beginning of the sixteenth century, had no immediate relation to the history of our country, and we will pass them by unnoticed. Others had a direct or indirect connection with further discoveries and final settlements in this region of the world, and these we will consider.

When the discoveries of Columbus were made known, the King of Portugal felt a strong desire to send out a similar expedition at the expense of the crown. But the Spanish monarchs had, with wise sagacity, obtained from Pope Alexander the Sixth (the pontiff who, by accident, took a fatal draught from a poisoned bowl which he had prepared for another), the gift of all lands that lay three hundred leagues westward of the Azores and the Portuguese sovereign dared not interfere with these rights of Spain. But when the news of Cabot's discovery of a continent in the northwest, reached Lisbon, King Emanuel the Great, immediately fitted out two caravels for a voyage toward that continent, and placed them under the command of Gaspar Cortereal. He was a gentleman of enterprising and determined character, who had been reared in the household of the Portuguese monarch, and ardently thirsted for glory. He first touched the northern extremity of Newfoundland, and, it is believed, discovered the Gulf of St. Lawrence. He went up the coast of Labrador almost to Hudson's Bay, discovering nothing of importance not already seen by Cabot. The natives appeared to him rugged and strong, and capital subjects for slaves so he seized fifty-nine of them, carried them on board his vessels, and with this living treasure he returned to Portugal. There he made a profitable sale of his captives. "They are extremely fitted to endure labor," wrote the Venetian ambassador at the Portuguese court, "and will probably turn out the

best slaves which have been discovered up to this time."

The profits of this voyage excited the cupidity of Cortereal and his king, and they determined to engage in an active slave-trade with Laborador (Labrador), so named because of the admirable qualities of the natives as laborers. Cortereal went on a second voyage in 1501, and was lost at sea. His brother Michael went in search of him and was never heard of afterward. The king sent a ship to search for the brothers, but no tidings of them were brought back. These disasters frustrated the cruel designs of the slave-traders, and the Portuguese monarch sought to win glory for his favorite and his crown, by claiming that Cortereal was not only the first discoverer of Newfoundland, but that he was the first to see the continent in that region. In a Portuguese map published in 1508, the coast of Labrador is called Terra Corterealis or Cortereal's Land and in support of the claim that he was the first discoverer of it, maps were actually forged. But all efforts to deprive Cabot of that honor failed.

The new-found continent at once became an object of great interest and attraction to adventurers of every kind, and a thirst for gold occasioned the fitting out of expeditions for further discoveries on the coasts of the main north and west of Hispaniola. That island, where the first Spanish settlements were made, became the center of operations in the seas around, and on the coasts of the adjacent main after its complete subjection to Castilian rule. Don Diego Columbus, the son and successor of the admiral, was appointed governor, and there, with pomp and ceremony, he and his vice-queen held a sort of court which spread a halo of romance around that West Indian empire. Diego had married a daughter of the renowned Duke of Alva, and in June, 1509, had sailed from San Lucar with his wife, his brother Don Fernando who had grown to manhood and was well educated, and his two uncles. They were accompanied by a numerous retinue of cavaliers with their wives, and young ladies of rank and family who were more distinguished for high blood than riches. The latter were adventurers also - sent out to find rich husbands among the settlers in Hispaniola. They were successful, for all of them were soon married to the wealthiest colonists, and refined the rude manners which prevailed among them.

Not long after Diego's arrival Juan Ponce, commonly known as Ponce de Leon, who had borne a conspicuous part in the subjugation of Hispaniola, as a military commander, was appointed by the king governor of Porto Rico, a large island east of Hayti. Distinguished in the wars with the Moors, and a companion of Columbus in his second voyage, Juan Ponce was regarded with reverence by many, for his locks were white with age, and he had a noble Castilian lineage. He was then an old man animated with the ambitions of youth and he was still seeking renown and wealth. The enjoyment of life had ever been an exquisite pleasure to him, and his desire to prolong his earthly existence in vigor was intense. That desire made him readily believe the marvelous tales told by some of the natives, of crystal waters flowing from living springs among the Bahama Islands, or on the coast of a beautiful country near them, in which he who bathed would be instantly endowed with immortal youth and great beauty. They told him that these fountains of youth were among magnificent trees which bore golden fruit, where the air was perpetually laden with the most exquisite perfume of flowers, and that these fruits were gathered and given to strangers by beautiful maidens. Here was the old story of the Gardens of the

Hesperides in another form, which Hesiod said lay beyond the bright ocean." Ponce dreamed of these gardens, their fountains, their golden fruit and the beautiful maidens, until he could no longer repress his desire to go in search of them. So, at the beginning of spring in 1512 - a month after Vespuccius expired at Seville - he sailed from Porto Rico for the Bahamas, with ships fitted out at his own expense. On reaching the group, he went from island to island tasting of and bathing in every stream and lake that met his vision. Finally, disappointed but not disheartened, he extended his researches in a northwesterly direction. A few days afterwards, west winds brought the delicious perfumes of flowers. The heart of the old cavalier leaped with joy and hope. Soon a long line of wooded shores were in view, and as he drew near, Ponce saw lofty trees (magnolias) whose marvelous blossoms were tinting the forest, and burdening the air with their delicate fragrance. He believed he was on the borders of the fabled paradise.

It was Easter morning when Ponce and his companions landed near the site of St. Augustine, on the southeastern borders of our Republic. After he and his followers had chanted a joyous hymn commemorative of the resurrection of Jesus, he took possession of the great island, as he supposed it to be, in the name of the sovereign of Castile. Because of its wealth of flowers, some say, or because he first saw the land on Palm Sunday (Pascua Florida), as others tell us, he gave to the country the name of Florida, now one of the States of our Union. Among its forests and savannahs he sought in vain for the miraculous Fountain of Youth and Beauty, exciting the suspicions of the natives. Then he cruised along its shores, doubled Cape Canaveral, and struggling with the Gulf Stream, sailed southward until he became entangled in a group of small islands abounding with huge turtles. This group he called the Tortugas - the Turtles - their present name. On another group he discovered only a single inhabitant - an old Indian woman - who was not a realization of his dream of beautiful maidens in the gardens of the Hesperides. He took the wrinkled hermitess with him, hoping that she might tell him where among the Bahamas he should find the Bimini, the beautiful island with the miraculous fountain. After buffeting the elements for several days, Ponce transferred the old woman to the ship of Ortubia, one of his trusted captains, who was instructed to pursue the search. Then he returned to Porto Rico, an older if not a wiser man. He had not secured for himself immortal youth, but he had won the immortal honor of being the discoverer of Florida, a part of the North American continent before unknown.

Ortubia soon arrived at Porto Rico. The old woman had guided him to Bimini, where he found beautiful groves and sparkling springs and limpid streams, but not one of the waters could restore to an old man the vernal greenness of his youth. So Ponce turned his thoughts to more practical subjects. Returning to Spain a few months later, he told the sovereigns of the beautiful land he had discovered, and received the appointment of Governor of Florida on condition that he should plant a colony there. This was not attempted until several years afterward. He had been moping in disappointment at Porto Rico, after an unsuccessful expedition against the Caribs, until he was assured that Florida was not an island, but a part of the continent. Then ambitious desires moved his sluggish heart, and the brilliant achievements of Cortez in the west, aroused the slumbering energies of the old cavalier. With nearly all of his wealth in two ships, he sailed from Porto Rico in 1521, and landed on the shores of Florida, not far from where he had first

discovered that land, to prepare for founding a colony there. He was met by a crowd of natives who had gathered near the beach with bows and arrows and long javelins, to defend their land from the intrusion of the pale faces, for they had lately been taught, by the bitter experience of their neighbors, to look upon them as children of the Evil Spirit. A sharp battle ensued. Several of the Spaniards were killed, and Ponce de Leon, badly wounded in his thigh, was carried on board his ship and conveyed to Cuba., where he died. Upon his tomb was written the following inscription, in Latin:

IN THIS SEPULCHER REST THE BONES OF A MAN WHO WAS LION BY NAME
AND STILL MORE BY NATURE.

Meanwhile, the avarice of the Spaniards in Hayti had been greatly excited by the reports of a mariner who had accidentally visited the coast near the entrance to the Savannah River, where the natives presented him with gold and pearls. He also represented the masculine natives as athletic and fine looking. A commercial company was soon formed in Hayti to visit that country to obtain gold and slaves. Luke Vasquez D'Allyon, a wealthy colonist who owned extensive mines in Hayti, was at the head of the company. His chief object in the movement was to obtain slaves to work in his mines, for cruelty had almost exterminated the native men of the island. With two ships he sailed in a northwesterly direction in the year 1520, and arrived on the coast of South Carolina through St. Helen's Sound. The natives, believing the ships were sea-monsters, crowded the shores in wonderment. When they saw clothed and bearded men come out of them, they fled to the woods in alarm. Two of them were caught and carried on board D'Allyon's ship, where they were feasted, dressed in Spanish costume, and sent back. Their appearance so pleased their sachem, that he sent fifty of his subjects to the vessels with fruits and provisions. When the Spaniards took long excursions through the forests, he sent men with them as guides and servants. In some of these excursions they were presented with gold and silver, and pearls; and they were everywhere entertained with the kindest hospitality. They were rudely feasted and were as rudely serenaded with the music of the pipe and drum. Dancing-girls afforded amusement for them, and they departed with pontifical blessings from the dwellings of chiefs and sachems.

Having fully "spied out the land" of this simple people, and being ready for departure, D'Allyon invited a large number of the native men to a feast on his ships, and to engage in traffic. Having finished the trade, they were invited below, where they were well fed, and filled with strong wine. When all were made stupid by intoxication, the hatches of the ships were closed and the deluded men were carried away captive. Many died from vexation and starvation, for they refused to take food. One of the ships was foundered at sea, and Spaniards and captives were all lost. The less fortunate captives were taken to Hayti, where D'Allyon, deaf to the voices of mercy, humanity and justice, made them slaves. The story of this perfidy and wickedness spread rapidly from lip to lip along the coast, even so far as the region of St. Augustine, and it aroused the natives to those acts of defense and revenge, which resulted in the wounding of Juan Ponce de Leon, and the expulsion of his followers from the land, the next year.

Instead of being punished for his crime against mankind, D'Allyon was rewarded as a

discoverer of new lands, when he visited the court of Spain soon afterwards. He was also appointed chief magistrate of the province of Chicora, as the native South Carolinians called their country; and he was vested with authority to plant a colony there. Under this commission he fitted out three ships at Hayti, and with the mariner Miruela, who first saw the coast near the mouth of the Savannah River, he sailed for Chicora, and passing through St. Helen's Sound reached the continent near the mouth of the Combahee. There he opened traffic with the natives, who seemed to be indifferent to his crime, and when he had finished trading he proceeded to plant his colony on an island in the waters of Port Royal Sound, near the site of the present town of Beaufort, South Carolina.

A part of D'Allyon's company had landed and prepared to lay the foundation of a town, when a deputation came from the sachem of the Combahee and invited the Spaniards to a great feast at his village at the mouth of that river. About two hundred of them went to the banquet, and were treated with the most friendly hospitalities. For three days and three nights the feast went on, and at the end of it, whilst the guests were soundly sleeping, the Indians fell upon and massacred the whole of them. They had fully matched the treachery of the pale-faces, but they were not satisfied. Hastening to the site of the projected town, they slew many there. Some of the Spaniards escaped to the ships. Among them was D'Allyon, who, badly wounded, died soon afterward. Retributive justice had overtaken him on the theater of his great crime. So perished the first germ of a settlement of Europeans that was planted in the soil of our present domain.

In the meantime, the Spaniards had been making explorations and conquests westward of Hispaniola or Hayti. In the year 1502, as we have already observed, Columbus had sailed from Cadiz with four ships, to search for a passage to the Indian Seas through the Gulf of Mexico, accompanied by his brother Bartholomew and his young son Fernando. He arrived in the Caribbean Sea in June and soon afterward he discovered the coast of Central America, which he explored from the Isthmus of Darien far up the shores of Nicaragua.

The region of Central America King Ferdinand divided into two provinces, in 1509, and prepared to plant colonies there. One of these provinces he placed under the command of the navigator Ojeda, and the other under Diego de Nicuesa. Late in the autumn Ojeda sailed from Hayti, accompanied by Pizarro, who afterward became the energetic and cruel conqueror of Peru. Hernando Cortez, who was afterward the savage conqueror of Mexico, would have sailed with Ojeda, had not a violently inflamed eye prevented. Ojeda was also accompanied by some friars whose chief business at the outset seems to have been the reading aloud to the natives, in the Latin language, a proclamation by the Spanish leader which had been prepared by learned divines in Spain. It declared that God who made them all, had given in charge of one man, named Saint Peter, who had his seat at Rome, all the nations of the earth with all the lands and seas on the globe; that his successors at Rome called Popes, were endowed in the same way by God; that one of them had given to the Spanish monarchs all the islands and continents in the Western Ocean that all natives yet found had given cheerful submission to whatever the soldiers and priests required of them, and that the natives of the land before him were expected to do the same. In the event of their willing submission, he promised them many favors. "If you do not this," he said, "or

wickedly and intentionally delay to do so, I certify to you, that, by the aid of God, I will powerfully invade and make war upon you in all parts and modes that I can, and will subdue you to the yoke and obedience of the Church and his majesty; and I will take your wives and children and make slaves of them, and sell them as such, and dispose of them as his majesty may command; and I will take your effects, and will do you all the harm and injury in my power, as vassals who will not obey or receive their sovereign, and who resist and oppose him. And I protest that the deaths and disasters which may in this manner be occasioned, will be the fault of yourselves, and not of his majesty, nor of me, nor of these cavaliers who accompany me."

This infamous proclamation which justified murder and robbery under the sanction of that religion the chief attributes of which are justice, benevolence and mercy, was adopted as the formula, and indicated the spirit of the Spanish invaders of America afterwards. Although read aloud by the friars, the pagans could not understand a word of it. The Christians did not expect them to understand it. Their offices were fulfilled when the Latin words had gone into the ears of their dusky listeners. The consequences must be borne by the wondering heathen!

Delay in making a willing submission was speedily followed by violence. The natives were attacked by the intruders and some of them were killed. Some were sent captive to the ships. Ojeda, apprehending no danger, permitted his followers who were on shore to roam in quest of booty. He was mistaken. The outraged Indians gathered stealthily and attacked the Spaniards furiously with poisoned arrows. Ojeda and a few soldiers took refuge in a small cabin, where all but himself were slain. He was a small man and found shelter from a shower of arrows under his buckler for awhile, when he sprang from his covert like a tiger and, cutting his way through the multitude uninjured, he found shelter and concealment among the matted roots of mango trees at the wooded base of a mountain. There he was found by his followers, almost dead with fatigue and hunger, and was carried to his ship.

At this juncture Nicuesa appeared with his squadron. The two governors soon agreed upon a plan of operations. Four hundred men and some horses were landed, and all started for the village of the Indians, which they desolated with fire and sword. No quarter was given to age or sex. Men, women and children were slain with weapons or perished in the burning cabins. Having gathered much spoil, the governors parted, Nicuesa for his prescribed province, and Ojeda for another part of his, for he would not attempt to plant a colony on the scene of his disaster.

The wants of his followers caused Ojeda to sail for Hayti for supplies. His crew rebelled and put him in irons, but when a great storm arose, they released him for the sake of mutual safety. The vessel stranded on the southern shores of Cuba which was then under native rule, and a place of refuge for the unhappy inhabitants of Hispaniola. The shipwrecked mariners suffered dreadfully in morasses, and more than half of them perished. They feared the natives and tried to avoid them but hunger made the survivors bold, and a part of them, led by Ojeda, followed a path into an Indian village. The pagans there treated the suffering Christians with the most tender care and unstinted hospitality. The cacique sent men with provisions to hunt up survivors in the morasses; and when Ojeda departed, he sent guides and servants to conduct the Spaniard and his

companions to a part of the island nearest Jamaica, on which his countrymen had lately settled. To that island Ojeda was taken, and thence to Hispaniola, where he died. At his own request his body was buried at the portal of the Cathedral of San Francisco. He chose that spot that every one who passed the portal might tread upon his grave." So he sought to expiate his crimes by such post-mortem or after-death humiliation.

The natural kindness of the Cubans was requited the following year (1516) in the usual way. The Spaniards of Hayti, inflamed by Ojeda's account of the wealth of Cuba, conquered it, and there established the horrid social and political system which had made Hispaniola a land of mourning for its native inhabitants. The pious Ojeda had planted a germ of the Church in Cuba, and so gave the pagans there, as he believed, an equivalent for any disabilities which they might suffer under Spanish rule. In his distress he had made a vow to the Virgin, that if she should deliver him from the great peril, he would build a chapel in the first Indian village he might find, and over its altar place a precious little Flemish painting of the Sacred Mother, which he carried with him, and leave it there. He did so. The character and attributes of the Virgin, as the mother of God who rules the universe, he explained to the simple-minded cacique and his people, who, at the outset, were taught to revere the picture as a blessing from the skies. They kept the chapel swept clean made votive offerings; composed couplets to the Virgin and sang them with accompaniments of instrumental music, as they danced in the groves around the sacred place; and in other similar ways they commended themselves to their pious conquerors as hopeful converts to Christianity. So it was that the Christian religion was introduced into Cuba nearly four centuries ago.

Chapter VII

The Spaniards on the Isthmus of Darien - Their Cruel Treatment of the Natives - Story of the Discovery of the Pacific Ocean, by Vasco Nunez de Balboa - He Takes Possession of it in the Name of the Spanish Monarchs - Tidings of Peru - Death of Nunez - Cuba Conquered - Hernando Cortez - Story of the Conquest of Mexico - Capture of its Capital - Destruction of Idols - Attempted Conquest of Florida by Narvaez - Dreadful Sufferings of that Leader and His Followers - Their Destruction.

THE Pacific Ocean, whose waters lave the western shores of our Republic along a distance, as a bird flies, of sixteen degrees of latitude, from San Diego on the south to Cape Flattery on the north, was discovered by one of the Spanish adventurers who accompanied the expedition under Nicuessa, to the coasts of Central America. That discoverer was Vasco Nunez de Balboa, an active and energetic young man of noble lineage but of small fortune, who crossed the Atlantic to the West Indies in search of wealth, in the year 1501. On Hispaniola he had acquired a moderate competence, but having fallen in debt, he escaped his creditors by being carried in a cask (supposed to contain provisions) on board a ship commanded by the Bachelor Enciso, one of Nicuessa's lieutenants. When the vessel was fairly out at sea, Nunez came from his cask. Enciso, astonished, and angry because of the deception, threatened to leave him on the first uninhabited island they should discover, but Nunez succeeded in pacifying his commander and gaining his friendship.

At Carthagina, Enciso was joined by Pizarro, who had been left by Ojeda in charge of the remnant of his colony. With that remnant, much wasted by sickness, hunger, and the arrows of the natives, he was making his way back to Hispaniola, in a brigantine. He was persuaded by Enciso to remain and return with him in the place of Pizarro's departure. They were about to weigh anchor when they heard of a province called Zenu, lying at the westward, whose mountains they were told abounded with the precious metals, and where there was an ancient cemetery in which, for centuries, the Indians had been buried with all their golden ornaments. Enciso determined to hasten to that country, dig treasures from the mountains and sack the sepulchres, for he felt no compunction at the idea of rifling the graves of pagans. The whole expedition sailed for the coast of Zenu, where they were met by two caciques and many armed followers, who opposed the invasion of the Spaniards. Then Enciso caused the formula used by Ojeda to be read and interpreted to the caciques, expounding the nature of God, the supremacy of the Pope and the light of Roman Catholic sovereigns to all the lands by virtue of a grant from the occupant of the papal chair at Rome. The caciques courteously listened to the Spaniards, and then one of them said: "No doubt there is only one God, but the Pope must have been drunk to give away what was not his own, and the King of Spain must have been crazy to ask from him what belonged to others. We are lords of these lands and want no other sovereign, and if this king should come to take possession, we would cut off his head and put it on a pole."

Enciso attacked and defeated the Indians, but in rifling the tombs of their ancestors, he did not find sufficient treasure to assuage his grief at the loss of two of his men who had perished by

poisoned arrows. He now proceeded to the seat of Ojeda's colony, where he found the fort and cabins erected there in ruins. Nunez, who had been there before, with another adventurer guided Enciso to a village on the bank of a river which the natives called Darien, and there the seat of government was established, after expelling the natives. Discontents soon arose among the Spaniards, and Nunez taking advantage of them, succeeded in having Enciso deposed and himself made chief magistrate. When Nicuessa came to assume chief command, the colonists, under the influence of Nunez, refused their allegiance to him, and the usurper became governor. He expelled Nicuessa from the country, who, with a few followers, embarked by vessel for Hispaniola, and were never heard of afterwards. Enciso, seeing no chance for the recovery of his power whilst the energetic usurper lived, returned to Spain with feelings of revenge.

Nunez was soon joined by two Spaniards who, to avoid punishment, had fled from Nicuessa's ship and found refuge and the kindest treatment with Careta, the cacique of Coyba. They requited this hospitality of the pagan chief by advising Nunez to attack Careta in his dwelling, where he would find immense booty. The governor prepared to do so. One of the Spaniards returned to Careta to assist Nunez in his betrayal, and the (the as guide to the invaders. Nunez was kindly received by the cacique and his people, and departed with presents. He halted a little way from the village, and when the Indians were all asleep, he led his men into the town at midnight and made Careta, his wives and children and many of his people captives. With them and a considerable booty, the treacherous Nunez returned to Darien, when the good cacique, distressed at his situation, said: "What have I done to thee that thou shouldst treat me thus cruelly? None of thy people ever came to my land that were not fed, and sheltered, and treated with loving-kindness. When thou camest to my dwelling did I meet thee with a javelin in my hand and welcome thee as a brother? Did I not set meat and drink before thee? Set me free, therefore, with my family and people, and we will remain thy friends. We will supply thee with provisions, and reveal to thee the riches of the land. Dost thou doubt my faith? Behold my daughter! I give her to thee as a pledge of my friendship. Take her for thy wife, and be assured of the fidelity of her family and her people."

Careta's daughter was young and beautiful. Nunez was deeply impressed by her charms. He granted the prayer of Careta, took his daughter to be his wife according to the usages of her country, and becoming very fond of her, she soon acquired great influence over him. He assisted Careta in wars against his enemies, and they became fast friends. Whilst visiting a powerful cacique, a friendly neighbor of Careta, Nunez was told by the son of that chief that beyond the mountains toward which he pointed: was a mighty sea that could be discovered from the summits of the great hills; that the sea was navigated by vessels almost as large as the Spanish brigantines and equipped like them with sails and oars; that the rivers which flowed down from the southern slopes of the mountains abounded with gold, and that there was a country further southward, bordering on that great sea, where the kings ate and drank out of golden vessels, and that gold was as plentiful there as iron was among the Spaniards.

This information seemed like a revelation from heaven beaming into the mind of Nunez. He felt a sudden impulse to abandon his wayward life, and an ambition to be ranked among the great

discoverers of his age. If he could first see that mighty ocean and the precious rivers and the country where its kings ate and drank out of golden vessels, he would surely be elevated to fame and fortune. He eagerly inquired how the summits of the mountains and the borders of that sea might be reached. "You will have to fight your way to the top and down their slopes, and through the plains beyond, with powerful caciques and brave warriors," said the young man. "You will need at least a thousand men, armed like those who follow you."

Nunez hastened back to Darien to make preparations for his journey. His thoughts were wholly occupied with plans for the discovery of the great sea beyond the mountains. He pondered the subject when awake and it gave color and shape to his night-dreams. With gold of the value of fifteen thousand crowns which he sent to Don Diego Columbus, in Hispaniola, to be forwarded to the king as the royal share of the winnings in Central America, he sent an appeal to that officer for aid in men and provisions, to enable Nunez to fight his way across the isthmus. Whilst awaiting an answer he made several expeditions from Darien, and everywhere he heard the story of the great sea beyond the mountains. Finally, one hundred and fifty armed men, with ample supplies, arrived at Darien from Hispaniola, and Nunez determined to march for the mountain summits. With one hundred and ninety men and a number of bloodhounds, he made his way to Coyba, where Careta furnished him with guides and Indian warriors and on the 6th of September, 1513, the expedition set off for the great hills which loomed up in the southern horizon. They fought their way victoriously, spreading terror among the natives by their guns, which, to the Indians, seemed like demons vomiting lightning and thunder.

At ten o'clock in the morning of the 26th of September, Nunez and his followers emerged from a thick forest high up in the mountain range. Only sixty-seven of his Spanish soldiers now remained, who were able to climb that rugged height. The bald rocky summit alone remained to be ascended. Commanding his followers to halt, and not a man to stir from his place, he climbed to that summit, when the glorious apparition of a broad sea burst upon his vision. It seemed to him that a new and unknown world, separated from the known by the lofty mountain barrier on which he stood, had been unfolded to him. It was even so. Overcome by mingled feelings of awe and joy, he fell upon his knees and fervently poured out his thanks to God for permitting him to be the first of Europeans to discover that mighty sea. He then shouted to his followers to come up; and when they had gathered around him on that breezy height, and beheld the sea stretching out interminably, he exhorted them to be faithful to him and valorous in the conquests of rich heathen lands before them, and so give glory to God and their king and win riches for themselves. They embraced their leader and made vows of fidelity to him even unto death. Then they chanted the Te Deum Laudamus. So it was that the Pacific Ocean was discovered by Vasco Nunez de Balboa. It was called by him the South Sea, but Magellan, who sailed into it through the straits which bear his name, a few years later, called it the Pacific Ocean, because its waters were far less turbulent than those of the Atlantic which he had just crossed.

Nunez now called all of his followers to witness the fact that he took possession of that sea, with all its coasts and islands, in the name of the sovereigns of Spain and the notary drew up a testimonial to that effect, which the leader and his sixty-seven warriors signed. Then a tree was

cut down and wrought into a cross and on the spot where Nunez first saw the ocean, it was planted with solemn religious ceremonies, whilst the Indians looked on in wonder, not comprehending the meaning of the sacred symbol nor the significance of the act. It marked the subjugation of their land by an avaricious race.

Descending the mountains on their southern sides, Nunez and his followers made their way to the sea. As the tide came flowing in upon the sandy beach, the leader took a banner on which the Virgin and Child were painted, and under them the arms of Castile and Leon. Then drawing his sword and throwing his buckler over his shoulder, he marched into the water, uncovered his knees, and waving his banner he with a loud voice again proclaimed that he took possession of that sea and its islands, in the name of the sovereigns of Spain. A testimonial to that effect was again signed by all, and the conquest was regarded as complete. After that Nunez made voyages along the coast of the Pacific, and heard tidings of the rich kingdom of Peru, where the Incas or monarchs ate and drank out of vessels of gold. That kingdom, then eminent for its civilization, was afterward conquered by Pizarro, with circumstances of great cruelty and wickedness. Vasco Nunez de Balboa, falsely accused of traitorous intentions by his jealous rival and successor, Davila, was beheaded at Acla, in Central America, by order of that officer, in 1517, when he was in the forty-second year of his age.

At about the time when Central America was first colonized, Cuba was conquered by three hundred Spaniards under Diego Velasquez: who had been sent from Hispaniola for the purpose, by Don Diego Columbus, in 1511. Hernando Cortez, destined to make a conspicuous figure in history, accompanied the expedition, and was made the chief magistrate of Santiago, the Spanish capital of the island. He was a handsome, well educated, enterprising young man, then only twenty-six years of age, and had just married one of the young ladies who came from Spain with the Vice-Queen of Hispaniola. Cortez soon amassed a considerable fortune. He was a cruel worker of the natives in his mines. "How many of the Indians died in extracting gold for him," wrote Las Casas, "God will have kept a better account than I have."

Mexico had just been discovered by Juan de Grijalva. Cortez was sent with an expedition to conquer it. He set out from Cuba late in 1518 with five hundred and fifty Spaniards, nearly three hundred Indians, a few Negroes, thirteen horses and ten brass cannon, in ten ships, and landed on the shore of Tabasco, on the 4th of March, 1519. There he had a battle with the natives, and so terrified them with his horses and great guns that they fled in dismay. They gave him as a peace-offering, a beautiful Mexican slave girl, the daughter of a cacique, whom Cortez caused to be baptized with the name of Donna Marina. She was very intelligent, and bore a conspicuous part in the fortunes of Cortez. "Without her aid," says Arthur Helps, "his conquest of Mexico would never have been accomplished."

Pushing into the interior, Cortez was met by deputies of Montezuma, a native emperor and ruler of an empire which had existed full three hundred years. The emperor hearing of the approach of the Spaniards, sent to inquire what was their errand. "Has your king any gold?" asked Cortez. The deputies answered, "Yes." The invader replied "Let him send it to me, for I

and my companions have a complaint - a disease of the heart, which only gold can cure." This was the dreadful malady which afflicted all of the Spanish discoverers and conquerors; and the records of their search for the remedy have stained the pages of history with pictures of the most horrid crimes.

Cortez took possession of the country in the usual form, and planted the seeds of a colony on the site of Vera Cruz. He destroyed his ships to prevent malcontents among his followers returning in them and, winning to his standard several native tribes who had suffered from Montezuma's tax-gatherers, and were ready to rebel, he marched toward the Mexican capital in the month of August, over the same route which was pursued by General Scott and his conquering army more than three hundred years afterward he fought his way against overwhelming numbers who were terrified by the flashing of the armor of the Spaniards and the thunders of their cannon. The simple people regarded the invaders as divine personages and made human sacrifices to placate them but the avarice and ambition of the Spaniards could not be appeased until they themselves had sacrificed thousands of human beings on the altar of their lust.

Discontented or alarmed, Mexicans continually flocked to the standard of Cortez. He fought and conquered the powerful Tlascalans and made them his allies and early in November, after murdering a large number of Cholulans that fell into his hands, he appeared before the City of Mexico - Mexico the superb, sitting on the bosom of a beautiful lake and alive with more than three hundred thousand people. With him were six thousand native warriors and four hundred and fifty Spaniards. Montezuma and his nobles received the invaders with great pomp and kindness. A beautiful palace was assigned to Cortez for his quarters. Believing that a display of power would greatly increase his strength and influence, that leader made an attack of a few Mexicans upon some of his followers, a pretext for seizing the emperor in his own palace and confining him in chains in that of his guest, whilst seventeen of the offenders were burned alive before the gate of the imperial residence. Cortez also compelled his royal prisoner to acknowledge himself a vassal of Charles the Fifth, then Emperor of Spain, and to induce his nobles and tributary caciques to do likewise. He made that vassalage a pretext for exacting tribute, and in the name of his royal master, Cortez extorted from the fallen monarch gold to the amount of two hundred thousand dollars.

This audacious robber, from the time when he left Cuba, had been rebellious towards his superiors. Another adventurer, named Narvaez, was sent with nine hundred men, eighty horses and a dozen cannon for the field, to displace the rebel and send him back to Cuba. When Cortez heard of the landing of his appointed successor, he hastened with a part of his Spanish troops and native warriors toward the coast. He had guessed the errand of Narvaez, and at once attacked him in his camp. Cortez was victorious. The defeated troops joined the standard of the victor, and all marched for the City of Mexico, where the great leader had left a small garrison under the cruel Alvarado. The inhabitants there had risen in insurrection because Alvarado, on suspicion of meditated rebellion, had caused to be murdered six hundred unarmed Mexican noblemen at the end of a solemn festival. The revolt had become formidable when Cortez returned, and in an attempt to appease his people, Montezuma had been slain. This event increased the horror and

indignation of the Mexicans. The Spaniards were driven out of the city, and their rear-guard were cut in pieces. They fled before the exasperated Mexicans, for the space of six days, dreadfully harassed by their pursuers. Finally, on the plain of Otamba, the fugitives turned upon the Mexicans, and on a hot day in July, 1520, a pitched battle was fought there. The Spaniards were victorious, and the fate of the dynasty of Montezuma was sealed.

Cortez now marched to Tlascala, where he was joined by an auxiliary native army. After subduing the neighboring provinces, he turned his forces toward the City of Mexico. The siege which ensued was one of the most remarkable recorded in history. It continued seventy-five days, when, on the 13th of August, 1521, the city was captured by the Spaniards with immense slaughter of the inhabitants. More human beings were that day offered upon the altar of ambition than had been slain in sacrifice before the Mexican gods in the space of ten years. The victory over the Mexicans was complete the conquest of Mexico in less than two years, was a fact that had passed into history.

Impelled by his own religious zeal and prompted by the priests in his train, Cortez at once proceeded to further humiliate, horrify and exasperate the subdued people, by making a clean sweep, with the besom of destruction, over the idols and temples of the empire. In the great square in Mexico, the conqueror and his followers, with their garments stained with the blood of their fellow-creatures, devoutly sang the Te Deum, and prostrating themselves before the image of the Blessed Virgin which they had set up, they reverently thanked God for permitting them to be the humble instruments in annihilating image-worship and in staying the horrid rites of human sacrifice. Such was the spirit and temper of the age in which they lived. So, was introduced Christianity into Mexico.

Pamphilio de Narvaez, who was sent to Mexico to supersede Cortez, had extraordinary adventures afterwards as a discoverer in Florida. He was a man of wealth, tall and muscular in form, commanding in appearance, with a red beard, a fine voice, and was an expert horseman. He went to Spain to complain of Cortez, where he remained several years, and finally, in June, 1527, he sailed from San Lucar, under the authority of the monarch, with six hundred men in five vessels, commissioned to conquer and govern Florida. After long detention in San Domingo and Cuba, he sailed from the latter island with four hundred men and eighty horses, accompanied by Cabeza de Vaca, as treasurer of the expedition and a sort of deputy governor. With less than four hundred men and only forty-two horses, he landed on the west side of the present Tampa Bay, on the 13th of April, 1528. The Indians fled from their wigwams or rude huts and when all of his followers, with the horses, were on the shore, Narvaez raised the standard of Spain, and with the usual formula took possession of the country in the name of his monarch. His officers then took an oath of allegiance to him as their governor; and had he known how potent kind treatment would have been in securing the friendship of the Indians, he might have ruled the province in peace and good will and with abundant prosperity. Instead of pursuing this wise course, he relied upon force and cruelty to effect the subjugation of the natives. The consequences were disastrous to him and those who came after him. His cruel mutilation of a captive chief after his first hostile encounter with the natives, by causing his nose to be cut off; and his making Cuban bloodhounds

tear in pieces the mother of the cacique, in the presence of her children, created such intense horror and hatred among the people in all that Gulf region, that vengeance followed the footsteps of the Spaniards closely and implacably, with the tenacity of their own savage dogs.

Narvaez marched with high hopes from Tampa, to explore the country, directing his ships to sail along the coasts for the same purpose. He had been told that not far off he would find Apalachee, a city and country of plenty. He crossed the Suwanee high up, and then the Ocktockonee. Every day he expected to come upon a city sparkling with wealth - filled with gold and food, like those of Mexico and Peru and palaces of caciques with magnificent courts, and a country in which they might riot in luxury won by plunder as Cortez and Pizarro had done. Alas it was an idle dream. All before him were but creations of imagination all behind him were the dark realities of disappointment. The captives whom Narvaez forced to act as guides, led the invaders into dark forests, tangled morasses, and arid sands. Men and horses suffered dreadfully from the pangs of hunger. When a horse died from starvation, these cavaliers were compelled to eat it to avoid starvation themselves. At every rood they met hostility and treachery and when they came to Apalachee, instead of a splendid city and fields and granaries burdened with food, they found a village of forty thatched huts in the midst of scattered fields of growing maize or Indian corn. There were no roads nor bridges, nor other evidences of civilization and poverty was the common aspect of nature and people. The men had fled, but soon returned for their women and children with offers of friendship. These offers were accepted, and all might have been well had not Narvaez, in imitation of Cortez in Mexico, seized the principal cacique of the Apalacheans, and held him as a hostage for the good behavior of his people. Narvaez believed this spirited act would awe the inhabitants but he had a more warlike people to deal with than the soft Aztecs of Mexico. They flew to avenge the wrong; attacked the Spaniards with great fury; burned their own houses that they might not give shelter to their enemies, and then fled to their cornfields and the forests with their families.

Narvaez was now on the Appalachian River. He learned from the captive cacique that he was in the richest region of that whole country; that forests and lakes and morasses everywhere abounded, and that he would be met at every step by expert and hostile bowmen. He told him that nine days journeying southward would bring him to the sea-coast and a better country, and assured him that gold had never been found in the region which he had penetrated. Misfortune made Narvaez listen patiently to these discouraging words, and he and his followers turned their faces toward the sea. Their sufferings on that march were dreadful. The country was broken into lakes, swamps, morasses and forests. They were compelled to wade through water sometimes waist deep and work their way through tangled vines and bristling brambles, every moment exposed to the arrows of expert bowmen who hung upon their flanks and rear. When they reached the sea - the Gulf of Mexico - at near the mouth of the Appalachian, sickness was rapidly wasting Narvaez and nearly all his men. They had devoured for food all but one of their horses, and they were in the most pitiable plight. All thoughts of gold and dominion had left their minds, and they stood upon that shore, with no signs of their fleet visible, the victims of a cruel policy of their own. They had now no thought but the question, How shall we save our lives?

There was no other way of escape from death than by the sea. Surmounting the greatest difficulties, they built some frail boats, and provisioned them with Indian corn. With this, and some water in half-tanned horse-hides, they embarked, and coasted toward the Mississippi. Their food and water soon failed, and their sufferings were horrible. One by one they died, when a storm - a "norther" - struck and dispersed the flotilla. The boat that bore Treasurer de Vaca was stranded on an island, and he and his companions were kindly treated by the Indians. Narvaez was never heard of afterward. De Vaca seems to have been the only Spaniard who survived and returned to Spain. After eight years of captivity amongst the Indians, he made his way on foot, from tribe to tribe, until he had crossed the continent, and arrived at a port occupied by his countrymen on the Gulf of California. Thence he made his way to Spain, where he appeared at the court as one risen from the dead. His narrative was soon published, and it was read with an appetite such as the most marvelous romance creates. His revelations of the heroism of Nanez made the deeds of that adventurer compare favorably with those of Cortez and Pizarro. Narvaez had not only fought hostile men with a handful of followers, but he had fought the climate and topography of Florida. Cortez had struggled in a salubrious climate seven thousand feet above the sea, and Pizarro had marched into the country of the Incas of Peru over a splendid highway built by that extraordinary people along the summits of the Andes. Narvaez was never, probably, one hundred feet above tide-water, in Florida, and much of the time he was breathing the deadly malaria of the Everglades.

Chapter VIII

De Soto Commissioned to Conquer and Govern Florida - His Experience in the Dominions of a Creek Chief - A Friendly Indian Queen on the Savannah River - De Soto's Treachery - His Kind Reception in the Coosa Country - De Soto's Perfidy - His March through Alabama - De Soto is Outgeneraled by the Emperor Tuscaloosa - Terrible Encounter with the Alabamians at Their Capital - De Soto Goes Further into the Interior - Fatal Encounters with the Barbarians - He Discovers the Mississippi River - He Crosses that Stream and Marches toward the Rocky Mountains - De Soto Returns to the Mississippi and Dies - His Followers Reach Mexico - Death of His Wife.

THE hideous story of the disastrous adventures of Narvaez and his companions in Florida seems sufficient to have deterred others undertaking further enterprises among the fierce Apalachians, either for gold or dominion. But the effect was otherwise. Spanish chivalry had been stimulated, and thirst for glory had been intensified by the valorous exploits of the discoverers and conquerors in America, and the more hazardous the performance the greater was the renown. The very difficulties in the way seemed to sharpen desire; and when Hernando de Soto, who, as one of the conquerors of Peru under Pizarro, had returned to Spain with great wealth and reputation, proposed an expedition for the conquest of Florida, hundreds of young men, the flower of the Spanish and Portuguese nobility, flocked to his standard.

De Soto longed to rival Cortez and Pizarro in the brilliancy of his deeds. He had appeared at the court of Charles the Fifth in great splendor, as one of the richest men in Spain, and had been favorably received. He had lately married Isabella de Bobadilla, a scion of one of the most renowned of the Castilian families, and his influence at court was thereby strengthened and when he offered to undertake the conquest of Florida at his own expense, the permission of his sovereign was readily given. Charles also commissioned him governor of Cuba, from which island he would sail for Florida, and made him captain-general of the provinces which he might secure by conquest on the main.

De Soto was of gentle birth; of known preeminence as a soldier; wise in council; prudent in action; brave to rashness in conflict, and his reputation was without blemish. In person, he was elegant; in deportment, courtly as a horseman, expert and in age, thirty-seven - the prime of young manhood. With these qualities and his generous offer to aid young cavaliers who needed assistance in equipping themselves in accordance with their rank and position, he soon gathered a band of six hundred brilliant adventurers. Some of the wealthier came in gorgeous suits of armor, rich dresses and trains of servants. Many of them had sold houses, lands and vineyards to enable them to embark in the enterprise, for De Soto believed there was more gold in Florida than in Mexico and Peru together, and had said so.

With this brilliant armament, and accompanied by his beautiful young wife and other noble ladies, De Soto embarked at San Lucar de Barrameda, at the mouth of the Guadalquiver, early in April, 1538, a little less than eleven years after Narvaez sailed on his unfortunate expedition from

the same port. His armament consisted of seven large and three smaller vessels; and the flag-ship was the San Christoval, of eight hundred tons burthen. Their departure was cheered by the braying of trumpets and the shouts of a great multitude; and the fleet was followed by twenty-six merchant vessels bound for Mexico.

So bountifully had De Soto furnished his ships with stores, that every man was supplied with double rations; and in their enjoyment of plenty and wastefulness, they almost adored their munificent leader. Gaiety and festivity - music, dancing and feasting - prevailed on board the San Christoval during that sunny voyage, in which richly-dressed ladies were conspicuous, with handsome young pages to do their bidding, especially on mild and brilliant moonlit evenings within the tropic of Cancer. All were joyous, for they thought they were on the way to an earthly paradise. At near the close of May the ships all entered Cuban waters. The bright sea-pageant vanished, for then the real business of the expedition was begun in earnest. There De Soto occupied a whole year in arranging affairs of government and preparing for the great enterprise in view.

Towards the middle of May, 1539, De Soto sailed from Havana with a fleet of nine vessels, large and small, and about a thousand followers with many horses, cattle, mules, and a herd of swine. He left public affairs in Cuba in the hands of his wife and the lieutenant-governor, where, for several days, he had given feasts and entertainments such as might be appropriate after a great conquest. A vessel had been sent to Florida to find a safe harbor and to kidnap some Indians to act as guides and interpreters. So prepared, De Soto bade Isabella de Bobadilla farewell on board his ship, with the full expectation of returning speedily with the rich fruits of a glorious conquest. Alas! clouds soon gathered in the firmament of his hopes, and his brilliant dream was never realized. His voyage was pleasant and when the armament anchored in Tampa Bay, near where Narvaez had landed, delicious perfumes came from the shores, for all Florida was in bloom. It was the 30th of May.

Had De Soto been wiser than the other conquerors, and conciliated the Indians by friendly acts, all might have been well. But he was no wiser than they. He sent armed men to capture natives, that he might obtain knowledge of the country, and so he imitated his predecessors. The savages had learned to be cautious from their contact with Narvaez, and they were too wily in their movements, and too expert with the bow and arrow, to be taken.

In one of their little excursions the Spaniards were startled as they were charging upon a band of Indians, by the voice of a man crying out in the Castilian tongue: "I am a Christian! I am a Christian! Slay me not!" The stout trooper stayed his lance, lifted the supplicant to his horse, and carried him to the main encampment. The Castilian in savage guise proved to be Jean Ortiz, a native of Seville, who had been a captive among the Indians for several years. He had heard of the landing of the Spaniards, and had hastened to meet them; and he was a godsend to De Soto because he was a valuable interpreter. The governor furnished Ortiz with clothed and a horse, and attached him to his personal staff.

De Soto was now ready to enter upon the conquest of Florida. His troops were clad in coats of steel to repel arrows, and bore breastplates and helmets of the same metal. They had strong shields, swords, lances, arquebuses (a kind of rude short guns), cross-bows and one cannon. The cavaliers were mounted on one hundred and thirteen horses. Savage blood-hounds from Cuba were the allies of the Spaniards, and the Castilians were plentifully supplied with iron neck-collars, handcuffs and chains for their captives. With these instruments of cruelty, a drove of swine, many cattle and mules, and accompanied by mechanics, priests, inferior clergy and monks with sacerdotal robes, holy relics, images of the Virgin and sacramental bread and wine wherewith to make Christians of the conquered pagans, De Soto began his march in June, 1539. From the outset he was met by the most vigorous opposition. In narrow defiles and other exposed places, he and his followers were assailed by clouds of arrows from the hands of a multitude of natives who had been made intensely revengeful because of the cruelties of Narvaez and his men. They had resolved to fight the invaders until not one should be left upon the soil. Cruelty was met by cruelty. When a Spaniard was captured, he was mercilessly slaughtered. The captive Indians were loaded with chains and made beasts of burden, without regard to age or sex. The antagonism of the races was fearful. When De Soto, hoping to conciliate Acuera, a powerful Muscogee or Creek chief whose territory he had entered, and invited the cacique to a friendly interview, he received this haughty reply:

"Others of your accursed race have, in years past, disturbed our peaceful shores. They have taught me what you are. What is your employment? To wander about like vagabonds from land to land; to rob the poor; to betray the confiding; to murder the defenseless in cold blood. No! with such a people I want neither peace nor friendship. War - never-ending, exterminating war - is all I ask. You boast yourselves to be valiant - and so you maybe; but my faithful warriors are not less brave and of this you shall one day have proof, for I have sworn to maintain an unending conflict while one white man remains in my borders; not openly in the battle-field, though even thus we fear not to meet you, but by stratagem, ambush, and midnight surprisal."

In reply to a demand that he should yield obedience to the emperor, Acuera as haughtily said: "I am king in my own land, and will never become the vassal of a mortal like myself. Vile and pusillanimous is he who submits to the yoke of another when he may be free! As for me and my people we prefer death to the loss of liberty, and the subjugation of our country!" De Soto pressed his suit for a friendly interview, but was always answered by the cacique that he had given him all the reply he had to make.

De Soto remained twenty days in the dominions of Acuera, continually suffering from the enmity of that cacique. A Spaniard could not go a hundred paces from his camp without danger of being shot, and his severed head carried in triumph on a pike to the presence of the chief. In that war fourteen Castilians perished, and many were wounded. "Keep on! robber; and traitors!" said Acuera. "In my province and in Apalachee you will be treated as you deserve. We will quarter and hang up every captive on the highest tree!" And they did so. In open fight the Spaniards were always victorious, but in ambush and skulking, the Indians were expert and fearfully dangerous.

Cutting his way through hostile tribes, De Soto reached the fertile region of Tallahassee, where he wintered. An expedition which sailed westward in his ships, to explore the coasts, returned in February with a report that the skeletons of the men and horses of Narvaez's party, who had perished at St. Marks, the place of that adventurers last embarkation, had been discovered also the sheltered bay of Pensacola. The commander of the vessels was ordered to return to Cuba immediately, and thence convey provisions and other supplies to Pensacola, whilst De Soto should march across the country to the same point. For this purpose the governor broke up his winter encampment in March, but being told that gold abounded in the north, he first went in that direction as far as Silver Bluff on the Savannah River. On the opposite side of the stream (in Barnwell District, S.C.) lived an Indian "queen," young, beautiful and a maiden, who ruled over a large extent of country. In a richly wrought canoe filled with shawls and skins, and other presents, the dusky caccia glided across the river, and with kind words welcomed the governor and offered him her services. Presents were exchanged. A magnificent string of pearls was upon her neck. This she drew over her head and hung it around the neck of De Soto as a token of her regard. Then she invited him and his followers to cross over to her village. In canoes and on log-rafts they passed the stream, and encamping in the shadows of mulberry trees, they soon received a bountiful supply of turkeys and venison. There they remained until early in May, when they departed, De Soto requiting the hospitality of the royal maiden with treachery. He carried her away a prisoner, and kept her near his person as a hostage for the good behavior of her people towards the Spaniards. She finally escaped and returned to her home, a bitter enemy of the perfidious white people.

The Spaniards marched to the headwaters of the Savannah, in Habersham county, when they turned their faces westward, and crossing northern Georgia, through the picturesque Cherokee country, went over the Oostanaula near its confluence with the Etowah, and entered the large village of Chiaha, on the site of modern Rome. There they were received with the kindest hospitality by the young chief who gave the intruders plenty of food and to their leader a string of pearls two yards in length, each pearl as large as a filbert. The streams in that region then abounded in the pearl-bearing mussel.

For thirty days the Spaniards remained at Chiaha. Then marching eastward, they entered northeastern Alabama, and were soon in the beautiful and fertile Coosa country. They were everywhere kindly received and bountifully fed by the inhabitants. Cultivated fields stretched out on every side, and granaries were filled with corn. Plum trees abounded, resembling those of Spain, and grapes hung in delicious clusters from vines that climbed the tall trees. It was now late in July, 1540. When the army came in sight of the capital of Coosa, the chief, a young man less than thirty years of age, borne upon a cushioned chair on the shoulders of four men, met him in the remote outskirts of the town, followed by a thousand warriors, tall, active and well-proportioned, with scanty garments and plumed heads. The cacique was clad in a mantle of marten skins thrown gracefully over his shoulder, and on his head was a diadem of brilliant feathers. Musicians attended him, singing songs and playing flutes; and the whole procession was almost as gorgeous as that of the Spaniards and their glittering armor. The cacique received De Soto with joy, set apart the royal house for his accommodation, and dined with the governor

every day. Finally, he besought De Soto to found a Spanish colony anywhere in his dominion. The governor, charmed with the delicious climate, would have done so but for the avaricious desire to find the great gold region which, he believed, was not far off. He decided the generous offer, with polite thanks, at the same time holding the chief as a hostage for the double purpose of securing the friendly offices of his people and extorting provisions and slaves. The natives were enraged at the indignity offered their sovereign, and fleeing to the woods prepared for war. The Spaniards pursued them, and returned with men and women in chains, many of whom they carried off as slaves when they departed in August. So, at every step, hospitality was repaid by injustice and cruelty. The Spaniards by their conduct justly earned the fate which finally overtook them.

De Soto continued his march through the beautiful regions of Alabama, taking with him the cacique of Coosa, as far as the great town of Tallase where he was dismissed. Pushing southward, the Spaniards approached the temporary residence of Tuscaloosa, the renowned chief known as the Black Warrior, who was gigantic in stature, and the head of the Mobilians Indians. They found him seated on a commanding eminence upon a cushioned seat with beautiful mats under his feet and surrounded by numerous attendants. He was forty years of age, a head taller than any of his warriors, with a handsome face of grave and severe aspect. Lord of many tribes, he was feared by his neighbors and subjects and his influence was widely spread over the region of the Alabama River to that of the Mississippi. He received De Soto with haughty courtesy and when the governor ordered one of his largest pack-horses to be brought for the use of the giant chieftain, the latter mounted with sullenness and evident reluctance. He and De Soto rode side by side, and it was soon evident to Tuscaloosa that he was a prisoner of the Spaniards after the manner of other caciques who had been held as hostages. They crossed the Alabama a short distance below Selma, and passed down the right bank of that stream in the direction of the sea. De Soto now discovered signs which made him uneasy. The deference which had been paid to him since he left the Apalachee country had assured him that the conquest of Florida would be an easy matter - Indeed, he had regarded it as already accomplished. But the demeanor of Tuscaloosa caused him to doubt. The chief was in close and continual consultation with his principal followers, and was constantly sending runners to his capital, with messages, telling the Spaniards that he was preparing for their honorable reception. De Soto did not believe him, and took precautions against treachery. Side by side he and Tuscaloosa rode into the Mobilians capital, a large palisaded and walled town on a high plain by the side of a broad river, and called Manbila. The most acute students of the Spanish narratives believe that Choctaw Bluff, in Clarke county, about twenty-five miles above the confluence of the Alabama and Tombigby rivers, was its site.

It was at about eight o'clock on a bright October morning, when De Soto and Tuscaloosa rode into Manbila together, and were received in the great square with songs, the music of flutes, and the dancing of Indian girls. They alighted, and were seated under a canopy of state, when Tuscaloosa requested not to be held as a hostage any longer. The governor hesitated. The angered cacique sprang to his feet and with a proud and haughty step walked into a house close by. Ortiz, the interpreter, followed, and invited him to breakfast with De Soto. Tuscaloosa refused to return, saying: "If your chief knows what is best for him, he will immediately take his

troops out of my country." The suspicions of the Spanish leader were confirmed, and he had scarcely recovered from his surprise when one of his spies came with information that ten thousand warriors, followers of Tuscaloosa and neighboring chiefs, were in the houses; that a vast amount of weapons and missiles, such as bows and arrows, javelins, clubs and stones, had been gathered in the town that the old women and children had been sent to the forests, and that the Indians were then debating as to the proper hour to fall upon the Spaniards. It was a startling announcement for De Soto, for a greater part of his army was then lagging behind in fancied security, many of them scattered and hunting in the woods. The governor, anxious to postpone an attack until his army should come up, by regaining the person of Tuscaloosa, approached the cacique with smiles and gracious words. The haughty chief turned scornfully away, and mingled with his warriors. At that moment a chief rushed out, and with a loud voice denounced the Spaniards as robbers, thieves and assassins who should no longer impose upon their leader by depriving him of his liberty. Balthazar Gallegos, the greatest soldier of the expedition next to De Soto, angered by this insolence, cleft the chief with his sword, from his head to his loins. That act let loose the fury of the people. Like bees from a hive the savages swarmed out of the houses by hundreds and thousands, and gradually pushed the invaders out of the ponderous gates into the plain. The Manbilans seized the Indian slaves of De Soto, together with all his baggage. The latter was stored within the walls, and the former, having their manacles knocked off, were armed and made to fight their late masters. In that first encounter, five Spaniards were killed and many were wounded, among them De Soto.

Unmindful of his wound, the governor, at the head of his cavalry, charged upon the mass of savages, and drove them back into the town with fearful slaughter. The Indians rushed to their wall-towers and loopholes, and from these sent clouds of arrows and tempests of stones which drove the Spaniards back. As they receded, the Indians dropped from the walls and rushed out of the gates with huge clubs, beating the intruders and seizing their keen swords and deadly spears. The hand-to-hand conflicts were fierce and fatal, especially to the savages. For three hours the battle lasted, victory surging from side to side like the ebbing and flowing of the tides of the sea. The lagging army hearing the noise of battle had hastened forward, and were now coming up to the aid of their comrades. The daring of De Soto, who was everywhere in the battle, had already compelled the savages to take a permanent position within the walls of Manbila; and the priest, who on their knees had uttered copious prayers for victory for the Castilian now sang the joyous Te Deum.

Having all of his forces in hand, De Soto now formed the foot soldiers in four divisions, who, armed with bucklers and battle-axes, charged upon the walls and portals. The Indians had closed and barricaded the gates and again fought from the towers and loop-holes. But the siege was not a lone one. The gates were forced, and through these and over the walls the assailants made their way into the town. A dreadful carnage ensued. The cavalry remained outside to catch and slay any who might attempt to escape whilst the butchery was going on within. The Indians fought with all the gallantry and desperation of patriots defending their country. Although the ground was covered with the dead, not one of the survivors asked for quarter. Young women, in large numbers, fought side by side with the warriors, with equal bravery and skill, and their blood

flowed as freely. At length De Soto, at the head of his cavalry, made a furious charge into the town, with a shout of "Our Lady and Santiago!" and made fearful land through the ranks of fighting men and women. As he arose to hurl his lance at a powerful Indian warrior, a heavy arrow pierced deeply into his thigh. Unable to pull it out or sit in his saddle, he continued to fight, standing in his stirrups. At length the houses were fired and the combatants were shrouded in the blinding smoke. As the sun went down, the sights and sounds of slaughter and groans of the dying were awful. When the twilight deepened into night, the contest was over. It had lasted nine hours. Manbila was a smoking ruin, and its inhabitants had perished.

That conflict was disastrous to both races. Eighty-two Europeans perished, among whom were some of the brightest flowers of Spanish chivalry. It was estimated that eleven thousand native Alabamians fell in the battle or were burned in the houses. It is believed that Tuscaloosa remained in his house and perished in the flames. Forty-five horses were slain. All the camp equipage and baggage were consumed in the place where the Indians had stored them all the clothes, medicines, books, pearls, relics and robes of the priests with their flour and wine used in the Eucharist or sacrament of the Lord's Supper instruments, and much of the armor with many other things which could not be obtained in the wilderness, were utterly destroyed. Among the ghastly ruins and piles of the dead, the Spaniards passed the night after the battle. Many of them were wounded and dying. Only one surgeon was left. Seventeen hundred severe wounds called for his care, but his instruments had perished in the flames. De Soto, though badly wounded, bestowed all his care upon his suffering companions. For eight days they remained in the town, and then went out to the Indian huts on the plain. Foraging parties were sent out who found villages abounding in provisions. They brought in beautiful captive maidens from whom they learned that Tuscaloosa had formed a plan for the destruction of the Spaniards weeks before. When the Talases complained to him that their chief had given their people to De Soto for slaves, he said Fear nothing; I shall shortly send the Spaniards back from my country to Talase in chains, led by your people, whom they have enslaved. The whole land will be rid of the robbers." De Soto also learned from these captive maidens that his squadron was in the bay of Pensacola.

The fire at Manbila deprived the Spaniards of two widely differing sources of consolation, namely, wheat flour and wine for the Eucharist, and playing-cards. Gambling was the besetting sin and most exciting pleasure of all and they often staked their money, horses, jewels and even feminine slaves, at play. The priests went through all the religious forms excepting consecration, and the unusual ceremony was called Dry Mass. Cards were made of parchment and lent from one company to another, and deep gambling was resumed.

The news of his ships that were doubtless laden with clothing and provisions gave De Soto joy; but his spirits were soon clouded by a conspiracy which had been formed among some of his followers, to abandon him and sail in the ships from Pensacola to Spain or Peru. This discovery changed his plans. He resolved to turn his back upon his ships and go deeper into the wilderness. This determination was announced on the 18th of November, 1540. The order to march northward fell upon the ears of the discontented ones like a clap of thunder. It was made potential by a threat to put to death the first man who should speak of the ships.

Northward the Spaniards marched, and on reaching the waters of the black Warrior River, they were met by a large force of Indians in battle array, who longed to avenge the destruction of their friends at Manbila. The news of that tragedy had spread over a vast region, and kindled the fiercest hatred of the Spaniards in the hearts of the natives. Hundreds of opposing warriors were swelled to thousands, and De Soto was compelled to fight his way inch by inch through the land of the Choctaws. At length, after passing over the uplands of Mississippi - a beautiful, fertile and populous region - he reached the upper tributaries of the Yazoo River in Yalobusha county, and encamped in front of the town of Chickasa, the capital of the Chickasa nation. It was now December. Ice and even snow appeared and chilled the troops, and De Soto resolved to pass the winter there in a sheltered camp. The chief of the Chickasas feigned friendship for the Spaniards. It might have been real had the latter been wise and just. But they were not. Cruelty and wrong, as before, marked their dealings with the natives. When March came and De Soto thought of marching forward, he demanded of the Chickasa chief two hundred men as burden-bearers. The cacique answered the demand by a furious attack upon the Spanish camp on a dark night, during a wild gale from the north. The assailants came in four columns, with horrid yells and the hideous sounds of wooden drums and blasts on conch-shells. Before the sleeping Spaniards were fairly roused from their slumbers, their huts, made of cane and straw, were in flames, fired by arrows bearing torches. Blinded by the smoke, they ran out of the houses half-dressed, some leaving their weapons behind them. Horses in stables perished, and many swine, in roofed pens, were burned to death. The conflict that ensued was terrible. The Spaniards fought valiantly as best they might, and finally drove their dusky assailants into the forests. But the disaster to the Europeans was greater than that which befell them at Manbila. They had lost forty of their diminished number. The only Spanish woman in the camp - the wife of a soldier - was burned to ashes. Fifty horses had perished, and most of the men saved nothing excepting what they had on their backs or in their hands.

The remainder of the inclement season was passed by the Spaniards in great wretchedness. Cold and hunger, and grievous wounds tortured them; and the Indians fell upon them night after night like fierce tigers. At length, the warm sun of April alleviated their sufferings, and De Soto moved on in a northwesterly direction, in search of the land of gold about which he had dreamed so long. The exasperated savages assailed him everywhere, and at a town called Alibamo, he had another desperate encounter with them. Then he moved on, and in May he stood upon the banks of the Mississippi River, in Tunica county, near the lower Chickasa Bluffs, above the mouth of the St. Francis River. The mighty Mississippi, then full to the brim, filled De Soto with admiration. He had not found gold, but he was the first European who found the great river upon whose bosom floats, annually, wealth a thousandfold greater than the mines of Mexico or Peru ever yielded. He was not the conqueror of a country teeming with a weak people; but he had achieved a conquest far more glorious than Cortez or Pizarro had done, and had secured immortality for his name and deeds.

Still thirsting for gold, and expecting to find the Pacific Ocean not far, De Soto crossed the Mississippi River traversed the lagoons of Arkansas climbed over the great Ozark hills, and penetrated the country westward almost to the eastern slopes of the Rocky Mountains. For a year

he wandered in those wild regions; wintered far up the Arkansas River, and in the month of May, 1542, returned to the Mississippi at a point a little north of the mouth of the Arkansas. He now gave up gold-seeking; and on the eastern bank of the great river, in Bolivar county, Mississippi, he selected a site for a colony among a tribe of savage sun-worshippers. They showed intense hostility to the Spaniards; and when De Soto, in an address to them demanding their submission to his arms, called himself a child of the Sun they ridiculed him. "If you are a child of the Sun," they haughtily replied, "return to him, dry up the Mississippi, and we will submit to you."

De Soto was now utterly discouraged, and he began the construction of two brigantines wherewith to communicate with Cuba. Exhausted in body and mind, he was soon prostrated by a malignant fever. Satisfied that he could not live, he ordered his attendants to carry him out of his hut into the balmy air under a wide-spreading live-oak, where he received the holy ministrations of the priests. Then he appointed Moscoso, his lieutenant, to be his successor in office and commander of the ragged remnant of his troops who gathered around him in silent grief. One bore a broken helmet, another a battered cuirass, a third a splintered lance, and a fourth a jagged sword. Some were dressed in skins, and some were half-naked. All, in person and equipment, were only shadows of the brilliant retinue who had gathered under his banner at San Lucar about five years before. He exhorted them to keep together, bade them farewell, and then died. To conceal the fact of his death, and to protect his body from desecration by the savages, his followers placed it in a trough made of live-oak and at midnight, when darkness was intense, they sunk it to the bottom of the river. So perished the discoverer of the Mississippi, in the beautiful month of May, 1549, at the early age of forty-two years.

But little more need be said about this wonderful expedition. Moscoso led the Spaniards into the wilderness west of the Mississippi again, hoping to find Mexico. For a year they wandered there and then returned to the Mississippi, where they built brigantines and floated in them upon its bosom toward the sea. The once splendid army of one thousand men was now reduced to three hundred and twenty. Taking with them the beautiful young women whom they had captured at Manbila, and several of the best horses that survived, they sailed out into the Gulf of Mexico, crossed it, and after enduring untold miseries, they reached Panuco, a Spanish settlement on the coast of Mexico, in September. They went to the City of Mexico, where they were entertained by the viceroy; and the elegant Castilian ladies at that petty court were enraptured by the beauty of the dusky Mobilians girls, whom they caressed, and feasted, and dressed in Spanish costume.

Maldonado, the commander of De Soto's ships, had waited long for him at Pensacola. He had made several voyages in search of him, and finally, in the spring of 1543, while he was at Vera Cruz, he had heard of De Solo's death on the Mississippi, and that only three hundred of his followers lived to reach Mexico. This sad news cast a gloom over Havana; and poor Dona Isabel, the wife of the great leader, who had so long anxiously awaited his return, died of a broken heart.

Chapter IX

Voyage of Verazzani - He Explores the Coasts from North Carolina to Newfoundland - Kidnaps an Indian Boy - Cartier Discovers the Gulf of St. Lawrence - On a Second Voyage He Discovers the River St. Lawrence and Names Both - He Explores the River to the Site of Montreal - Takes a Daughter of a Huron Chief to France - He Winters at the Site of Quebec - Cartier Kidnaps the "King of Canada" and Some of His Chiefs, and Takes Them to France - English Explorers - Their Sufferings in Newfoundland - Cartier's Third Voyage to the St. Lawrence - Hostilities of the Natives - The Lord of Roberville on the St. Lawrence.

WE will now leave the Spanish discoverers, and turn our attention to others who made voyages to the coasts of North America on similar errands.

Francis the First, one of the most energetic as well as enlightened sovereigns of France down to the sixteenth century, becoming jealous of the glory acquired by his rival of Spain, by discoveries and conquests on this continent, fitted out four ships late in the year 1523 for explorations on the North American coasts. They were placed under the command of John Verazzani, a Florentine, of whose career very little is known. He appears to have been a somewhat eminent navigator, but the narrative of his voyage to our country is so obscure in many parts that it is difficult to discover the truth. The account of that voyage on which historians have most relied, is given in a letter which, it is alleged, the navigator wrote to King Francis after his return, by which it seems he sailed for the Madeiras in December, 1523, and left them on the 27th of January, 1524, proceeding due west. Three of his ships were soon disabled by a tempest that swept over the Atlantic, and put back; and he went on with only one vessel. In that he reached the American coast in north latitude 34 degrees, or not far from Cape Fear in southern North Carolina. It was in the month of March. He speaks of the climate as salubrious of the coast as abounding with lakes and ponds the numerous bays and inlets there of the people as black-skinned, not much differing from Ethiopians, with thick black hair worn tied back upon the head in the form of a little tail and going entirely naked excepting at the loins, from which depended from a girdle of braided grass, a marten skin. These people gathered on the beach in considerable numbers, and made many friendly signs. A young sailor, more courageous than the rest, swam toward the shore with little bells, looking-glasses and other trifles as presents for them, and when he "as near the beach, he tossed them to the natives, and turned to swim back. The surf was high, and he was thrown by it upon the sands, so much exhausted that he seemed to be dead. But he was sufficiently alive to scream lustily when the natives bore him away from the water, for he expected to be killed and eaten by them. They stripped him, and viewed with astonishment his white skin. Then they made a large fire on which, his companions imagined, they were about to roast him for their dinner, but it was only an act of kindness to restore warmth to his limbs. When he had recovered sufficiently to show by signs, that he wished to return, they hugged him with great affection, withdrew to a little sand-hill, and watched him until he was safely in the boat from which he swam.

Verazzani then went further up the coast, probably as far as the vicinity of Albemarle Sound,

where he landed, with twenty men. A short distance from the sea, the land was covered with large trees, among which were noble cypresses. From these forest trees trailed luxuriant vines which were clustered with delicious grapes, the natives said, in early autumn. The people fled in fear to the woods. They were fairer than those further south, and were covered with a light drapery made of "certain plants which hung down from the branches" - Spanish moss - tied by threads of wild hemp. Their heads were uncovered. They lived in huts made of saplings and shrubbery, and navigated canoes dug out of a single log without any iron instrument whatever. In the tall reedy grass, the mariners found concealed a very old woman and a young girl eighteen or twenty years of age. The old woman carried two infants on her shoulders, and behind her neck a little boy eight years of age. The women shrieked and made signs to the men, who had fled, to come to their rescue. "We took the little boy from the old woman," says the Florentine, "to carry with us to France, and would have taken the girl, who was very beautiful and very tall, but it was impossible because of the loud shrieks she uttered as we attempted to lead her away so we determined to leave her, and take the boy only." The story of this kidnaping was soon spread over all that region, and planted the seeds of intense hatred of the white man in the bosoms of the natives. Their products were the bane of Raleigh's settlement on Roanoke Island on that coast sixty years later.

Verazzani coasted further northward, and it is evident, from his topographical description, that he entered the harbor of New York and discovered the mouth of the Hudson River. He made a very brief tarryance there. The land seemed full of people, who received the mariners kindly. They did not differ much in appearance from the inhabitants further south, and were dressed in cloaks made of the beautiful plumage of birds. Weighing anchor after a very brief intercourse with these people, he sailed eastward, as the coast lay, discovered Block Island, off the Connecticut shore, and came to a beautiful hilly country in latitude forty-one degrees and forty minutes. He was there, evidently, in Narragansett Bay, and beheld the shores of Rhode Island, where the Northmen had settled more than five hundred years before. There he found the finest looking tribe and the handsomest in their costume of any he had seen on the voyage larger in persons than the average European. "Among them," Verazzani said, "were two kings more beautiful in form and stature than can possibly be described the oldest, about forty years of age, wearing a deer's skin around his body, artificially wrought in damask figures his head without covering; his hair tied back in various knots, and around his neck he wore a large chain ornamented with many stones of different colors." "Their women," he said, "are of the same form and beauty, very graceful, of fine countenances and pleasing appearance in manners and modesty wearing no clothing except a deerskin, ornamented like those worn by the men some wear very rich lynx skins upon their arms, and various ornaments on their heads composed of braids of hair which also hang down upon their breasts on each side. Others wear different ornaments, such as the women of Egypt and Syria use."

The inhabitants were kind, but shy. The men could never be persuaded to take their wives on board the ship of the Florentine. "One of the two kings," he said, "often came with his queen and many attendants to see the vessel," but the women were kept at a distance. The country seemed to be very fertile, and abounded in their season with apples, plums, filberts and other kinds of fruit

and nuts and in the forests were great numbers of deer, lynxes and other wild animals. The dwellings of the people were generally circular in form, and built of split logs and sometimes they were large enough to accommodate a family of twenty-five or thirty persons.

From Narragansett Bay, Verazzani sailed eastward early in May, passing among the numerous islands off the coast of Massachusetts, and touching somewhere, probably, on the coast of Maine. There he found the people coarser in appearance, less friendly, and more fierce and warlike. They were clad in the skins of the bear, the lynx, the deer and the seal. No signs of cultivation appeared, and the inhabitants seemed to live almost wholly on the products of the forest and the waters. The hills were covered with vast woods; and far in the interior he saw lofty mountains. The voyagers had very little intercourse with these savages, and sailing eastward and northward, came to Newfoundland. Thence they turned their prow toward Europe and sailed to France. Verazzani had traversed the borders of the North American continent, as his ship sailed, about two thousand miles, and he named the vast country New France.

Verazzani's object was to find Cathay, in the extreme eastern limit of Asia, hoping there to discover a passage into the Indian Ocean, for which Columbus and Cabot had sought. What became of him after this marvelous voyage is not certainly known. He appears to have left the service of the French king, who was then warring desperately with Charles the Fifth of Spain and Germany. Early in 1525, Francis was defeated before Pavia, wounded, made a prisoner and carried captive to Madrid, where he was detained almost a year. His projects for foreign discoveries were, of course abandoned for a time, and it was several years before they were resumed. Meanwhile, Verazzani, it seems probable, made two other voyages to America, but not as a commander. He appears to have had some communication with Henry the Eighth of England, and possibly was in his service for an old chronicler says that he presented to that monarch a map of America, after he had made three voyages to this continent. It is certain that Henry sent out two exploring ships in 1527 - the *Samson* and the *Mary of Guilford* - and it is asserted that Verazzani sailed in the first mentioned vessel. We have a record of another expedition having been sent to America by Henry, in 1536, for discovery or settlement.

For several years voyages for discovery from Europe to America ceased. Meanwhile, the brave Admiral de Brien (Chabot, Comte de Charni), who was a favorite at the French court, had urged his king to attempt making a settlement somewhere in New France, and so secure its possession for his crown. But it was not until ten years after Verazzani's voyage, that Francis yielded to the importunities of Chabot. Then a plan for making settlements in America was arranged under the direction of Chabot, and two ships, of sixty tons each, were fitted out at St. Malo, a fortified seaport of France, for that purpose, and placed in charge of Jacques Cartier (James Carter), a native of that port and then in the service of the French monarch.

After appropriate religious ceremonies in the cathedral of St. Malo, in which Chabot participated, Cartier sailed for America. He left St. Malo on a bright afternoon (April 20, 1534), with a crew of one hundred and twenty men in each of his vessels. The voyage was prosperous, and with generally fair winds he reached the eastern coast of Newfoundland in twenty days. Then

he sailed northward, entered the Straits of Belle Isle, and touching the coast of Labrador, he formally took possession of the country in the name of his king by planting a cross and hanging upon it the arms of France. The natives, who had been fishing near, gathered around the Frenchmen in considerable numbers, with their chief, and looked with wonder as the mariners raised that symbol of the atonement made of the trunk of a tree, and thirty feet in height. The shield they hung upon it bore the lilies of France - the royal insignia - and over it they carved, in antique letters, "Vive le Roi de France Live the King of France." Then the mariners all knelt, and with hands stretched toward the skies, they thanked God for his mercies. The savage chief faintly comprehending the significance of the shield with the Gallic arms as a token of claimed sovereignty, told Cartier, by signs, that he could not allow a cross to be set up without his consent, whereupon the mariner satisfied him by the assurance that it was only as a beacon to guide other voyagers in those waters.

After spending some weeks in exploring the great gulf west and southwest of Newfoundland, discovering the Magdalen Islands, the northern coasts of Cape Breton and the bays of Chaleurs and Gaspé, now at the eastern extremity of Canada, Cartier landed and held friendly intercourse with the Indians. There he set up a huge wooden cross, as before, with a shield and the French lilies, and took possession in the name of King Francis. His kindness inspired the natives with such confidence that one of the chiefs offered to Cartier two of his sons to accompany him to France, on the condition that he should return them to their home the next year.

From Gaspé Bay Cartier sailed northeast, and doubling the east end of great Anticosti Island, he went up that branch of the St. Lawrence some distance, without suspecting that he was in the mouth of a great river whose chief sources were immense inland seas of fresh water. As the season of autumn storms was approaching, he turned back, passed through the Straits of Belle Isle, and sailed away for France, reaching St. Malo early in September. His voyage was considered successful. Chabot was delighted, and Francis was encouraged to make new efforts on a larger scale, in the same direction. Three ships were fitted out late in the following spring - La Grand Hermione, La Petite Hermione, L'Emerillon. The first was a vessel of one hundred and twenty tons burthen; the second was sixty tons, and the third was smaller. Cartier was commissioned "Captain and Pilot of the King." He gathered his companions and seamen in the cathedral at St. Malo, at the middle of May, where the whole company received absolution - pardon of their sins - from the Bishop, and also his blessing. It was Whit-Sunday - a festival when all newly baptized persons appear in the church in white garments. Beautiful and picturesque was the scene, and joyous was the occasion and impressions of the pageant remained on the memory of each mariner long after he left the holy fane that day, and embarked for his voyage.

Cartier sailed from St. Malo on his second voyage to New France, with several French noblemen, on the 19th of May, 1535: Le Grande Hermione was his flag-ship. Storms soon separated the vessels, but they met at an appointed rendezvous the Straits of Belle Isle, on the 26th of July. Going westward, they entered the gulf on which Cartier had sailed the previous year and on the day dedicated to St. Lawrence, they passed into the waters between Anticosti and the main, on the north, to which Cartier gave the name of St. Lawrence. This title was afterward

given to the gulf and to the great river at whose mouth Anticosti lies. That island, Cartier named L'Assumption. Its Indian name was Naticotec, the sound of which from the lips of the natives was, to English ears, Anticosti, and so they called it.

Voyaging on, Cartier found himself in a broad but narrowing arid freshening river; and on the first of September, he was at the mouth of the dark and mysterious Saguenay River, where the St. Lawrence is ten miles in width. Proceeding more than a hundred miles further up the great stream, with high mountains a little way from its shores on his right and gentle slopes from the waters edge on his left, Cartier came to a large island which he called The Isle of Bacchus. It is now the Island of Orleans, in sight of Quebec. He went on shore with the two young men whom he had taken to France the year before, and the next day a handsome Algonquin chief, named Donnacona, who was Lord of Canada, came to Le Grande Hermione in a beautifully wrought canoe to confer with Cartier. The conference was easy, for the two young men were interpreters. "We have been to France," they said, "and have been well-treated. The whole country is full of riches. Great castles, great armies, great ships, great cities are there, and our master is a great man in his country." Donnacona was pleased. He asked Cartier to stretch out his bare arm. The king kissed it, and laid it about his own neck in token of affection. "Go to my village of Stadacona yonder," said the dusky prince. "You will find a safe harbor there and a welcome." Then entering his canoe he glided swiftly over the waters toward a bold, rocky promontory in sight, around which came sweeping into the St. Lawrence, from the West, a gentle stream. Cartier followed. Passing a high waterfall on his right, he was soon in the safe harbor, with scenery around him whose beauty and grandeur were enchanting. He was in the harbor of Quebec. The little stream which he called the St. Croix (Holy Cross) was the present St. Charles, and the lofty cascade was the famous Falls of Montmorency. "Stadacona, the capital of the Lord of Canada," was, it is believed, on the site of the present suburb St. Roque in the city of Quebec, on the border of the St. Charles.

Cartier left his larger vessels at Quebec, and in the smaller one he ascended the St. Lawrence as far as Lake St. Peter, an expansion of the river. The two young men refused to go any further with him, because he had broken his promise to leave them at their home on Gaspe Bay. So Cartier had no interpreter on his voyage up the St. Lawrence. Obstructions in the stream near Lake St. Peter caused him to leave his ship and in a small boat, with three volunteers, make his way against the currents. They rowed up as far as the Indian town of Hochelaga, which, Cartier said, "contained fifty houses, about fifty paces long and twelve or fifteen broad, covered over with the bark of the wood as broad as any board, very finely and cunningly joined together, and having many rooms." On their tops were garrets, wherein they kept their corn. The town was circular in form, stockaded, and environed by three courses of ramparts made of timber and about thirty feet in height. There was only one gate or sally-port, which was closed with heavy timbers, stakes and bars. On the ramparts were magazines of stone for the defense of the city.

Dressed in his most brilliant attire, Cartier visited the town on the day following his arrival, where he was kindly received by the Huron king. With that monarch he climbed to the top of the lofty mountain back of the town, from which he beheld, with great admiration, a vast extent of

level wooded country and the course of the mighty river for many miles. He called the great hill, Mont Real (royal mountain); and the city which lies upon the site of the Huron capital, bears the same name - Montreal. Such, also, is the name of the island containing the city and the mountain.

After enjoying the hospitalities of the Hurons two or three days, Cartier departed, carrying with him the pretty daughter of one of the chiefs, about eight years of age, whom her father lent to him to take to France. He joined his little vessel, returned to Stadacona, and as the season was far advanced, it being near the middle of October, he resolved to winter there. His vessels were moored in the St. Croix (St. Charles), and there the Frenchmen endured the terrible cold of a Canadian winter from November until late in March. Their sufferings were grievous. The scurvy which prevailed among the natives at Quebec, extended to the Frenchmen, and of the one hundred and ten Europeans there, eight died, and nearly all of the others were sick.

The ice remained so long in the St. Lawrence that Cartier could not depart until May. On the third of that month he erected a huge cross, thirty-five feet in height, on the site of Dalhousie Bastion, the highest point of Cape Diamond, the promontory at Quebec, and upon it he hung the arms of France with a Latin inscription "Francis First, by the grace of God King of France, reigns." On the same day, Donnacona, whose unstinted kindness Cartier had enjoyed, was invited with nine of his chiefs to a feast on the French flag-ship, where they were treacherously detained, and were borne away captives three days afterward. Cartier sailed out of the St. Lawrence on the southern side of Anticosti. He reached the open sea from the gulf, between Cape Breton and Newfoundland, and reached St. Malo on the 6th of July, 1536. The Petite Hermione was found to be so unseaworthy that she was left in the St. Charles, where her remains were found in the year 1848, imbedded in the mud.

At about the time when Cartier sailed from Quebec, two English vessels, the Trinity and the Minion, sailed from Gravesend, with the good wishes of Henry the Eighth, bearing "thirty gentlemen and ninety seamen," to explore the region of the St. Lawrence, and to plant a colony in Newfoundland. The expedition was organized by "Master How, of London, a man of goodly stature, and of great courage, and given to the study of cosmography." His companions were young men of rank and fortune. The ships were two months on the voyage to Cape Breton, where they first touched and then sailed to Newfoundland. There the company came very near starving to death. The famine was so great that some of the stouter sailors killed weaker ones in the woods, and ate them. The gentlemen were about to cast lots to determine which of their number should become food for the rest, when a French fishing-vessel, amply provisioned, came into the port. The Englishmen seized her, and with that vessel and their own they turned to England. The Frenchmen laid their case before Henry, who, when he learned how great had been the necessities of his countrymen when they took possession of the vessel, did not punish them, but paid the foreigners the value of their property out of his private purse.

Cartier's report of his second voyage was not cheering. The rigors of the climate on the St. Lawrence in winter; the ice-bound condition of that stream for several months, and the barrenness of the land in precious stones and metals, were so discouraging that more than four years passed

away before another like expedition from a French port was planned. The king was then fighting Charles with more intense hatred than ever under the impression that the emperor had caused the death of the eldest son of Francis, who died from the effects of poison. For two years the father could think of nothing but revenge, when through the intervention of the Pope and the Queen of Hungary, the two monarchs whose mutual exasperation was intense, became reconciled and embraced and kissed each other as friends. But the French treasury was drained by long wars, and Francis would not listen to propositions for colonization in America, until late in 1540. Then Francis de la Roque, Lord of Robertval, in Picardy, importuned the king for permission to make further discoveries and plant a colony in New France. The monarch had, meanwhile, talked with Donnacona and learned much about Canada which Cartier could not know. He told him of the large numbers of fur-bearing animals in its woods and waters; the delicious salmon in its rivers, and the richness of its soil and value of its pine timber. Francis was willing to make another trial, and he gave his consent to the fitting out of ships according to the plan of De la Roque. He commissioned that gentleman Viceroy and Lieutenant-General of "Canada, Hochelaga, Saguenay, Newfoundland, Belle Isle, Cape Breton and Labrador;" and as the services of Cartier were indispensable, he was recommissioned Captain and Pilot of the King," and appointed chief mariner of the expedition, in which six or seven ships were to be employed. De La Roque was authorized to make conquests in the name of France and to plant a colony. To obtain men for the latter purpose - for the founders of a State - the prisons of France were ransacked, and many desperate characters were mingled with good men in making up the required number. The work of preparation went vigorously on, and the harbor of St. Malo was alive with busy men in the spring of 1541. Every thing and every body were in readiness late in May excepting De La Roque.

Cartier was not pleased with being made subservient to the Lord of Robertval, in the enterprise before him, and when five vessels were ready, he was glad to find De La Roque dilatory. He gathered the whole company that were to go in them, in the cathedral, where all received absolution and blessings, and on the 23rd of May they sailed from St. Malo for the St. Lawrence, leaving De la Roque to follow when he pleased. Storms arose when they approached the tracks of the polar icebergs as they were voyaging toward the tropics, and chilling fogs lay along their paths. It was late in August when the squadron entered the harbor of Stadacona or Quebec. The people there, led by King Agona, the successor of Donnacona, pressed eagerly to the ships to welcome their old monarch, for Cartier had assured them that he would bring him back. Alas! Donnacona was no more. He and his eight chiefs had been baptized in France, but had grieved themselves to death in slavery. All of them had died before Cartier's departure on his third voyage. The mariner dared not tell the whole truth to the people for fear of their resentment he only acknowledged that Donnacona was dead, and then told them that the other chiefs had all become great lords in France, had remained there, and would never return. In token of his good faith he showed them the pretty little daughter of the Huron chief at Hochelaga, whom he had brought back. The people had grave doubts. They were sullen and unfriendly. The kidnaping - the inexcusable treachery - had left a bitter sting of wrong in their hearts. Their sullenness grew more cloudy, and very soon signs of absolute hostility were manifested.

Cartier sailed up the river a few leagues above Quebec, where he found a better anchorage and

at the beginning of September he sent two of his vessels back to France with an account of his doings, and to communicate the fact that De la Roque had not arrived. He again visited Hochelaga to ascertain whether there were serious obstructions to navigation above that town, and to give back to her father the little Indian princess. He gave to the chief a cloak of Paris red, which cloak was set with yellow and white buttons of tin, and small bells." These acts made a favorable impression upon the Hurons, and they loaded him with favors. After visiting the rapids between Montreal and La Chine, he returned to Quebec, when the temper of the natives was so manifestly hostile that he was admonished to provide for the safety of himself and his followers. He accordingly built a fort on the island of Orleans, and made his winter quarters there, mooring his vessels in a cove. He waited patiently for the coming of the Viceroy, but he had not appeared when the St. Lawrence was bound with ice.

The winter was long, cold and gloomy. The Frenchmen were almost buried in the snow-drifts, and suffered much and when the spring opened, the natives were evidently preparing to attack them. Their provisions being almost exhausted, and no tidings of De la Roque reaching him, Cartier left the St. Lawrence toward the end of May, 1542, and sailed for France. Running into the harbor of St. John near the southeastern extremity of Newfoundland, he there found De la Roque, Lord of Robertval, with three ships and two hundred men, and about twenty French fishing-vessels. De la Roque had left Rochelle in France on the 16th of April, and reached the harbor he was in on the 8th of June. He had been there several days when Cartier arrived. They held a conference, when the Pilot told the Viceroy that he had left the St. Lawrence because he could not withstand the natives, who were becoming very hostile. The country, he said, did not seem very fertile, and there were no mines of precious stones and valuable minerals. A few "diamonds" - quartz crystals - which he had gathered, and a small quantity of gold, were all that he had to show of mineral wealth, and he advised De la Roque to go no further, for he could never make a colony on the St. Lawrence profitable to himself or his king. The Viceroy regarded this advice as selfish, believing Cartier's object to be to bear all the honor of his discoveries, and the glory of founding a new empire, himself. De la Roque therefore determined to go on, and ordered Cartier to go with him to the St. Lawrence, not doubting that their united forces might over-awe the Indians and secure peace and prosperity. But the Pilot resolved not to submit to the Viceroy. With apparent compliance with the commands of his superior, he returned to his ship. At twilight he secretly conferred with the captains of his two other vessels, and at midnight, when the heavens were cloudy and moonless and the darkness was intense, he escaped from the harbor with his little squadron and sailed for St. Malo. Cartier was then about fifty years of age, and seems to have abandoned the sea, for he afterward lived quietly at St. Malo and at a little village near, alternately. When and where he died is not known. It is believed that he lived in comparative poverty, and died soon after his return from his third voyage to Canada.

Toward the end of June, De la Roque left Newfoundland for the St. Lawrence, passing through the straits of Belle Isle. He did not stop at Quebec, for he found the natives very hostile, as Cartier had told him they were. He went further up the river, probably to the place where the Pilot's vessels were anchored when he sent the two ships back to France the previous year. There De la Roque built a fort, but there is no record of what else he did in Canada, excepting that he

and his companions suffered severely during the following winter, and early in June, 1543, made an exploring voyage to the Saguenay, where one of his vessels was lost. In the autumn of that year he returned to France. Finding his king again warring fiercely with his old enemy Charles, against whose empire he had hurled five different armies at as many points, the Viceroy abandoned all projects of foreign colonization and re-entered the military service in which he had often before distinguished himself. Six years later, when Francis was dead (having perished because of his personal excesses at the age of fifty-three years), and Henry the Second, who had married Catharine de Medici, was on the throne of France, the Lord of Robertval again sailed for the St. Lawrence, and was never heard of afterward.

Chapter X

The Protestant Reformation - The Huguenots or French Protestants - Coligny and Catherine de Medici - Permission Granted for a French Protestant Settlement in America - A Settlement Planted on the Coast of South Carolina - The Colony Neglected - Helped by the Natives - A Huguenot Colony in Florida - Friendship of the Natives - They Build a Fort on the St. John's River - Appearance there of a Spanish Fleet - The Colonists Warned Concerning it - The Spaniards Land at the Site of St. Augustine - Fruitless Expedition Against Them.

NOW was the period of those earnest theological discussions and intense theological antagonisms in Europe, known as the Era of the Reformation. There had been, a revolt in Germany, led by Luther and Melancthon, against the Italian hierarchy or rulers in the Christian Church whose head was the Bishop or Pope of Rome. A similar revolt had broken out in Switzerland, led by Zwingli. It was a movement in favor of intellectual liberty - the perfect equality of all men, in Church and State, in the exercise of the inalienable rights of private judgment in matters of religion and politics. When, at a Diet or Congress held at Spires, in 1529 (at which Luther and several princes who were in sympathy with him appeared), the Church, by a decree, was made master in both spiritual and temporal affairs, the reformers entered a solemn protest. So they acquired for their party the name of protest-ants or PROTESTANTS. They found the Church so strong that they soon afterward formed a league for mutual defense, and so first organized the Reformation as an aggressive moral power. This led to theological and political combinations which resulted, twenty-five years later, in the freedom of the Germans from the domination of the Italian Church. So popular were the doctrines of the Reformers, in Germany, that as early as 1558 not more than one-tenth of the people there were adherents of the Church of Rome.

But that Church was not disposed to yield its supremacy without a struggle, and it put forth all its energies for the maintenance of its power. By the mighty agencies of its traditions, its vantage-ground of possession, the Order of Jesuits which it had just created, and the Inquisition which it had re-established with new powers, its warfare was keen and terrible, and its victories were many. Those of its enemies were postponed. In the heat of that conflict, which has continued ever since, have been evolved the representative government, the free institutions, and the liberty, equality and fraternity which are the birth-rights of every American citizen of whatever hue or creed.

In France the Reformation met enemies in the court, the Church and a majority of the people, and its progress was slow and fitful. John Calvin was the chief reformer, and was banished. He took refuge in Switzerland, where he died in 1564. But he left devoted followers in France. Among these, Admiral Coligni, a favorite of Catharine de Medici when she was acting regent, was one of the most conspicuous orders of the Huguenots, as the French Protestants were called. All parties admired him for his valor and his virtues and his eminent deeds in the service of his country. He persuaded Catharine to attempt to reconcile, by a conference, the contending religious factions. He failed. When the peace conference ended in a quarrel, war ensued. The

Duke of Guise, a descendant of Charlemagne, and claimant of the French throne, whom Catherine feared and hated, led the Roman Catholics. The Prince of Condo led the Protestants. The latter being greatly in the minority suffered much. Grieved because of their forlorn condition, Coligni resolved to procure an asylum for them in the milder regions of North America, far removed from civilized men, where they might enjoy perfect religious and civil freedom, unmolested by foreign powers or hostile factions.

Coligni sought an audience with Catharine. It was readily granted. That proud and unprincipled daughter of Lorenzo de Medici, was then a little more than forty years of age, stout and fair, and was wielding power with a prodigal hand. Coligni found her seated on a rich divan covered with blue damask satin. On her head was a coronet sparkling with a single large diamond. Around her plump neck glittered a circlet of gold and pearls, emeralds and rubies. She wore a skirt of gold embroidered white silk, and over this a rich robe of royal purple velvet, trimmed with a narrow band of ermine at the front and bottom, and with a close-fitting bodice edged at the top with rich lace. Her full puffed sleeves were of the finest linen and lace, with brilliant gems at the wrists. A gold chain fastened at her bosom with a diamond brooch extended to her feet and terminated in a golden cross studded with seed pearls. Near her, and playing with a fawn-colored Italian greyhound, was her royal son, who had lately ascended the throne of France as Charles the Ninth. The king's hair hung in ringlets about his shoulders, for he was a boy only ten or twelve years of age, and his fair complexion was heightened by his rich suit of royal purple velvet, with slashed sleeves, revealing white linen beneath. Only a single minister of state was present, and he and a young woman, a court favorite and cousin of the King of Navarre, who sat by a vine-trailed window embroidering, were the only companions of royalty when the Admiral entered the room.

Coligni was tall, elegant in figure and deportment, grave in aspect, with flowing hair and beard slightly streaked with gray, for he was about forty-five years of age. He was dressed in the uniform of his rank, and carried in his hand a rich green velvet cap, bearing a long ostrich plume. His doublet of crimson velvet with short skirt was sprinkled with golden lilies, and encircled with a belt from which depended a straight sword. The sleeves terminated at the elbow, and the rest of the arm to the wrist was covered with embroidered linen. His trunk-hose of velvet extended to the middle of the thighs, and was slashed and elegantly embroidered with gold thread. Up to this, tight-fitting stockings wrought of fine white wool, extended, and on his feet were buskins of polished russet leather, sparkling with diamond buttons that fastened silk rosettes to the insteps. From his shoulders hung an open short Spanish cloak of blue velvet, and around his neck was a modest ruff. A massive gold chain, bearing the Order of St. Louis, was seen upon his breast. Such was the group who appeared in the audience-chamber of the Regent of France, late in the year 1561, to confer upon the subject of discoveries, and the planting of a Protestant colony in America.

That conference was short. In few words Coligni set forth the happiness which the carrying out of his scheme would confer upon his suffering countrymen; and he dwelt specially upon the fact that it might redound to the glory of France. Catharine, who was a pauper in moral and

religious convictions, and had espoused the cause of the Protestants only as a measure of state policy, was then the friend of Coligni. She readily granted all that he desired, in the name of the little king then playing with the greyhound; and the child's signature, hardly legible, was afterward placed to the charter given to the admiral, by which he was authorized to send an expedition to Florida and establish a colony there.

Coligni lost no time in making use of his privilege. He quickly fitted out two vessels of the character of Spanish caravels, chiefly for a voyage of discovery, and placed them under the command of John Ribault, an experienced mariner of Dieppe, who was an earnest Protestant. Ribault sailed from Havre de Grace on the 18th of February, 1562, with sailors and soldiers, and a few gentle men of fortune who were prompted by curiosity, the love of adventure, or the prospect of gain, to accompany him. They arrived off the coast of Anastacia Island (it is supposed) below the site of St. Augustine, at the close of April. Sailing along the sweet smelling coast northward, the two vessels entered the broad mouth of the River St. John, where the company landed and were most kindly received by the natives. The Frenchmen were delighted with everything - the soft climate the sweetest blossoms the magnificent trees festooned from root to top with grape-vines; birds of gay plumage and sweetest notes and mulberry trees, on "the boughs of which were silkworms in marvelous numbers," and with people of finest forms and kindest natures. They seemed to have entered a paradise. "It is a thing unspeakable," wrote Captain Ribault, "to consider the things that be seen there, and shall be found more and more in this incomparable land, which, never yet broken with plough irons, bringeth forth all things according to its first nature, wherewith the eternal God endowed it."

Under the shadow of a wide-spreading magnolia tree laden with blossoms at the edge of a green Savannah, with half-naked men, women and children, painted and decorated with gold and pearls - wondering sun-worshippers - standing a little way off, the Christians knelt upon the soft sward and poured forth thanksgiving to God for his mercy in giving them a safe voyage to such a delightful land. It was a bright May-day. At twilight they returned to their ships, and early the next morning the whole company went ashore again, in small boats, carrying a column of hard stone upon which was carved the arms of the French king. They set it up on a broad grassy knoll surrounded by tall cypress and spreading palmetto trees and sweet flowering shrubs and with the usual ceremonies, they took possession of the country in the name of Charles the Ninth. They were probably not far from the lowest point to which Verazzani had sailed almost forty years before.

On the 3rd of May the Huguenots went northward, visiting numerous islands and inlets, and toward the end of the month they entered the fine harbor of Port Royal on the coast of South Carolina, passing the high shore of Hilton Head on the left and the low grounds of St. Helena Island on the right. They anchored off Port Royal Island and went in small boats up the Broad River, and into the Coosaw and the Combahee. They were in the land where D'Allyon had committed his atrocities and met retributive justice about half a century before, yet they were kindly received by the natives and secured the friendship of the Indians by giving them kindness in return. Charmed with everything, Ribault, after exploring the surrounding country several days,

called his people together on Port Royal Island near the site of the present town of Beaufort. He told them that he thought they were at the best place for a colony he had yet seen. He spoke of the advantages of a settlement there, and the glory they might acquire for themselves and France by planting in that beautiful and fertile land the seed of a great empire. Who will undertake the glorious work? he asked. The result was marvelous even to that hopeful man. So many were anxious to remain, that if all of them had stayed, Ribault would not have had sufficient men to navigate the ship back to France. A colony of thirty persons was organized by the choice of Captain Albert De la Pierria as governor. At the request of the volunteers, Ribault built them a fort and provisioned it before his departure, and named it Fort Charles (Fort Carolus or Carolina) in honor of his king. It was constructed on the eastern bank of Port Royal Island, about a mile and a half from Beaufort, where its remain were yet visible when I visited the spot in the spring of 1866. Near it were magnificent live-oak; draped with the trailing Spanish moss, which were there, probably, when Ribault built the fort.

After completing the little fortress, Ribault said to the men who were to remain Be kind to each other, and prudent with your provisions. Let each love God and his neighbor. Your interests are mutual. Let no jealousies grow, nor disputes make you live apart, but cultivate brotherly love and you will prosper. Farewell!" Then he went on board of his vessel, and both ships sailed out of the harbor after exchanging salutes with the fort by firing guns. It was then near the middle of June, and Ribault attempted to explore the coasts northward, but foul weather opposed him and he sailed for France, whence he expected to return immediately with supplies for the colony.

Coligni was delighted with Ribault's report, but he was then unable to do anything for his colony. A civil war was raging in France between the theological factions - Roman Catholics and Huguenots - with unrelenting violence. The monarch, the court and Coligni were so involved in the strife that Ribault pleaded in vain for help for the colony in Florida. As soon as it subsided, the admiral renewed his efforts in its behalf. The regent and her son provided him with money and three armed ships - the Elizabeth of Honfleur, Captain John Lucas; the Petite Britain, Captain Vasseur; and the Falcon, Captain Marchant. The little squadron was placed under the general command of Rene Laudonniere, who accompanied Ribault in the preceding voyage. With him went many young men of family and fortune; mechanics and laborers; Jacob le Moyne as artist and geographer to the expedition, and two skillful pilots, the brothers Vasseur, of Dieppe. Laudonniere left Havre de Grace on the 22nd of April, 1564, and at the end of two months he saw the coast of Florida; but he did not go to the relief of the colony at Port Royal Island. Why?

The colonists at Port Royal cultivated the friendship of the Indians, and were very happy for awhile, but when the provisions began to fail and Ribault did not return, they lamented their folly in not exercising forethought. They had not cultivated a rood of land nor made any other provisions for sustenance, and they were soon compelled to look to their Indian neighbors for their daily food. That was then scanty and being informed of a rich country and a munificent king further south, a part of the company went thither in a little pinnace which they had constructed, and returned with it loaded with corn and beans. They had evidently been to the banks of the

Savannah Rivet, and there they had beheld a marvelous vision in the capital of King Ouade. His house was adorned with tapestry formed of richly-colored feathers white couches finely embroidered and fringed with scarlet handsome mats made of woven split cane and the monarch and his young queen richly adorned with golden chains and strings of great pearls. Better than these were his large granaries of food, from which their pinnace was so bountifully supplied but their treasure was destined to suddenly disappear. Soon after their return to Fort Charles, their house, in which everything was stored, was burned, and they were left desolate. Their savage neighbors did all in their power to relieve their distress, and the munificent Ouade furnished them with another pinnace full of corn and beans.

Dissension, the child of idleness, now appeared among the colonists. Governor Pierria applied the rules of discipline so harshly, that the people were exasperated, rose in mutiny and put him to death. They chose Nicolas Barry to be their leader, but their forlorn condition, produced intense discontent. Gaunt famine was before them, and a growing distrust of the French-men which appeared among the Indians menaced them with starvation. They determined to desert Port Royal and return to France. With the assistance of their neighbors they constructed a frail brigantine and sailed for home. She was scantily provisioned and calms and headwinds kept them so long upon the ocean that their food was almost exhausted. Then a furious tempest beat upon their frail barque and nearly engulfed her. A tremendous wave turned her upon her side, and so she floated. Starvation came. The sufferers tried to subsist upon their shoes and leather doublets, but one after another died and fell into the sea. The living had concluded to make the next victim their food, when another wave righted the crazy vessel, with some of the provisions uninjured. Half filled with water, she nevertheless floated. Again starvation came, and lots were about to be cast to determine who should be made food for the rest, when there was a feeble cry of Land from one of them. They were, indeed, in sight of a green shore. Very soon a small English vessel came to their relief. One of her seamen was a Frenchman who had sailed with Ribault, and recognized the famished men. He gave them food and drink, and told them of home and friends. Upon what shore they were landed, it is not known, but it is certain that a part of these French adventurers were taken into the presence of Queen Elizabeth of England, and that their account of the beauties of Florida created an intense desire on the part of the English to colonize that region.

Laudonniere and his companions resolved to make the banks of the St. John's River, in Florida, their abiding place. At a council, he said "If we should pass further north to go in search of Port Royal, this step would be neither very advantageous nor convenient, at least if we may rely on the report of those who have dwelt there a long time." He evidently had heard the report of those who had abandoned Fort Charles, before he left France. This answers the question, Why did he not go to Port Royal?

Laudonniere anchored his ships in the St. John's where Ribault had rested his, and he was received with marked kindness by the chief who dwelt near. He came to the captain with several of his noblemen gaily plumed and wearing short cloaks of marten skins or feathers, and besought him to go with them to the column which Ribault had set up. When they came to the grassy knoll they found the pillar surrounded with palm leaf, baskets of corn, and garlanded with fresh sweet

flowers. Savages then kissed the stone with much reverence, extending their arms toward the skies as they assumed their erect position. They requested the Frenchmen also to kiss the stone, which they did. The attendants of the chief then brought spring-water to their guests in ornamented earthen jars, and presented to Laudonniere two live eagles. It was a ceremonial token of friendship, which pleased the captain, and with the permission of the cacique he proceeded to erect a fort on the south bank of the river. In this work the Indians gave him great assistance, for they were very expert palmetto-leaf thatchers, and covered the barracks with excellent roofs. When the work was finished, it was called Fort Carolina, in honor of King Charles.

Very soon rumors came to the willing ears of the Frenchmen of mines of gold and silver in the interior, and such a thirst for the precious metals was created that an expedition went far up the river, in small boats, in search of them. Everywhere they had heard of gold and precious stones "further on," and they returned with such extravagant stories of their abundance somewhere far inland in the hands of dusky kings, that the colonists were made half-crazy. The fever was at its height when, in July, the ships were sent back to France for supplies. Every man seemed anxious to seek treasure on his own account, and Laudonniere was compelled to threaten severe penalties against any person who should traffic for gold or precious stones, excepting for the benefit of the whole company. The delusion soon vanished. When it was known that the stories of the savages about the abundance of precious metals and stones in the interior were sheer fictions, the gold fever instantly subsided, and was followed by indolence and disappointment, with their attendant evils. The bane of the Port Royal colony was seen in this. There were too many idle and improvident persons among them - too many "gentlemen who would not soil their hands with labor. Discontent soon created a mutinous spirit, and plots against the life of Laudonniere were planned and discovered. At length, some of the soldiers and seamen seized two small vessels, and, sailing toward Cuba, engaged in piracy in the West Indian Seas. On their return, three months afterward, the ringleaders were shot. Great excitement ensued, and the colonists were kept from open mutiny only by being engaged in explorations of the country, or in wars with the enemies of friendly chiefs around them. They neglected the rich soil, and famine threatened them. Discontent became more rampant, and the captain determined to return to France with the whole company. They were delayed for want of sufficient vessels. Meanwhile, Sir John Hawkins, of England, sailed into the St. John's with several ships. Laudonniere bought one of them, and was about to embark for Europe in her, with his whole company, when Ribault appeared with a squadron of seven ships from France, bringing a fresh company of colonists. Amongst them were several women and children. He had sailed from Dieppe late in May, with a commission as governor of all the French on that coast, and arrived at the St. John's at near the close of August, 1565.

A few days after Ribault's arrival, five ships were seen coming in from the sea. They anchored within speaking distance of the French ships at the bar, and after a long silence the commander of the intruding squadron hailed the nearest vessel. He was answered, "France. And what are you doing in the territories of King Philip?" he asked. "Begone!" The questioner was a Spaniard, and the Spanish monarch claimed all Florida by right of pre-discovery. The Spanish officer then asked "Are you Catholics or Lutherans?" and was answered, Lutherans of the new religion." The

trench officer then inquired who the Spaniard was and what was his errand, when (according to Barcia, the Spanish historian) he replied: "I am Pedro Menendez, commander of this armament, which belongs to the king of Spain, Don Philip the Second. I have come hither to hang and destroy all the Lutherans whom I shall find either on land or sea, according to my orders received from the king, which are so precise as to deprive me of the power of saving any one whatsoever; and these orders I shall execute to the letter but if I should meet with any Catholic on board your vessels, he shall receive good treatment. As for the heretics, they shall die."

Ribault was not taken altogether by surprise, for just as he was about to sail from Dieppe, he was handed a letter from Coligni, in which the admiral wrote in postscript "While closing this letter, I have received certain advice that Don Pedro Menendez is about to depart from Spain to the coast of Florida. You will take care not to suffer him to encroach upon us, any more than he would that we should encroach upon him."

The threat of Menendez and the hostile attitude of his ships caused the captains of the French vessels to cut their cables and put to sea. The Spanish vessels followed, firing the contents of heavy bow-guns after the fugitives. They chased them far, but in vain. "These enraged devils," wrote Mendoza, "the chaplain of Menendez' squadron, are such adroit sea-men, and manoeuvred so well, that we could not take one of them." The Spaniards finally turned back toward the coast, followed by the Frenchmen, who saw the smaller Spanish vessels enter a river several leagues south of the St. John's, and the larger ones, with the galleon of Menendez, anchor at its mouth. They also saw Spanish soldiers and provisions landed not far above that anchorage. With this important news the Frenchmen hastened back to the St. John's and reported to Ribault all they had seen. He immediately prepared to go in search of his enemies and attack them with his ships and his whole land force.

Whilst Ribault was holding a council in which Laudonniere opposed the measure suggested by the governor, an Indian came with tidings that the Spaniards were fortifying themselves on the bank of the river where they had landed. Ribault believed that they were preparing to march overland and attack Fort Carolina, and he hastened his preparations for seizing their ships, attacking them in their quarters, and so spoiling their scheme and possibly destroying them totally or driving them from the coast. Was he sure that he could seize their ships? The more cautious Laudonniere thought not, and still opposed the perilous expedition. The more fiery Ribault persisted in his resolution, and gathering as many soldiers on three ships (his larger one, the Trinity, being yet at sea) as they could conveniently carry, he sailed out of the river and down the straight coast, in full expectation of gaining a complete victory. He was sorely disappointed. A dead calm and a very low tide, when he first approached the enemy, prevented his attacking the Spanish ships, and whilst he was waiting for a favoring breeze and a flood tide, there arose a very sudden and violent storm which drove the French vessels far out to sea, and exposed both ships and men to a sad fate, as we shall observe hereafter.

Meanwhile, Menendez dispatched one of his small vessels to Spain, and the galleon to Cuba, the latter for the purpose of bringing to Florida a reinforcement of Spanish troops known to be at

Havana. But the galleon St. Pelayo - a large three-deck ship - did not reach its destination. There were several French prisoners on board of her whom Menendez had ordered to be sent to the Inquisition in Spain by way of St. Domingo. Soon after the great ship put to sea, these prisoners joined the sailors in a mutiny, and taking the command from the officers, they sailed for Europe and entered a port in Denmark.

Chapter XI

Menendez - His Landing on the Coast of Florida - The French on the St. John's Massacred by the Spaniards - Complaints of Outrage Unheeded by the French Monarch - The Chevalier de Gourgues Avenges the Crime by Retaliation - The French Court Favors the Roman Catholics - Wickedness of Catherine de Medici - The Murder of Coligny - Queen Elizabeth Espouses Coligny's Plan for Settlement in America - Reports Concerning the Warmer Regions of America Received from Walter Raleigh - Frobisher's Voyage in Search of a Northwest Passage to India, and for Gold - His Discoveries - The Globe Circumnavigated by Drake - His Exploits Against the Spaniards.

MENENDEZ (or Melendez) seems to have been rather too harshly treated by historians, for his career in Florida was not wholly voluntary. He was a native of Avila, in Spain, and at the period under consideration, he was about forty-six years of age. He had already risen to the highest rank in the Spanish navy, and was a man of large fortune. In 1554, he commanded the vessel which bore his king to England to marry Queen Mary and in 1561, he commanded the great treasure-fleet of galleons on their voyage from Mexico to Spain. One of the vessels containing his son and several relatives and friends disappeared, and was never heard of afterward. When he had delivered the fleet in Spain, he asked permission to go back in search of the lost vessel, but was then refused. Finally, after two or three years delay, his request was granted, but on condition that he should explore and colonize Florida. He fitted out an expedition for the purpose at his own expense, but when he was about to sail, orders came to him from Philip to exterminate all Protestants he might find there, or in whatever corner of the world he should discover them, on land or sea, in forests or marshes.

Philip had heard that the Huguenots who had fled from persecution in France were hiding in the forests beyond the Atlantic, and his zeal was so kindled for the domination of his church, that he gave the order to Menendez to extirpate the heretics. The mariner had no alternative but to obey or lose the opportunity of searching for his son. He was not even allowed to choose the alternative, for disobedience would have led him to the dungeons of the Inquisition. So he obeyed. The king, regarding it as a holy enterprise, added ships and treasure Soldiers and seamen flocked to the standard of Menendez in great numbers, and he sailed with a fleet of eleven ships (one of them a galleon of nine hundred tons) with over twenty-six hundred persons, consisting, besides the soldiers and sailors, of adventurers and priests. This was the armament, the sailing of which Ribault had been apprised by Coligin. Storms and other disasters in the West Indies scattered it, and when it arrived on the coast of Florida, it was reduced to a squadron of only five vessels (one of them the great ship), bearing about a thousand persons of all descriptions.

When Menendez landed from the galleon, on the coast of Florida, he made the event an occasion for a pompous ceremonial. As he left the great ship in a boat with six oarsmen, accompanied by Mendoza, his chaplain, and followed by other boats filled with gentlemen and ecclesiastics, loud trumpets sounded, drums beat, cannon thundered, and flags were displayed on the ship and on the shore, where his soldiers had already begun the construction of a fort. As they touched the beach, the chaplain walked before, bearing a large cross and chanting a hymn.

Menendez followed with his train, carrying aloft, with his own hand, the royal standard of Spain unfurled. He and his followers reverently knelt before the priest, who was arrayed in rich sacerdotal robes, and kissed the sacred symbol of the atonement which Mendoza held in his hand. It was firmly planted in the sand by the side of the flagstaff from which fluttered the royal banner in a gentle breeze; and a shield bearing the arms of Spain was leaned against the cross. Then Menendez drew his sword and formally took possession of the whole country in the name of King Philip of Spain. On that spot, and with such consecration, were laid the foundations of the city of St. Augustine, in Florida, forty years earlier than those of any other town in America, north of Mexico.

Menendez soon marched upon Fort Carolina, on the St. Johns, to execute his dreadful mission. His journey was in incessant rain over oozy ground, but zeal gave strength to his four hundred soldiers. The feeble Huguenot fort was in command of Laudonniere, who had only a handful of soldiers (for a greater portion had gone with Ribault), and he was burdened with civilians, men, women and children. With the ferocity of tigers, the Spaniards fell upon them. They were close to the fort before their presence was suspected. No person was spared on whom the assailants could lay hands. In their beds, in prayers for mercy, in flight, they were slaughtered. A few escaped to the woods without food and with scanty clothing. Many perished for want of food, and a few made their way to two small French ships, in which they sailed for Europe. Among them was Laudonniere. According to the chaplain, Mendoza, one hundred and forty-two of the Huguenots were slain, whilst the Spaniards did not lose a man. The women and children were butchered. A few men were hanged upon trees, and over them was placed the inscription: NOT AS FRENCHMEN, BUT AS LUTHERANS.

Leaving a garrison of three hundred men in Fort Carolina, and naming it Fort Matheo, Menendez returned in triumph to St. Augustine. His chaplain has left a glowing account of his reception there, and bestows unstinted praise on that leader as one of the most zealous of Christians. He was supported, he says, in his great fatigue by a burning desire to serve our Lord and destroy this Lutheran sect, the enemy of our holy Catholic religion."

Ribault's vessels, meanwhile, had all been wrecked near Cape Canaveral, on the Florida coast. All of his people were saved from the sea, but perished at the hands of the less merciful Spaniards. They tried to make their way to Fort Carolina, ignorant of its sad fate. Ribault, with one hundred and fifty men, was betrayed by one of the sailors who had deserted Laudonniere and turned pirate, and under a promise of mercy he cast himself upon the clemency of Menendez. That leader proceeded to put to death the brave captain and his companions. "Seeing that they were Lutherans," says Mendoza, "the General condemned them all to death but as I was a priest, and had the bowels of a man, I besought him to accord to me the favor, that he would not put to death those whom we should discover to be Christians. He granted my request. I made inquiry, and found ten or twelve, whom we selected from the number. All the others were executed because they were Lutherans, enemies of our holy Catholic faith." They were led out in parcels of ten, and with their hands tied behind them and at a line drawn in the sand with a cane, by Menendez, they were butchered. So, also, says Barcia, the Spanish historian, who regarded

Menendez as the chosen instrument of the Almighty to vindicate his cause. Mendoza tells us, when writing of the massacre at Fort Carolina, that the Holy Spirit enlightened the understanding" of the commander "to enable him to gain so great a victory."

A knowledge of these horrid crimes in Florida and the avowed cause of their commission, excited the greatest indignation throughout Europe, and the unchristian spirit of revenge glowed in many a manly bosom. The French Roman Catholics were greatly moved by this outrage upon their countrymen by the hated Spaniards. The relatives of the victims appealed to the French king to vindicate the wrongs of the emigrants who had been sent out under his sanction and authority. Coligni joined in the appeal; but the king and court, ruled by Catharine, whose theological views were then in a transition state, were profoundly indifferent. No remonstrances or complaint was sent to the Spanish court. No doubt information of the expedition of Ribault had been sent from the French court to Philip and caused the issuing of his bloody commission to Menendez. The courtiers of Charles the Ninth, who feared and hated Coligni because he was a Huguenot and a patriot, rejoiced at the failure of his scheme, and he was utterly unable to do more for his colony.

At this juncture a fiery avenger appeared. It was the Chevalier Dominic de Gourges, a gentleman of Gascony, member of an eminent family and a devoted Roman Catholic. In the military service of his country he had been made a prisoner by the Spaniards, who compelled him to do slave's work in Spanish galleys. His hatred of the Spanish blood thereby engendered was undying. When he heard of the treatment of his countrymen in Florida, at their hands, he was in retirement. Filled with indignation because of the crime and the criminal indifference of his king, he determined to fit out an expedition at his own expense, to punish the offenders. That was in 1567. He sold his property, borrowed money of his friends, and fitted out three small vessels, manned by one hundred soldiers (many of them gentlemen volunteers), and eighty mariners prepared with cross-bows and picks to act as soldiers. His vessels were so flat-bottomed that they might pass over the sand-bars of rivers.

De Gourges kept his destination a secret, and sailed from Bordeaux late in August for the coast of Benin, in Africa, as he publicly pretended. After various vicissitudes and delays, his little squadron left the extreme western end of Cuba for Florida, when, for the first time, he revealed to all his followers his destination and designs. In a speech glowing with enthusiasm, he so warmed their hearts for the work that was before them, that they were impatient to reach the coast. Their eyes were gratified with a sight of Florida in the spring of 1568, when the squadron entered the mouth of a small river north of the St. John's. The Indians, supposing the new comers to be Spaniards, showed much hostility. De Gourges' trumpeter, who had been with Laudonniere, and understood a little of the Indian tongue, volunteered to go ashore. There he was delighted, not only by the discovery that the cacique was an old friend of Laudonniere, but that he was accompanied by a young Frenchman who had escaped the massacre of Fort Carolina. The cacique received the trumpeter kindly, and sent an invitation to De Gourges to come on shore and hold a conference. He did so, and his young countryman acted as interpreter. The cacique, painted and bedecked, was seated on a log in a beautiful grove, with several allied chiefs sitting in a semicircle around him. He placed De Gourges on another log, and then opened the conference

with bitter complaints against the Spaniards, because of their cruelties. They had driven the Indians from their homes, murdered their children, and desolated their fields because they had treated the Frenchmen kindly. The Chevalier was pleased with this discourse, but was cautious. He told the cacique that the Spaniards should be punished for their crimes. "Do you intend to make war upon them?" quickly asked the cacique. "I do," as quickly answered De Gourgues. "We will join you!" said the cacique with vehemence as he sprang to his feet and the same words came from the lips of the other chiefs with equal vehemence as they seized their arms which they had laid upon the grass, and brandished their javelins in great excitement. An alliance against the Spaniards was made on the spot between the French and Indians, and steps were immediately taken to attack the common enemy. Other alliances were made between the French and Indians, many generations afterward, which were instruments of dire distress to the English settlers in America, as we shall observe as our story goes on.

The allies met at an appointed place not far from the St. Johns, on which the Spaniards had built two forts below Fort Carolina, on opposite banks of the river. Moving cautiously, they crossed a little stream behind a wood, arm-pit deep, the soldiers carrying their powder flasks on their helmets, an arquebuse in one hand and a sword in the other. Gathering in battle array near the little fort, the allies rushed forward with shouts and yells, and took it by surprise. The entire garrison, sixty in number, were slain, excepting a few who were reserved for another fate.

De Gourgues now hastened across the river, with eighty men in boats, to attack the fort on the opposite side, followed by the Indians, who were so eager for the fray that they could not wait for the return of the little vessels. They plunged into the water, each holding a bow, javelin and quiver of arrows in one hand, and swimming with the other. Appalled by the number of pale and dusky enemies that threatened them, the garrison of sixty men fled in the direction of Fort Carolina (or Matheo), three miles above. They were overtaken by the French and Indians in the woods, and the whole company were slain, excepting a few who were held as prisoners. From these prisoners and from a spy who was discovered in the camp, the French commander learned that Fort Carolina was not very strong; that its garrison consisted of two hundred and sixty men, and that they were greatly alarmed by a report that the allies were two thousand in number. Encouraged by this information, De Gourgues, after two days preparation, marched with his whole force against the doomed fortress. After some severe fighting, the fort was captured. The flower of the garrison had already been slain in a sortie or sallying out to attack the assailants, and many of the remainder had fled to the woods, where they were met by the Indians and slaughtered. There was an indiscriminate massacre as before, a few only being reserved as prisoners. Now these, with others who had been so reserved, were placed in a row under the very trees whereon the Huguenots had been hung, not as Frenchmen, but as Lutherans. De Gourgues addressed them, and then suspended them all by their necks. Over them he placed the inscription, burned into wood with a hot iron: NOT AS SPANIARDS AND MARINERS, BUT AS TRAITORS, ROBBERS, AND MURDERERS.

So was concluded the savage and unchristian work of retaliating upon the innocent the crimes of the guilty. Could the blow have fallen upon King Philip of Spain, or Menendez his executioner,

or Mendoza his apologist and coadjutor, and not upon the mere machines of government - the common soldiers - retributive justice would have been more divinely vindicated. But we must judge Philip, and Menendez, Mendoza and De Gourges, leniently, in the light of the spirit of the age in which they lived. No Spanish monarch now; no military chief, no truly Christian minister in any Christian country, today, would do such horrid work for such a cause. The seminal idea of the protest at Spire has worked beneficent wonders in making men less savage and more divine, since it was projected into human society.

Too weak to brave the wrath of Menendez, who was at St. Augustine, De Gourges, with the assistance of the Indians, utterly destroyed the forts on the St. John's, and then sailed for France, where he arrived just in time to avoid vessels which Philip had sent out to intercept him. He was received with coldness at court. Philip had demanded of the weak Charles the head of De Gourges, and the Queen-mother, Catharine, had espoused the cause of the opponents of the Huguenots. In poverty De Gourges concealed himself for some years, declining an invitation of the Queen of England (Elizabeth) to enter her service. At length he died, whilst on his way to a seaport to take command of a fleet that was about to wage war on Philip.

Menendez firmly planted a colony at St. Augustine, and sent an expedition, with Jesuit missionaries, to explore the waters of Chesapeake Bay, plant a settlement there, and scatter the seeds of Christianity among the pagans. But his death in 1574, when he was High Admiral of the Spanish navy, arrested this enterprise, and no further attempts seem to have been made by the Spaniards to plant settlements within the domain of our Republic.

Coligni was deserted by his sovereign and his inhuman mother, and became a martyr. Catharine, with a strange perversion of a mother's natural instincts, after she became regent, plunged all of her children, in the flower of their youth, into a whirl of sensual pleasure, that soon weakened their minds and bodies beyond recovery, as she intended they should be. Her royal son, when he reached his majority, seemed incapable of resisting any temptation put in his way by his mother, and he was easily persuaded by her to order the destruction of the Protestants throughout France, on the eve of St. Bartholomew, in August, 1572. She had failed in a plot to bring the Duke of Guise to the scaffold, and now she had joined the league against the Huguenots, of which he was a leader. Coligni was selected as one of the first victims for sacrifice on that fatal night. Behme, a German assassin in the employ of the Duke of Guise, led a band of murderers to the room of Coligni, with concealed weapons excepting a boar-spear which he held in his hand. When he entered, the majestic presence of the Admiral and the serenity and dignity of his deportment so abashed the leader, that he was about to retire, when one of his followers whispered in his ear, "Coward!" Behme instantly recovered his self-possession and plunged the spear into the heart of Coligni, who fell dead at the feet of his murderers. His body was thrown out of the window into a court, where the Duke of Guise was waiting for the consummation of the crime. The Admiral's head was severed from his body and carried to Catharine, who had it embalmed and sent as a present to Pope Gregory the Thirteenth, at Rome. The Admiral's body was dragged through the streets of Paris amidst the execration of an infuriated mob, and then was hanged on a gibbet where Charles the Ninth and his courtiers viewed it.

We have observed that a remnant of Ribault's company who abandoned Port Royal were picked up at sea by an English vessel, and taken to the presence of Queen Elizabeth. She was the daughter of Henry the Eighth and the beautiful Anne Boleyn, and had succeeded her half-sister Mary as sovereign of Great Britain in 1558, when she was twenty-five years of age. She had not been long on the throne when these Huguenots were brought into her audience-chamber. They were treated kindly, for Elizabeth was in theological sympathy with them. She had always been a Protestant at heart, but to avoid many personal perils and even death during the reign of her half-sister, who was wife of Philip of Spain, she had so deported herself with singularly adroit hypocrisy, that she was only suspected of heresy. So completely did she deceive everybody, that only the day before she ascended the throne as queen, the Spanish ambassador at the British court wrote to his royal master: She is a true Catholic she declares that she prays to the Virgin and acknowledges the real presence [of the real body and blood of Christ] in the sacrament. That was at the middle of November. On Christmas she placed herself at the head of the Protestant world, by refusing to hear mass in the Royal Chapel; and yet, only three weeks later, when she was crowned in Westminster Abbey, the religious ceremonials were all in accordance with the liturgy of the Church of Rome, and she partook of the sacrament at the hands of a Romish Archbishop. She was simply an adroit politician, and was moved altogether by political motives. For years she endeavored to gain the favor of all her subjects, Romanists and Protestants, by favoring both and there was a ludicrous mixture of the two ceremonials in the public worship of the realm.

At the time the distressed Huguenots were brought into the presence of Elizabeth, she was on the point of affording aid to their co-religionists in France and the Netherlands. She favored Coligni's scheme for colonization in America, and she listened with delight to the accounts given by these castaways of the beauty of the country, the amenities of the climate, and the fertility of the soil of the mysterious land peopled by a mysterious people, which they had been compelled to abandon. The enlightened and sagacious queen readily perceived the glory and advantages she might win for her country, by carrying forward Coligni's plan, with her own countrymen and the French Huguenots as the materials for a powerful colony. She felt a strong desire to do so, but she was then too deeply engaged in more important state work, and her desires did not ripen into action until several years afterward, although they grew in intensity. From her subjects who went over to France in considerable numbers to fight under the Prince of Conde and Coligni, she continually heard more and more of the grandeur and richness of the warmer regions of North America. From none of them came more vivid pictures than from Walter Raleigh, a young Devonshire gentleman who came from an ancient family, was well educated, and who was one of a small body of troops sent by his queen to assist the Huguenots in France. He served five years under Coligni, and then proceeded to the Netherlands to fight the Spaniards, under the banner of the Prince of Orange. He was in that service abroad when De Gourges returned from his foray in Florida, and Raleigh heard much of that region from the lips of the Chevalier. To his friends at home and to his court, he wrote letters filled with accounts of the wonders of the West, and when he returned to England he found the minds of many of the leading men of the realm, as well as that of his queen, filled with projects for making settlements in the warmer regions of North America.

Meanwhile, English navigators had been again trying to solve the question which Cabot had failed to do more than half a century before, namely, the existence of a northwest passage to Asia from the British Isles. Among them was Martin Frobisher, a Yorkshireman, whose zeal and patience were remarkable. He spent fifteen years in fruitless endeavors to get up an expedition to accomplish that object, when he was fortunate enough to secure the patronage of Ambrose Dudley, Earl of Warwick. The queen and her government took a lively interest in the undertaking, and early in June, 1576, Frobisher sailed from Deptford, on the Thames, with two barks of only twenty-five tons each and a pinnacle of ten tons, with the avowed purpose of making the discovery or to die in the attempt. When the little flotilla passed by the palace at Greenwich, the queen, who was watching its movements from an open window, leaned out and waved her hand toward the commander in token of her good-will and a farewell.

Frobisher touched at Greenland, coasted up the shores of Labrador and entered a strait or inlet above the entrance to Hudson's Bay, which bears his name. There he landed and formally took possession of the country in the name of Elizabeth. Impenetrable pack-ice, the loss of some of his men and the growing discontent of others, caused him to return to England in the autumn, at the twilight of the polar night, taking with him some of the products of the new region which he had added to the British Empire. Among other things was a heavy dark stone, a fragment of which the wife of a man to whom Frobisher had given it threw into the fire, in a passion. Her husband snatched it out and quenched the glowing mineral in vinegar, when it glittered like burnished gold. On fusing it, a small quantity of the precious metal was found in it. The fact was soon noised abroad and produced a gold-fever. Many persons eagerly offered money to enable Frobisher to make another voyage to those high latitudes, and in May, 1577, he sailed from Harwich in a vessel of the royal navy, which the queen placed at his disposal, accompanied by two barks of thirty tons each.

Only for gold were these adventurers ordered to search. They were not to seek the mysterious passage to India. Indeed Frobisher had demonstrated the impossibility of passing the polar ice-fields. On the shores of Frobisher's Inlet, the whole company landed, freighted the ships with the black stone, and returned to England. A commission was appointed by the queen to determine the value of the discoveries made. Very little gold, if any, was procured from the cargoes of stone, but the commission, for reasons not made clear, deemed it expedient to send out another expedition. Frobisher was now placed in command of a fleet, for he had twelve ships in addition to the three with which he made his second voyage. With these he sailed from Harwich on the last day of May, 1578, instructed to make search for genuine gold-ore, or for a northwest passage. Storms and currents scattered the fleet, and not more than half of the ships reached their destination. Some turned back, and two of them went to the bottom of the North Atlantic Ocean. No effort was made to force the vessels that reached Frobisher's Inlet to penetrate the ice-pack northward. They were laden with the dark stones (out of which not a particle of gold was obtained), and returned to England.

The three expeditions under Frobisher were unsuccessful, excepting in the discovery of several bays, inlets and islands on the northern coasts of America, before unknown. The brave leader,

however, won the honors of a discoverer and the fame of having been the first European who had penetrated so far toward the Arctic Circle, for Frobisher's Inlet is under the sixty- third degree of north latitude. For these exploits and other brave deeds, especially as one of the chief captains in the British fleet that confronted the "Invincible Armada" of Spain, he received the honors of knighthood.

Whilst these expeditions were in progress, Francis Drake, another Devonshire man, was circumnavigating the globe a feat performed by the Portuguese navigator, Magellan, half a century before. Drake had suffered much in person and property from the Spaniards, and had vowed vengeance and retribution. His friends fitted out five vessels for him to go on a voyage of discovery and plunder. Promising the queen gold and conquest, he sailed under her sanction at the middle of November, 1577, from the harbor of Plymouth, making the *Pelican*, of a hundred tons burthen - the largest vessel in his squadron - his flag-ship. After touching at Brazil, and other places down the east coast of South America, he passed through the Straits of Magellan at the southern extremity of the continent, early in September, 1578. Then he ran up the western coast, plundering the Spanish settlements in Chili and Peru, capturing a royal Spanish galleon heavily loaded with treasure, and taking possession of California in the name of his sovereign. Burdened with gold and silver, and with his revenge fully satisfied, Drake determined to return home. Fearing to meet a superior Spanish force in the ocean, he resolved to seek a passage around the northern shores of America. Repelled by severe cold, he sailed across the Pacific and Indian Oceans, doubled the Cape of Good Hope, and arrived at Plymouth late in September, 1579, having discovered points on the western coasts of our country as far north as Washington Territory, above the Columbia River. The queen partook of a banquet given by Drake on board the *Pelican* in Plymouth harbor, that was spread under a rich canopy of silk and tapestry that covered the clean deck, on which lay beautiful Turkish mats. The queen was attended by several ladies and gentlemen of her court. The food was served on silver dishes, and the wine in golden goblets. All the fruit of plunder. When the banquet was ended, the queen conferred upon Drake the honor of knighthood. He was then between third and forty years of age. Richly dressed in the uniform of his rank, he knelt before his sovereign. At her command, in the presence of the goodly company, and with his own sword she smote him gently over the shoulders, three times and then bade him stand, a knight of her realm.

After that the exploits of Drake on the sea were marvelous. They were against the Spaniards, whom he hated intensely. Within the space of a single year he captured and plundered Carthagina in South America, and several other towns in that region burned Forts Antonio and St. Augustine, ravaged places in the West Indies, and running up the coasts of Florida, Georgia, and the Carolinas, he visited Roanoke Island, and bore away from it, to England, a famishing colony which Raleigh had planted there. On another occasion he "singd the beard of the King of Spain," as he said, by burning one hundred Spanish vessels in the harbor of Cadiz. He was a terror to the Spaniards everywhere and long after his death, in 1595, Spanish nurses used the name of Drake as a bugaboo to frighten children, representing him as a devouring dragon. Although he is honored for his enterprise and the glory he won for England, and is regarded as the founder of the Royal Navy, Sir Francis Drake was only a daring pirate on a large and legalized scale. Camden says:

"Nothing troubled him more than that some of the chief men at court refused to accept the gold which he offered them as gotten by piracy."

In 1594, the Spanish king threatened England, with a great show of power. Drake entered the service of his sovereign, and with Admiral Hawkins he sailed for America in 1595, with twenty-six vessels. A divided command worked mischievously. Hawkins died at Porto Rico, partly from the effects of a wound, and partly from chagrin because of reverses. Drake soon afterwards achieved great triumphs. He destroyed several Spanish towns; but a fatal fever seized him late in the year. It was aggravated by mental agitation caused by a defeat of his forces, and he died in Jan. 1596. The gallant sailor was honored with a sailor's funeral. He was buried at sea in sight of Puerto Bello.

Chapter XII

Sir Humphrey Gilbert's Patent - Character of Walter Raleigh - Illustration of His Gallantry - A Favorite of Queen Elizabeth - Gilbert at Newfoundland - Is Lost at Sea - Raleigh Receives a Charter from the Queen - Sends an Exploring Expedition to America - Its Cheering Results - The Queen Names the Region Explored Virginia - Raleigh Sends a Colony to Virginia - Bad Leaders Produce Great Disasters - A Colony of Working People Sent - First English Child Born in America - The Colony Lost - Raleigh's Deeds, and His Sufferings at the Hands of a Bad King - His Death on the Scaffold.

WHILST Drake was plundering Spanish settlements in South America and circumnavigating the globe to avoid his enemies, the minds of the British queen and many of her leading subjects were powerfully directed to the more beneficent object of founding colonies in the region of North America discovered by Cabot three-fourths of a century before. With these better desires were mingled a thirst for gold which they believed existed in abundance somewhere in those regions. There were yearnings, also, for planting settlements and searching for treasures on the borders of the beautiful lands whose marvelous imagery had been portrayed by the shipwrecked Huguenots and the letters of Raleigh from France. These desires had assumed a more tangible shape than the day-dreams which had floated in the minds of England's monarch and people. They had been stimulated into action by Raleigh, on his return from the continent; and his half-brother, Sir Humphrey Gilbert - a kindred spirit - through the intervention of the young pupil of Coligni, obtained a patent from Elizabeth, which authorized him to explore and appropriate remote and barbarous lands unoccupied by Christian powers, and to hold them as fiefs or estates of the crown of England. That was in the year 1578. Gilbert did not believe there could be profit in searching for gold in the higher latitudes. A more comprehensive view of the fisheries off Newfoundland, to which four hundred vessels from Europe repaired annually, turned his thoughts now to a project of planting a colony on that island; and in this scheme Raleigh acquiesced.

Walter Raleigh was one of the most illustrious of the English adventurers of his time. When, through his influence at court, Gilbert obtained his patent, he was only twenty-six years of age. Endowed with brilliant genius, unbounded ambition and extraordinary activity, his mind grasped the boldest projects, and his versatility, enthusiasm and credulity, led him to the immediate execution of any scheme which he might conceive. Framed in the prodigality of nature," says an English author, "he was at once the most industrious scholar and the most accomplished courtier of his age as a projector, profound, ingenious, and indefatigable as a soldier, prompt, daring, and heroic so contemplative (says an old writer), that lie might have been judged unfit for action so active, that he seemed to have no leisure for contemplation. The chief defect of his mental temperament was the absence of moderation and regulation of thought and aim. Smitten with a love of glorious achievement, he had unfortunately embraced the maxim that whatever is not extraordinary is nothing and his mind (till the last scene of his life) was not sufficiently pervaded by religion to recognize that nobility of purpose which ennobles the commonest actions, and elevates circumstances instead of borrowing dignity from them. Uncontrolled by steady principle and sober calculation, the fancy and the passions of Raleigh transported him, in some instances,

beyond the bounds of rectitude, honor and propriety; and, seconded by the malevolence of his fortune, entailed reproaches on his character and discomfiture on his undertakings. But though adversity might cloud his path, it would never depress his spirit, or quench a single ray of his genius. He subscribed to his fortune with a noble grace, and by the universal consent of mankind his errors and infirmities have been deemed within the protection of his glory."

Raleigh became a favorite of his queen by a single act of gallantry. He had lately returned from Ireland, where he had distinguished himself in putting down the rebellion of the Desmonds. Meeting the queen one day whilst she was walking with two of her maids of honor, he took from his shoulders his rich velvet mantle, and bowing gracefully, spread it over a wet spot in her path for her to walk upon. Because of this delicate gallantry, Raleigh was immediately admitted to court, where he and the accomplished Essex became powerful rivals for the queen's special favor. Their intrigues were ceaseless and often romantic, and filled a large space in the gossip of court circles. Raleigh soon tired of such a fruitless life, and leaving the business of a courtier, engaged again in the graver thoughts and duties pertaining to American colonization.

Gilbert's patent, which bound him to pay to the crown one-fifth part of all gold and silver which the countries he might discover and colonize should produce, invested him with the powers of a civil and criminal legislator over the inhabitants of any territory which he might occupy, provided the laws should be in accordance with the statutes and policy of England, and not in derogation of supreme allegiance to the crown. It also guaranteed to his followers the civil rights of Englishmen. The patent, so far as it related to the appropriation of territory, extended six years, during which time no other persons should be permitted to establish a settlement within two hundred leagues of any spot which these adventurers might occupy.

Armed with these arbitrary powers and aided by Raleigh's friendship and money, Gilbert, at the expense of much of his own fortune, fitted out a small squadron and sailed for America late in 1579. He had been distinguished for gallant military service in Ireland, and in 1570 had received the honor of knighthood. Six years afterwards, he had published a book entitled "A Discourse of a Discovery for a New Passage to Cathay," which attracted a good deal of attention toward him. His reputation was so high that the sons of many of the nobility and gentry of England embarked with him as adventurers. They were utterly unfit to be the founders of a state (and were not permitted to become so), for most of them were idlers and some were dissolute.

It is said by some that Raleigh sailed with his half-brother. Heavy storms or Spanish war vessels destroyed one of the ships, and compelled the remainder to turn back, and for the space of four years afterwards the enterprise was held in abeyance. Gilbert was too much impoverished to undertake another expedition but Raleigh and his friends, at the end of that time, fitted out another small squadron. It sailed from Plymouth in June, 1583, under the command of Gilbert, who bore as a present from the queen and as a token of her good-will, a golden anchor guided by a woman and he was accompanied by a learned Hungarian. The little flotilla reached Newfoundland in August, and entered the harbor of St. John's, wherein the Lord of Robertval and Cartier had met almost fifty years before. There, on the firm earth, Gilbert set up a column with

the arms of England carved on it; and in the presence of hundreds of fishermen from Western Europe, whom he summoned to the spot, he formally took possession of the country in the name of Queen Elizabeth.

Gilbert's vessels had suffered much from storms on the voyage; but the intrepid mariners, after making slight repairs, proceeded to explore the coasts southward. Off the shores of Cape Breton, heavy tempests beat upon his ships, and not long afterwards his larger one, in which he sailed, was dashed upon the rocks and lost with about one hundred men. The commander was saved and took refuge in the Squirrel, a little vessel of ten tons. Buffeting the waves until his flotilla was dispersed and hope failed, he turned the prow of his little vessel homeward, with another named the Hind. On a September day when a gale was rising, the two vessels were within speaking distance of each other. Gilbert was sitting abaft with a book in his hand, and in reply to a shout from the commander of the Hind that they were in great peril, he cried "We are as near Heaven on the sea as on the land." The gale increased night fell the darkness became intense, and at midnight the lights of the Squirrel went out suddenly. The little bark had plunged beneath the waves and all on board perished. The Hind was the only vessel of the squadron that escaped the tempests and returned to England with tidings of the disaster.

Misfortune seemed to stimulate Raleigh to more energetic action. He was then paying court to the queen, with whom he was a great favorite. He asked her for a charter in all respects the same as that she had given to Gilbert, but covering lands further south. It was given in April, 1584. It constituted Raleigh Lord Proprietor of all countries between Delaware Bay and the mouth of the Santee River in South Carolina. Quick in the execution of his projects, two ships were made ready for sea before June, well equipped with men and provisions. Arthur Barlow, a skillful mariner, was placed in chief command, assisted by Philip Amidas, of French descent but a native of England. They were directed to explore the coasts within the parallels named, and choose a place for settlement. Instead of following the northerly path across the Atlantic, in which so many disasters had occurred, they vent by the way of the Canary Isles, were wafted by the trade-winds to the West Indies, and approached the American coast in the latitude of Florida. Turning northward, they ran up the coast along the line of the Gulf Stream, and entering Ocracock Inlet, anchored off Wocoken Island, in July. There they landed, and were kindly received by the gentle natives who were as kindly treated in return. There Barlow set up a small column with the British arms rudely carved upon it, and waving over it the banner of England, in the presence of the wondering natives, took possession of the whole region - islands and main, inlets and sounds - in the name of the queen. They spent several weeks in explorations of Roanoke Island and Pamlico and Albemarle Sounds, and in trafficking with the natives. "The people," wrote the mariners, "were most gentle, loving and faithful, void of all guile and treason, and such as lived after the manner of the golden age."

On Roanoke Island the Englishmen were entertained, with a refined hospitality, by the mother of frying Wingina (who was absent) and wherever they went friendship was the rule. To the feelings of the strangers, everything on the islands and on the main was charming. Nature was then garnished in all her summer wealth, and to the eyes of the Englishmen her beauties there

were marvelous. Magnificent trees were draped with luxuriant vines clustered with growing grapes, and the forest swarmed with birds of sweetest songs and beautiful plumage. After gathering what information they could about the neighboring country, Barlow and Amidas departed for England, with their company, attended by Manteo and Wanchese, two dusky lords of the woods and waters.

The glowing accounts of this newly-discovered region given by the mariners, and the pictures of the simple lives and gentle manners of the inhabitants which they drew, delighted Raleigh and his sovereign; and Elizabeth, as a memorial that the splendid domain had been added to the British realm during the reign of a virgin queen, named the country VIRGINIA. So say some. Others say that the name was given because the land retained the virgin beauty, purity and fertility of its first creation. The queen declared that such acquisition was one of the most glorious events of her reign and she bestowed the honors of knighthood upon Raleigh. The parliament or congress confirmed his charter, and the queen, in order to enrich him, gave him the monopoly of the sale of sweet wines. His popularity was unbounded, and by an almost unanimous vote he was elected to represent the county of Devon in parliament.

Satisfied that his charter was a key that would unlock the coveted treasures of wealth, honor and power, Raleigh now took measures for sending out a colony to people his American domain. Friends in abundance stood ready to assist him, and on the 9th of April, 1585, he saw a fleet of seven ships sail out of Plymouth harbor, with one hundred and eighty colonists and a full complement of seamen, for the coast of Virginia. Sir Richard Grenville, one of the most gallant men of his times, was in command of the squadron, and Ralph Lane, a soldier and civilian of distinction, who had been an equerry at the royal court, was sent as the governor of the colony, with Amidas as his assistant. They were accompanied by Thomas Cavendish, who, the next year, followed the path of Drake around the world; by a competent painter to delineate men and things in America, and by Thomas Harriot, an eminent mathematician and astronomer, who went as historian and naturalist of the expedition.

The choice of Grenville as commander of the squadron was unfortunate. He was more intent upon plunder than colonization. Sailing over the southern route, he cruised among the West India Islands, capturing Spanish vessels, and so infusing the colonists with a spirit quite the reverse of that of peaceful settlers. They did not reach the American coast until late in June, when the vessels came near being wrecked upon a point of land which, from that circumstance, they named Cape Fear. Sailing up the coast they entered Ocracock Inlet and finally landed on Roanoke Island, with Manteo, who returned with them.

We learn all that we know about this colony in Virginia from Harriot's narrative. He remained there a year, making observations and obtaining drawings of everything of interest. He had been Raleigh's tutor in mathematics, and took great interest in the expedition and he labored hard to restrain the cupidity of the colonists, who were more intent upon winning gold and plunder than in tilling the soil.

The example of Grenville led to infinite mischief. He sent Manteo to the mainland to announce their arrival, and soon followed him with Lane, Cavendish, Harriot and others. For eight days they explored the country, and were hospitably entertained everywhere. How was that hospitality requited? At an Indian village a silver cup was stolen from the English and was not immediately restored on demand. Grenville ordered the whole town to be burned, and the standing corn around it destroyed. A flame of indignation, furious and destructive, was enkindled in the savage mind, which could not be quenched. Unsuspecting of the consequences of his act, the commander left the colonists and returned to England with his ships. These all became pirates on the sea; and Grenville was warmly welcomed when he entered the harbor of Plymouth with his vessels laden with plunder from Spanish galleons and other vessels.

Lane was delighted with the country, and in a letter which he sent home by Grenville, he wrote "It is the goodliest soil under the cope of Heaven the most pleasing territory of the world the continent is of a huge and unknown greatness, and very well peopled and towned, though savagely. The climate is so wholesome, that we have not one sick since we have touched the land. If Virginia had but horses and kine, and were inhabited by English, no realm in Christendom were comparable to it."

Harriot was a man of keen observation, and looked upon everything with the eye of a Christian philosopher. He perceived that the way to have the country permanently "inhabited by English," and supplied with "horses and kine," was to treat the natives kindly as friends and neighbors. He deprecated the conduct of Grenville, and tried to quench the fires of revenge which the leader's cruelty had enkindled. The Indians were curious and credulous. Many of them regarded the persons of the English with reverence and awe. Their fire-arms, burning-glasses, mathematical instruments, clocks, watches, and books seemed to the savage mind like the work of the gods. The colonists were never sick and had no women with them, and so the natives, imagined that they were not born of woman and were therefore immortal - men of ancient days who had risen to immortality. Taking advantage of this feeling, Harriot displayed the Bible everywhere, told them of its grand and precious truths, and inspired them with such a love for it that they often pressed it affectionately to their bosoms. King Wingina became very ill. He sent for Harriot, who found him in his bough-covered cabin on a couch of soft moss, with a priest making mysterious movements over the invalid, a "medicine man" offering him a decoction from a calabash, and a dancing juggler contorting his body and grimacing fearfully to drive away the Evil Spirit. Wingina dismissed all of these attendants, placed himself under the care of Harriot, and asked the prayers of the English. He recovered, and his example was followed by many of his subjects.

Had the other colonists been as wise and good as Harriot, all might have been well. But they were greedy for gold. Governor Lane had the fever, and all trusted more to their fire-arms than to friendship for the goodwill of the Indians. The natives were treated with scorn and sometimes with cruelty, which kept alive the flame of vengeance. Seeing the Englishmen's greed for gold, they told them marvelous stories of a land at the headwaters of the Roanoke which was filled with the precious metals, and where the houses were lined with pearls. They told them that the source of the Roanoke was in a rock so near the Pacific Ocean that sometimes the salt waves dashed

over into the fountain. All this was told that the English might go in search of that land, and so divided and weakened, the Indians might fall upon and destroy them. The red men guessed shrewdly, for Lane believed their stories, and with a large number of followers went up the swift stream of the Roanoke, until he was satisfied that he had been deceived by pure fictions. He turned back, and his sudden reappearance discomfited the Indians, who had planned an attack upon the divided settlers. Their wrath was only checked, but not subdued. They regarded the fire-arms of the English as demons, and that the great sickness which then prevailed as the effects of wounds given by invisible bullets that came from unseen agents in the air. Believing that more Englishmen were coming to take their lands, they so yearned to exterminate the intruders that they could not conceal their enmity.

Lane, impressed with the belief that there was a wide-spread conspiracy to destroy his colony, prepared to strike the first blow. He invited Wingina and his principal chiefs to a friendly conference. They showed their confidence in the strangers by appearing without weapons. At a preconcerted signal, Lane and his followers fell upon the Indians and murdered the king and all of his companions. Thenceforth each party stood on the defensive, and very soon the condition of the English became desperate. Their provisions were exhausted; no ships came from England with supplies, and no food could be obtained from the Indians. Only the woods and waters offered them a precarious subsistence, and they were on the verge of despair, when they saw, one day, the joyful apparition of white sails coming in from the sea. It was the fleet of Sir Francis Drake, who was returning from his raid upon Spanish towns and settlements, and looked in upon the colonists that he might report their condition to his friend Raleigh. He offered them aid and encouragement, but they were so thoroughly despondent that they begged and received permission to return to England in the baronet's ships.

Whilst they were in Virginia, Lane and his associates had acquired a taste for smoking tobacco, a habit which prevailed among the natives and they were the first persons who carried the plant into England. The Spaniards and Portuguese had introduced it on the continent. Raleigh adopted and encouraged its use in England, and very soon the habit became so widespread that the demand exceeded the supply. It became the staple product of Virginia and a bond of union between England and some of her American colonies, as well as a source of much revenue. It is said that Queen Elizabeth became Raleigh's apt pupil in the art of smoking tobacco. One day whilst she and the courtier and two or three others were indulging in the habit, Raleigh offered a wager that he would ascertain the weight of smoke that should issue from her lips in a given time. Elizabeth accepted the challenge. Raleigh weighed the tobacco that was put in her pipe, and then weighed the ashes that remained in it the difference in the weight he assigned as the weight of the smoke. The queen, laughing, acknowledged that he had won the wager, and said he was the first alchemist she had ever heard of who had succeeded in turning smoke into gold.

Drake's ships had scarcely left the coast when a vessel appeared with supplies for the fugitive colonists. Finding the post abandoned, the ship that he might report their condition to his friend Raleigh. He offered them aid and encouragement, but they were so thoroughly despondent that they begged and received permission to return to England in the baronet's ships.

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Raleigh was not dismayed by these mishaps. Lane, whose failure as a leader was conspicuous, gave a gloomy account of the country, but the report of the learned Harriot was so encouraging that Raleigh found very little difficulty in gathering another colony, and of better materials. They were not gold-seekers, but agriculturists and artisans, with their wives and children, who consented to become permanent settlers in America. John White was appointed governor of the colony, with eleven assistants, and late in April, 1587, a squadron of three ships, fitted out at Raleigh's expense, sailed for the Chesapeake Bay, where the proprietor intended to plant his farming settlement. White went first to Roanoke, and proceeded no further. He arrived there in July, when he found a little fort built by Lane broken down; the huts of the former colonists overgrown by rank weeds and inhabited by wild deer, and a heap of human bones that told the sad fate of Grenville's "protectors of the rights of England."

The new colonists wisely resolved to cultivate the friendship of the Indians, but some of the latter appeared hostile and killed one of the assistants. Manteo, who lived on Croatan Island, came with his mother and relatives, and invited them to make their abode on his domain, when White took the opportunity to have the chief receive the rite of Christian baptism, and to bestow upon him the order of a feudal baron as "Lord of Roanoke," by the command of Raleigh. This was the first and last peerage ever created on the soil of our Republic.

For a time matters went on smoothly, when an unlucky mistake of the English in attacking friendly Indians produced bad blood. At about the same time it became necessary for the ships to return to England for supplies. White was persuaded to go with them that he might hasten their return. He left behind him eighty-nine men, seventeen women and two children. Among these

was his daughter, Eleanor Dare, wife of one of his assistants, who had given birth to a daughter since her arrival, to whom they gave the name of Virginia - Virginia Dare. On his way, White touched Ireland, where he left some potato plants, the first ever seen in Europe.

When White returned home, he found his countrymen in commotion on account of a threatened invasion from Spain, and all the great naval captains, as well as Raleigh, were engaged in plans for averting the evil. But the latter, by great exertions, sent White back with supplies in two ships in April, 1588. The greed of the governor made him neglect his first duty. Instead of going directly to Virginia, he chased Spanish ships in search of plunder. Both of his vessels were so much injured that he was compelled to take them back to England, and it was not until 1590, a year after the defeat of the "Invincible Armada" of Spain in the British Channel, that White was permitted to go in search of the colony and his daughter. He sailed with two ships, and found Roanoke desolate. Had the colonists perished, or were they somewhere in the wilderness?

This question has never been answered. An inscription on the bark of a tree seemed to indicate that they had gone to Croatan. It was late in the season, and fearing the fearful storms which he knew prevailed on the coast at that period, White searched no further but hastened back to England with the sad tidings of the uncertain fate of the colonists. It was conjectured that the faithful Lord of Roanoke had saved their lives, and when they seemed to be abandoned by their countrymen, they had been incorporated with a native tribe and amalgamated with them. This conjecture finds plausibility in a tradition of the Hatteras Indians at a later period, which averred that such was the fate of the colony; and some find confirmation of the tradition in the fact that when European settlements were finally made in that region, individuals of the Hatteras family bore the mingled physical characteristics of the Indian and the Englishman. Perhaps when Jamestown was founded on the river of Powhatan, when Virginia Dare was twenty years of age, she was a beautiful young Indian queen on the banks of the Roanoke. Who knows?

Raleigh's means were now exhausted. He had spent about two hundred thousand dollars in vain attempts to colonize Virginia and in assisting other kindred enterprises; and he was compelled to abandon, in a degree, his magnificent scheme. He formed a company of merchants and adventurers under his charter, to whom he assigned a portion of his rights. Lacking his spirit and enthusiasm, they did nothing more than carry on a petty trade with Virginia for awhile, and at the time of Queen Elizabeth's death, in 1603, there was not a single Englishman settled in all America. Raleigh did not, for a long time, abandon the hope of finding the lost colonists of Roanoke and it is said that he sent persons five different times, at his own expense, to search for them, but no traces could be found. The failure of Raleigh's colonization scheme was caused chiefly by the incompetence of his agents.

Among the statesmen and adventurers of England who directed the earliest efforts of subjects of that realm for the colonization of America, the name of Raleigh will ever stand brightest. In courage, perseverance, comprehensive views, lavish expenditure and ever-buoyant hopefulness, he had no peer. He was not only a soldier and statesman, but he was a historian, poet and philosopher - a scholar in most departments of learning. When, at the age of about thirty-seven

years, he abandoned the scheme for colonizing Virginia, lie proceeded to perform other services which, alone, would have made his name immortal. He did much toward the destruction of the Spanish Armada accompanied Drake in his expedition to seat Don Antonio on the throne of Portugal brought Edmund Spenser from Ireland and introduced him to the queen discovered the large, rich and beautiful empire of Guiana, in South America assisted in the capture of Cadiz was ambassador to the Netherlands, and governor of the island of Jersey. Immoralities stained his fair fame, and when Elizabeth died in 1603, the sun of his glory went down among clouds, yet none the brighter in itself because obscured to the visions of men. When King James of Scotland came to the throne of England, he stripped Raleigh of all his preferments. The great man was then a paralytic, but his lofty spirit bore him above repining.

Raleigh was soon afterward arrested on a false charge of conspiring to place Arabella Stuart on the English throne, and on conviction without proof he was condemned to death. Reprieved, he was sent to the Tower, where he was confined many years, accompanied much of the time by his faithful wife, who had been one of Elizabeth's maids of honor. There he was in 1615, when the base and avaricious king, wanting his services to search for gold in Guiana, released him from prison, on condition that he would go there, but did not pardon him. Raleigh was then sixty-three years of age and an invalid but lie went to South America with fourteen ships, in the fitting out of which he embarked the whole of his wife's fortune and his own. The expedition was a failure, and he returned to Plymouth in the summer of 1618 a wreck in fortune, health, reputation and spirits. The king, disappointed in his expectations of wealth as the fruits of the expedition, and jealous of Raleigh even in his almost helplessness, recommitted the old man to the Tower, and soon afterward caused him to be beheaded, in execution of the unjust sentence pronounced fifteen years before. "This is a sharp medicine, but it is a cure for all diseases," said the white-haired patriot, on the scaffold, as he felt the keen edge of the axe and handed it to the executioner.

That murderous act of King James was one of the foulest of all the foul performances of the detested monarch. Upon the altar of his lust he sacrificed one of the noblest patriots, far-seeing statesmen and brilliant scholars of the British realm. Raleigh's very existence, even in the obscurity of the Tower, wherein he wrote his "History of the World," was a perpetual honor to the reign of the bad king.

Raleigh had lived to see his scheme for colonizing Virginia carried out by other Englishmen. Ten years before his death, when he was in the Tower, Jamestown was founded; and when the axe finished his earthly course, a congregation of English Puritans were contemplating that emigration to America which occurred two years later, and which resulted in the founding of the commonwealths of New England. The French navigator, Champlain, had laid the foundations of a permanent settlement on the St Lawrence River; and whilst Raleigh was in Guiana, the Dutch were laying plans for a colony in New Netherland, which Hudson had discovered a few years before. George Calvert had just received the honors of knighthood, taken a seat in the Privy Council, and gained that special friendship of King James which finally led to his elevation to the peerage as Lord Baltimore, to his attempts to colonize Newfoundland, and gain the possession of the fine domain of Maryland by his family. And after a lapse of almost two centuries, the

inhabitants of North Carolina, on the shores of whose State the great adventurer had made his attempts at settlement, showed their sense of justice by giving to their capital the name of Raleigh.

Chapter XIII

Explorations of New England Coasts by English Navigators - Grand Scheme for Colonizing Virginia Patronized by the British Monarch - Charters Granted - Attempt of the French to Plant Settlements in America - Samuel Champlain Finds Quebec and Montreal - He Discovers and Names Lake Champlain - With the Help of the Jesuits He Establishes the French Dominion in America - The Story of the Voyages and Discoveries of Henry Hudson - His Sad Fate - The Discoveries.

THE enthusiasm which Raleigh had created in England in favor of American discovery and colonization did not die out in consequence of his conspicuous failures. Some of his associates continued to believe in the rich promises which such colonization held out. Among these believers was Bartholomew Gosnold, who had made a voyage to America, and who, like Raleigh, had not lost faith. They were much together; and when the Earl of Southampton offered to fit out a bark for the purpose of attempting to plant a small settlement in America if Gosnold would command the vessel, that navigator's illustrious friend advised him to do so. They had talked much about the northern and southern tracks across the Atlantic, which were then followed by ships from England, and they believed that a more direct route might be taken a thousand leagues shorter than by way of the Canaries and the West Indies. On the 26th of April, 1602, Gosnold sailed from Falmouth in a small vessel, with twenty colonists and eight mariners on the proposed direct track, and touched the American continent at near Nahant, in Massachusetts Bay, it is supposed, just eighteen days after his departure from England. Finding no good harbor there, he sailed southward, discovered a great sandy point which he named Cape Cod, because of the profusion of codfishes seen near its shores and landed there with four of his men. Never before had the present route of ships from Europe to New England and New York been traversed never before had the soil of New England been pressed by the foot of an English-man.

Doubling the Cape, Gosnold passed around the promontory of Gayhead which he named Dover Cliff, and entered Buzzard's Bay, where he found a group of attractive islands. He named the western-most Elizabeth, in honor of his queen, and the whole group now bear that name. On Elizabeth, Gosnold and his followers landed. They were charmed with the aspects of nature there. Vegetation was luxuriant, and small fruits, such as strawberries, raspberries, and growing grapes were abundant. There the navigator resolved to plant his little colony, and on a small rocky island, in the bosom of a great pond, they built a rude stone-house and a fort.

Elizabeth Island now bears its original Indian name of Cattyhunk. Had the courage of the adventurers held out, they would there have won the honor of making the first permanent English settlement in America. But it did not hold out. They thought the Indians scowled upon them they were not sure of food in the future they could not agree upon a method for dividing profits what may the winter be was a serious question, and a wilting home-sickness came upon them. So, when Gosnold had laden his vessel with sassafras root, then much esteemed in Europe for its medical properties also with furs gathered by traffic with the natives, and sweet cedar-wood and other products, and was ready to sail for home, the colonists resolved to go with him. They

abandoned their little paradise of beauty, and in less than four months after their departure from home, they were back on the soil of England. They spoke in glowing terms of the serenity of the climate, and the beauty and fertility of the land they had visited of the shortness and safety of the voyage to it, and of the riches of the adjacent continent which might be gathered by traffic with the Indians. Raleigh strongly advised further efforts toward planting a colony in that part of America; so also did Richard Hakluyt, prebendary of Westminster - a man learned in naval and commercial science, the counsellor of many who had engaged in the expeditions to America, and who became the historian of those voyages. Under the advice of such men, Bristol merchants fitted out two ships for traffic and discovery on the coast of what was afterward called New England.

Early in April (1603, about a fortnight after the death of the queen), the Speedwell, of fifty tons, and the Discoverer, a bark of twenty-six tons, sailed from Milford Haven under the command of Martin Pring, a friend of Raleigh and Gosnold. Pring commanded the Speedwell in person, which was manned by thirty men and boys. William Browne was master of the Discoverer, and was accompanied by Robert Galterns as a supercargo or general agent of the expedition. Galterns had accompanied Gosnold to America. They were furnished with clothing, axes, and trinkets for the natives; and early in June the vessels entered Penobscot Bay. They went up the Penobscot River some distance, and then sailing along the coast, they entered the mouths of the Saco, Kennebec, and Piscataqua rivers on the coast of Maine. Gorges says Pring made a perfect discovery of all these eastern rivers and harbors." That, however, was done three years later, when Pring was on another voyage.

Sailing southward, Pring and his companions went to the region where Gosnold and his handful of adventurers had tarried for awhile, and landed on a large island abounding with grapes, which they named Martin's Vineyard, now Martha's Vineyard. Thence they returned to England, after an absence of six months. Pring made a report confirming everything that Gosnold had told about the country. This confirmation led to other expeditions, and in 1605 the Earl of Southampton and Lord Arundel, of Wardour, fitted out a vessel, placed it under the command of George Weymouth, another friend of the now imprisoned Raleigh, and dispatched it to the eastern coasts of New England. Weymouth had already explored the coast of Labrador in an attempt to discover a northwest passage to India. He sailed from England in March, taking the shorter track, but storms delayed him on the way, and it was six weeks before he saw America, at Nantucket. Turning northward, he entered Penobscot Bay, where he opened a traffic with the natives. It was carried on for awhile in mutual confidence until signs of treachery appeared on the part of the Indians, when Weymouth determined to resent the affront. He invited some of the leading savages to a feast on board of his vessel, but only three of the cautious natives accepted the invitation. There he fed them and plied them with intoxicating drink, until they were half insensible, when he confined them in the hold of his ship. Then he went on shore with some of his men to entice others on board. They opened boxes and showed the natives trinkets, but they could not induce the savages to go to the vessel; so Weymouth and his men seized two of them. "It was as much as five or six of us could do to get them into the light horseman [the boat]," wrote Weymouth, "for they were strong, and so naked as our best hold was by their long hair on their

heads." The Englishmen took with the captives two handsome birch-bark canoes, when the anchor was taken up and the ship sailed away for England with the five dusky prisoners. The canoes, like one carried home by Pring, attracted much attention as the work of savages. Three of the captives were given to Sir Fernando Gorges, then Governor of Plymouth, (who was a fast friend of Raleigh), and remained in his family three years, during which time they acquired considerable knowledge of the English language. This kidnapping left on the shores of New England the seeds of much future trouble.

All doubts respecting the commercial value of every part of the American coast from Florida to Newfoundland had now vanished from the English mind, and the voyage of Weymouth was immediately followed by the immediate execution of a vast plan for colonizing the shores of this Western World. King James was petitioned to sanction by his authority an organization for the purpose. He not only did so willingly, but he warmly commended the enterprise. He had seen the good effects of introducing industrious artisans and traders from the lowlands among the wilder Highlanders of his native country; and as war with France had lately ceased, there was a large number of restless, unoccupied soldiers in England for whom he would gladly open a new field of enterprise. Moved by these considerations, he issued letters-patent, on the 20th of April, 1606, to Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Somers, Richard Hakluyt and others, granting to them those territories in America lying on the sea-coast between the thirty-fourth and forty-fifth degree of north latitude, together with all the islands situated within a hundred miles of their shores that is to say, from Cape Fear to Nova Scotia. The design of this patent was declared to be "to make habitation and plantation, and to deduce a colony of sundry of our people into that part of America commonly called Virginia." The charter proclaimed that "so noble a work may, by the Providence of Almighty God, hereafter tend to the glory of his Divine Majesty, in propagating of Christian religion to such people as yet live in darkness and miserable ignorance of the true knowledge and worship of God, and may, in time, bring the infidels and savages living in those parts to human civility, and to a settled and quiet government."

The patentees were principally merchants and adventurers of London, Plymouth and Bristol, and by their charter they were required to form two companies, each under a distinct title the one consisting of London adventurers to be called the London Company," and the one composed of "knights, gentlemen and merchants" of the West of England, the Plymouth Company." The vast domain was divided into two districts, called respectively North and South Virginia, the line of separation being about on the parallel of New York City.

Now dawned the bright era when English colonies were permanently planted in America. The story of their marvelous growth will be told here after. Raleigh, poor and in prison, was not allowed to share, personally, in the glory of any of that fruitful seed-time, the result of his genius, generosity and enterprise. When Richard Hakluyt, Bartholomew Gosnold, and Sir Fernando Gorges, three of his firm friends, were permitted by the king to visit the illustrious prisoner in the Tower, and tell him of the new enterprise, the interview was a touching one. They found Raleigh seated at a little table near an open window in the massive wall, tall and narrow, writing. Around him lay huge folios. On the walls hung maps, and on the deep window-sill was a mariner's

compass. Near him sat his faithful wife, almost twenty years younger than he, who had just come to share his imprisonment. At her feet lay a sleeping spaniel belonging to the keeper of the Tower; and a picture of their son who was killed in Guiana leaned against a small cabinet at her side. When the three friends entered, Raleigh quickly arose and embraced them affectionately. When they told him of the great enterprise and the king's sanction, he sat down in his chair, and with clasped hands and eyes turned heavenward exclaimed: "God be praised for his goodness! Prison walls cannot defeat his justice. The English nation love truth and will defend the good name of her disciples. God save the king!" The final invocation was for the ears of the jailor who stood at the door. It had a double meaning on Raleigh's lips - a meaning of political loyalty, or an earnest prayer for the salvation of the monarch from the consequences of his bad life. It could not be interpreted to Raleigh's hurt.

A Protestant sovereign, the great Henry of Navarre, was now on the throne of France, the first and best of her Bourbon kings. His heart was set on promoting the prosperity and true greatness of his kingdom. He had given it peace at home by the edict of Nantes, granting toleration to his Protestant subjects, proclaimed on the thirteenth of April, 1598, and cessation from war abroad by the treaty of Verviers with Spain, signed seventeen days afterward. Agriculture, manufactures, mining, internal improvements, and settlements in New France (Canada), which had not been attempted since the disappearance of Robertval more than fifty years before, were encouraged. In these labors of statesmanship he was led and assisted by Maximilian de Bethune, the great Duke of Sully, whose name shines with splendor in the annals of France.

Among the earliest of the new French adventurers was the Marquis de la Roche, a wealthy nobleman, who gathered a company from the prisons of France wherewith to found a colony in America. He sailed with a single ship in the spring of 1598, and landed on Sable Island, in the Atlantic Ocean, ninety miles southeast of Nova Scotia, where he left forty men and returned to France for supplies. Before he was ready to go back, he sickened and died, and the poor emigrants had no tidings from home or the rest of the world for seven years. Then a vessel was sent for them, but only twelve survived. These were pardoned on their return, because of their sufferings abroad, and their immediate wants were supplied by the king.

Whilst these men were on Sable Island, another expedition was sent from France on a similar errand. M. de Chastes, Governor of Dieppe, obtained from the king a charter for founding settlements in New France. He engaged Samuel Champlain of the French navy, a man of noble lineage and a favorite of the sovereign, to act as his delegate. The king commissioned Champlain lieutenant-general of Canada, and with this authority he embarked at Honfleur on the 15th of March, 1603, with a single vessel, commanded by Pontgrave, a skillful mariner of St. Malo, whose father had been an intimate friend of Cartier. They reached the St. Lawrence in May, and anchored near the site of Quebec, when Pontgrave, with five men, went up that stream in a canoe to the rapids of Lachine, above Montreal where Cartier found an impassable barrier to his upward voyage. Then he turned back, carefully examining the shores of the river, and on reaching the ship he gave Champlain a minute account of all they had observed. Meanwhile, Champlain had held intercourse with the savages, whose memories and traditions ran back to Cartier's

kidnapping, but they were placable, and the lieutenant-general was pleased with all he saw. They returned to France in the early autumn, when Champlain published an account of the country.

When the voyagers returned, they found M. Chastes dead and the concessions transferred by the king to Pierre de Gast, the Sieur de Monts, a wealthy Huguenot, who had received the commission of viceroy, with full power for settlement and rule over six degrees of latitude in America, extending from that of Cape May to the parallel of Quebec. That region was named, in the charter, L'Acadie, a corruption of the Greek Arcadia. The charter was published in all the maritime towns of France, and soon afterward De Monts and his associates were vested with the monopoly of the fur and peltry trade of his domain, and around the Gulf of St. Lawrence. A new arrangement was made with Champlain, and early in March, 1604, De Monts, with his bosom friend Poutrincourt and Pont Greve as his lieutenants, and Champlain as the pilot, sailed from France with four vessels well manned, and a goodly company of Protestant and Roman Catholic emigrants. Among the latter were several Jesuits. They reached the St. Lawrence in April, when they found the river ice-bound and the weather so cold that the viceroy determined to plant his settlement further to the southward. They passed around Cape Breton and Nova Scotia into the Bay of Fundy, and on the northern shore of the Peninsula they anchored in a fine harbor environed by hills and meadows, early in May. Poutrincourt was so charmed by the appearance of the country, that De Monts allowed him to remain there with some of the emigrants. He gave him a grant of the region, which was confirmed by the king, and Poutrincourt named the place where he landed Port Royal. It is now Annapolis, in Nova Scotia. De Monts and the rest of the company, seventy in number, crossed over to Passamaquoddy Bay, and on an island not far from the mouth of the St. Croix River, the eastern boundary of Maine, they landed, built a fort with a chapel in it and cannon mounted on it, and there passed a severe winter. Half of them were dead in the spring, when the survivors explored the country westward as far as Cape Cod, and returned to Port Royal, where they joined Poutrincourt's colony. Early in the autumn, De Monts and Poutrincourt returned to France, leaving Champlain and Pont Greve to make further explorations of the region. They went to the southwest as far as Cape Cod, where they attempted to land and erect a cross, but were driven to their vessel by the Indians. In 1607, Champlain returned to France.

For a few years there was a struggle for existence and growth on the part of the colonists in Acadie. The Jesuit priests who accompanied Poutrincourt back to that land claimed the right to supreme rule by virtue of their holy office. He stoutly resisted their claim, and told them boldly: "It is my part to rule you on the earth, it is your part to guide me to heaven." When Poutrincourt had returned to France they made the same claim upon his son, whom he left in charge of the colony. The fiery young man threatened them with corporeal punishment, when they withdrew and settled on the island of Mount Desert, now so famous as a summer resort, and there set up a cross in token of sovereignty. They were there in 1613, when Samuel Argall, a freebooter of the seas, went, under the sanction of the governor of Virginia, to expel the French from Acadie as intruders upon the domain of the North and South Virginia Company. The Jesuits on Mount Desert, it is said, willing to use such an opportunity for revenge, piloted the Englishmen to Port Royal, which Argall plundered and laid in ashes, driving the colonists to the woods and breaking

up the settlement. Acadie was again settled by the French, who suffered many vicissitudes and became the subject of romance and song.

De Monts was not disposed to contend with the powerful English company. He obtained a new charter with ample provisions, and proceeded to plant a colony on the St. Lawrence. Two vessels were fitted out in the spring of 1608, freighted with colonists and supplies, and were navigated under the direction of Pontgrave, with Champlain as governor. They were directed to form a settlement at Tadousac on the St. Lawrence, near the mouth of the Saguenay River. They arrived at that point on the 3rd of June. Champlain perceived that it was not a good place for a colony, so he directed Pontgrave to sail further up the river. They entered the St. Charles, where Cartier had left one of his vessels, and on its banks at the foot of a rocky promontory he chose as the place for a settlement, and there he laid the foundations of the City of Quebec. That name is an Indian word, signifying "the narrows," and is pronounced kebec. That was the first permanent French settlement planted in America. It grew, for the little colony took firm root under the culture of Champlain. He opened a profitable fur trade with the Indians, and planted a small settlement at Montreal. The colonists were induced to build houses and plant seeds yet there were malcontents among them, who conspired to murder the governor. The plot was discovered; the ringleader was banged, and order and obedience were secured.

Champlain, regarding the Iroquois in northern New York as inimical to his colony because it was in the bosom of the Huron nation who were their enemies, allied himself to the Hurons and went out with them upon the warpath. In the summer of 1609, he, with a boat's crew, went with the Indian warriors up the Sorel or Richelieu River to the Falls of Chambly, where he left his boat and the crew, and with only two men pushed on in a canoe until he discovered a great lake between two distant mountain ranges - the Green Mountains and the Adirondacks. He gave his name to the sheet of water, which is a beautiful, appropriate, and eternal monument to the memory of the mariner. On its shores he and his Indian allies had a fight with their enemies, and then returned to Quebec with fifty scalps as trophies of war. In September of that year Champlain returned to France, when he published an account of Canada and of his adventures.

The following spring Champlain returned, stopping at Tadousac, where he borrowed fifty warriors from a chief, with whom he penetrated the country to Lake Champlain to fight the enemies of the Hurons. He was defeated and wounded. So bad was his hurt that when he reached Quebec he found it necessary to return to France to have medical treatment. The aspect of affairs there was changed. The dagger of the fanatic Francois Ravailac had killed his king; the fortune of De Monts was so much diminished that he could not continue the settlement at Montreal nor foster that at Quebec, and it appeared as if there were to be another ending of French settlements in America. At that moment the queen-regent, by a judicious act, saved the colony. She appointed Charles of Bourbon nominal govern of Canada, and the prince commissioned Champlain his lieutenant with large powers. So strengthened, the latter returned in 1612, and engaged vigorously in wars and explorations. Three years later he invited some Jesuit Fathers to the St. Lawrence, who accompanied him in expeditions of discovery extending up the Ottawa River and westward to Lake Huron. Turning east-ward, they traversed the wilderness to

Lake Ontario, and exploring that magnificent sheet of water its whole length, and the St. Lawrence to a point below Montreal, they returned to Quebec.

With the vision of a statesman, Champlain saw that the country with which he had made himself acquainted was fitted to become the seat of a magnificent colonial empire of Frenchmen, and he resolved to do all in his power to lay the solid foundations of such an empire. He went home, and in 1620 - the same year when the London Company planted a permanent settlement in New England - he returned to Canada vested with the authority of governor, and taking with him his family and other emigrants with their families. He had seen the amazing influence of the Jesuit fathers over the Indian mind. He had also perceived that an alliance with the red men would be essential in building up and making permanent his future empire. To make them good allies, it would be necessary to Christianize the savages so he invited more Jesuits to come. He had, very soon, as coadjutors, fifteen Jesuit priests and a considerable number of laymen. A college was established at Quebec for the instruction of the children of the Hurons in civilized modes of living, the French language, and the theology of the Roman Catholic Church. The Jesuits were peculiarly the men for the work; - sagacious, far-seeing, politic, zealous, obedient, devoted, industrious, persevering, long-suffering and self-sacrificing men of the world who could adapt themselves to every condition and plane of life, from the pitiful suppliant as a beggar to the haughty bearing of a king. They worked with untiring energy and signal success for religion and the state.

So was wisely laid, by Samuel Champlain, the foundation-stone of the French empire in America; a political structure which always displayed as its chief source of strength a firm alliance with the Indians cemented by the religious teachings of the Jesuits, which made the dusky tribes and the pale faces, to a remarkable extent, one in the Christian faith. So were secured those alliances in emergencies, between the French and Indians in America, already alluded to, which frequently gave the English colonists much and serious trouble.

Whilst the other Western nations of Europe were acquiring glory and solid territorial possessions by discoveries in America, Holland, then the greatest maritime nation on the earth, was quietly winning the gains of profitable commerce by sending her uncouth commercial marine over beaten ocean tracks, quite indifferent to the exciting day-dreams of fabulous wealth concealed in the bosom of the western continent, which so dazzled other people. But Holland, too, at this period of commercial activity, became a partner with others in making discoveries and settlements in America, in spite of her indifference. The story with its preface runs thus:

Upon the walls of the governor's room in the City Hall, New York, hangs a dingy canvas bearing the portrait of a man apparently about forty years of age, with short-cut hair and beard, and a broad ruff, such as were worn by the English gentry late in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. It is the portrait of Henry Hudson, "the bold Englishman, the expert pilot, and the famous navigator a pupil, probably of Drake, or Frobisher, or Grenville. Thoroughly imbued with the spirit of adventure then rife, he sought opportunities for winning renown in his profession therefore it was a happy day for Hudson, early in the year 1607, when in its morning he received a summons to the

parlor of Sir Thomas Gresham, a wealthy London merchant, who built the Royal Exchange. There he met a number of "certain worshipful merchants of London" who yet believed in the existence of a polar sea passage to India, and had conceived a plan for another search for it. They had sent for Hudson to join them in consultation. He found Sir Thomas and a number of friends sitting at a table covered with maps and charts, with just space enough besides for a rich silver salver holding a bottle of wine and glasses to drink it. He was received graciously. The interview was not long, and it ended in a bargain between Hudson and the merchants for the navigator to command a small expedition for the discovery of a polar sea passage, not in the usual track in the northwestern waters, but around the north of Europe.

Hudson sailed from Gravesend on the first of May, 1607, a few days after an English colony had arrived in Virginia to plant the seeds of a great commonwealth there. The vessel in which Hudson sailed was a small one manned by only ten men and a boy. He went up the eastern coast of Greenland to the eighteenth degree, where a solid ice barrier compelled him to turn back. He had discovered the island of Spitzbergen, nothing more. Baffled but not discouraged, he returned to England at the middle of September. Neither were his employers disheartened. They fitted out another vessel in which Hudson sailed late in April, 1608, with full expectation that he should make the coveted passage between Spitzbergen and Nova Zembla. Again the impenetrable ice-pack compelled him to turn back, and he again returned to England. He was not yet disheartened, but his employers were, and gave up the enterprise. Hudson went over to Holland to seek similar employment in the service of the Dutch East India Company, a wealthy corporation of merchants at Amsterdam, which had been in existence about seven years. Hudson inspired them with a belief that a much shorter passage to their possessions in the East Indies might be found around the North of Europe, and they fitted out a small vessel of ninety tons, to go in search of it. Hudson was placed in command of her, with a choice crew of English and Dutch seamen. She was a staunch new vessel named *De Halve-Maen* - the Half-Moon - and in her he left the Texel early in April, 1609, and sailed for Nova Zembla.

After manfully fighting the ice-pack on the parallel of Spitzbergen, and its allies - the polar fogs and tempests - until all hope of conquests vanished, Hudson was compelled, a third time, to turn back. He determined not to go without fruit to the Texel, so he sailed around the southern shores of Greenland into the track of searchers after a northwest passage. Again the ice-pack foiled him, and he sailed southward until, at the middle of July, he discovered the American continent off the coast of Maine. It is supposed that he passed several days in Casco Bay, repairing his storm-shattered vessel, when the natives, among whom he found French trinkets, treated him kindly. Their hospitality was requited by plundering their property and driving them from their houses. They resented this treatment so fiercely that he was compelled to put to sea.

Hudson now sailed southward as far as the Capes of Virginia, touching at Cape Cod on the way. Then he sailed up the coast, discovered Delaware Bay, and entered the harbor of New York early in September, after spending several days in visiting the beautiful shores of Raritan Bay, where he held friendly intercourse with the natives, although he was ever watchful for expected treachery. The inhabitants showed a disposition to traffic, but Hudson was so suspicious that he

repelled them in an offensive manner and kindled their enmity. One night, whilst a boat load of his crew were returning from an exploration in the neighborhood of the Narrows (between Long and Staten Islands), they were attacked by Indians, in canoes, and one of the seamen was killed. Sadly his comrades carried his body ashore the next day and buried it near the beach, while savage men, women and children looked on in wonder from a neighboring hill.

Northward from his anchorage after his vessel had entered New York Bay, Hudson saw a broad stream rising and falling with the tide, which the Indians told him came from beyond the pale blue mountain ranges in the distance. He believed it was a strait through which he might pass into the Indian Ocean so he sailed up the stream a few miles, and anchored. Natives came to him in canoes from the shores with fruits and vegetables, and friendly gestures. The men were athletic the women were graceful and the young ones often beautiful. All were half-clad in mantles made of skins or feathers depending from one shoulder and the waist, or in colored hempen tunics; and some of the women who came in the canoes, whose hair, long and black, hung loosely over their shoulders and bosoms, wore fillets ornamented with shells and the quills of the porcupine. They seemed anxious for friendly intercourse, but Hudson repelled and offended them.

The Half-Moon went leisurely up the river, anchoring here and there, whilst her commander held intercourse with the natives, sometimes friendly; sometimes hostile. When he passed the great mountains which he had seen in the distance, and found the water freshening, he was satisfied that he was not in a passage to India. It was only a beautiful river flowing down from more lofty hills three hundred miles from the sea, and called Mahicannituck by the natives. The Dutch afterwards called it the Mauritius, and the English gave it the name of Hudson's River.

Hudson went up the stream with the Half-Moon and his small boats as far as Albany, and perhaps to the mouth of the Mohawk, and looked upon the foaming falls of Cohoes. Then he sailed leisurely back, everywhere charmed with the beauty and grandeur of the scenery and apparent fertility of the soil. He had discovered one of the richest portions of America. From New York Bay he sailed for England, after formally taking possession of the whole domain which he had discovered in the name of the States-General of Holland. Landing at Dartmouth in November, he hastened to London and told the story of his discoveries. The unworthy monarch on England's throne, jealous of the advantages which the Dutch might derive from these discoveries, would not let Hudson, an English subject, leave the realm. The navigator had outwitted the sovereign. Knowing his mean character, he had sent to his Amsterdam employers, by a trusty hand, all of his log-books, maps, charts, and a full account of his voyage and discoveries. These led to the commercial ventures between the Texel and the Hudson rivers which immediately followed, and which resulted in the planting of the City of New Amsterdam (now New York) at the mouth of the latter, and of New Orange (now Albany) at near the head of its navigable waters. These were the germs of the commonwealth of New Netherland, the domain of which is now known as the State of New York.

The fate of Hudson, the last of the discoverers who revealed the Atlantic coast of the American continent to Europe, may be told in a few words. He sailed from England in the spring

of 1610 on his fourth voyage in search of a polar ocean passage, this time in the northwest. He discovered, far up North America, the Bay that bears his name, and intended to winter there, but a majority of his crew became mutinous and compelled him to sail homeward. On the way he, his son and seven of his men who had remained faithful to him were seized, pinioned, placed in an open shallop and abandoned on the icy sea, where, of course, they soon perished. Abacuck Pricket, one of Hudson's crew, who was confined to the cabin with lameness at the time, in his published account of the circumstances, after relating how he opposed the cruel proceedings, says: "Now were all the poor men in the shallop, whose names are as followeth: Henrie Hudson, John Hudson, Arnold Lodlo, Sidrack Faner, Philip Staffe, Thomas Woodhouse or Wydhouse, Adam Moore, Henrie King, Michael Bute. The carpenter got of them a Peece, and Powder, and Shot, and some Pikes, an Iron Pot, with some meale and other things. They stood out of the Ice, the Shallop being fast to the Sterne of the Ship, and so (when they were nigh out, for I cannot say they were cleane out) they cut her head fast from the Sterne of our Ship, then out with thee Top-sayles, and toward the East they stood in a cleare Sea"

Chapter XIV

England at the Beginning of the Seventeenth Century - Henry the Eighth and the Church - Dawn of the Age of Reason - Rural Population of England - Furniture, Costume, Methods of Agriculture, Learning and Fine Arts in England - London and Plymouth Companies - Settlements Attempted in New England - English Settlers on the James River - Captain John Smith - Settlement at Jamestown.

AT the beginning of the seventeenth century, when permanent English settlements were begun in America, the people of Great Britain had just passed from the reign of an age of Faith into that of an age of Reason. In the realm of the former, there was such absolute intellectual laziness, and indifference to the exercise of reason in speculative matters, that men accepted tenets in religion and politics, however absurd as truths, and bestowed no thought upon them. Theology was like a cast-iron machine, utterly inflexible. It fashioned social life in its most minute details. The people were simply passive portions of that machine obedient to its ecclesiastic movers. The monastery governed the throne and its subjects as a rigid master, and for centuries there had been very little improvement in the condition of the inhabitants. At length the glare of the moral volcano which had suddenly burst out in Germany shot across Western Europe and the English Channel and awoke the British mind from its sluggish repose. Faith gave way to Reason. A secular revolt assumed formidable proportions, and at the close of the same year, when the right of private judgment was proclaimed at Spire, the English House of Commons - the representatives of the people - presented a petition to King Henry the Eighth, which contained the germs of the English Reformation. It accused the clergy of disloyalty and immorality, and attributed the disorders which affected the realm to the malign influence of the ecclesiastics. The king presented this petition to the bishops for an answer. That answer was arrogant, and offensive to the House of Commons. The latter stood firm in the position of accuser and champion for the laity, and waged a bitter war with the clergy. Henry, stimulated by his love for Anne Boleyn and angered by the opposition of the church to his unholy scheme of divorcement from his queen, united with the Commons, and employed the resolute Thomas Cromwell to lead a movement for the disseverance of the civil government of England from the controlling spiritual power of Rome. Cromwell did so with a high hand, sanctioned and assisted by the Parliament, for already the rule of the people through representatives was recognized. That body, by law, suppressed all the monasteries in the kingdom, confiscated their property, and compelled the ecclesiastics to work for their own sustenance. "Go spin, jade go spin !" was the unfeeling remark of Cromwell to some aged nuns. By law, Henry was made the supreme head of the church in England - a pontiff of a church in rebellion - and so was established the principle that canon or ecclesiastical laws must be subservient to the civil laws. It was a new thing under the sun.

England was now partially freed from a long political bondage, and the age of Reason dawned. The English mind was thoroughly aroused to action. Wonderful social changes followed and during the reign of the adroit trimmer Queen Elizabeth, all classes had more freedom than ever before. Yet the laity were not wholly free. Henry had not specially changed the theology or the rituals of the church in England, and there appeared three powerful and antagonistic parties in the

realm. These were the English party, or Churchmen, who adhered to and enforced the doctrines and rituals of the Church of Rome, but who gave their allegiance to the English monarch, and not to the Pope; the papal party or supporters of the authority of the Roman hierarchy, and the doctrinal Protestants who were disliked by the others. When Parliament established a liturgy for the Church of England, the latter refused conformity to it, for they acknowledged no authority but the Bible in matters of religion. They were more austere in manners, more simple in their worship, and demanded greater purity of life, and so they acquired the name of Puritans. It was given in derision, but soon became an honorable title. Each class was intolerant, and for more than a century and a half there was a chronic triangular contest between the English Churchmen, the Roman Catholics, and the Puritans, which caused many of each class to seek peace in the forests of America. But Reason swayed the age with a Potent sceptre, and stamped its insignia of authority upon the movements of society. Individuals and associations found new and promising fields of action, the most attractive of which was the virgin soil of America. As we have seen, its worth was known and fairly estimated at the beginning of the seventeenth century; and then dawned the Era of Settlements within the domain of our Republic, now at the noon-tide of success, and turning the wilderness, everywhere into a blooming garden.

The condition of the rural population of England had greatly improved under the new order of things. Down to the time of Henry the Eighth, there had been very little improvement since the Romans left the island. There was not much tillage, and that little was unskillfully done. Vast forests and fens covered the land, and malaria (unwholesome exhalations) was a perpetual scourge. The population was sparse and increased very slowly. It did not exceed five million in the whole island of Great Britain, when Henry the Eighth ascended the throne. The food of the common people was not equal in its nutrition and variety, nor their clothing in comfort, to that of our Indians when Europeans first came to America. Our savages lived in better habitations than did their British contemporaries. Pestilence and famine kept the rural population sparse. The ecclesiastics rioted in coarse luxuries, and the morals of the towns were unwholesome in the extreme.

At the beginning of the seventeenth century, or a hundred years later, all this had materially changed. The methods of agriculture had been greatly improved, and its bounds immensely enlarged. Implements were better and tillage was far more productive. The farmers, generally, had an abundance of good food; lived in better houses; pewter dishes had taken the place of wooden ones; feather beds, those of straw and coarse wool, and the yeoman was fond of entertaining his neighbors. Clover had been introduced from the Netherlands, and increased the food for sheep and cattle. Gardens had begun to be cultivated. From the Netherlands had come the hop; also the cabbage, lettuce, apricot, gooseberry, musk-melon and apple. Cherries had come from France currants from Greece, and plums from Italy; and from Flanders the Flemings had brought the rose and other fragrant plants, natives of the East. Rural feasts were common among the yeomanry, and the materials for good cheer are enumerated in the following lines:

"Good bread and good drink, a good fire in the hall; Braun, pudding and sauce, and good mustard withal Beef, mutton and pork, shred pies of the best Pig, veal, goose and capon, and

turkey well drest; Cheese, apples and nuts; jolly carols to hear; All these in the country are counted good cheer."

In cities and among the nobility rapidly increasing wealth had fostered a taste for luxuries. Dwellings, furniture, and dress, felt its influence. Elegant and substantial houses were built. Furniture was elaborately carved and inlaid glass mirrors had been introduced from France early in the reign of Elizabeth, and carpets from Turkey, which English weavers soon imitated, took the place on floors of rushes and mats on which royalty had before trodden. Chairs were cushioned with velvet coverings, and costly beds and bedsteads were seen. In many houses were ornamental French clocks, and knives were seen on English dinner-tables; but forks were not used whilst Elizabeth lived.

An old chronicler tells us of a merry scene in the palace of Henry the Eighth. On the morning after the supple-kneed Archbishop Cranmer pronounced the marriage of his king with Anne Boleyn lawful, the new queen received visits of congratulation from the whole court and the archbishop and several prelates in full canonicals. Henry was delighted with the honors paid to his beautiful wife, and whilst they were pressing about her, and both ladies and gentlemen were giving her tokens of their regard, the king went to a small cabinet, unlocked it, and taking from it a French clock which he had bought in France while he was there with Anne when she was a marchioness, he brought it and put it in her hands as a public pledge of his love and constancy whilst time should endure. It was of "silver gilt, richly chased, engraved and ornamented with fleur-de-lys, little heads, etc. On the top sits a lion holding the arms of England, which are also on their sides." It was about sixteen inches in height.

The costume of this period we are considering was a little less extravagant in mode and richness of materials than it had been when Elizabeth was in her prime, for Puritan simplicity better suited good taste. Crimson and blue velvets embroidered with gold were still worn by the rich and noble; and the ruff was yet seen around the necks of both men and women, but somewhat diminished in volume. Jewelry was yet used to excess, and perfumed gloves bordered with silver were common among the rich. Headdresses were of every variety of pattern, but generally were not offensive to good taste. The pastimes of the common people were ball-playing, bowling, archery and rude theatrical exhibitions, whilst the gentry engaged in bull-baiting and horse-racing out of doors, and chess and backgammon amused them in hall and castle. Learning, until late in Elizabeth's reign, had been much neglected. Nobles and clergy were ignorant; but now a mighty impulse had been given to literature in England, for it was the age of Spenser and Shakespeare. Yet not one in ten of the gentry could write his or her name. The father of Shakespeare could only make his mark with a pen. The fine arts were very little encouraged. Henry the Eighth, who possessed good taste, caused some very fine buildings to be erected, and invited to his court painters and sculptors from abroad. Holbein the painter came from Switzerland, and Torregiano the sculptor came from Florence. But Elizabeth had no artistic taste, and we find only one eminent English painter during her reign - Nicolas Hilliard - to whom she sat for her miniature several times. She encouraged art so far it ministered to the gratification of her vanity.

Such, in brief outline, is a picture of the social condition of England when the inhabitants of that realm began to make permanent settlements in America, at the beginning of the seventeenth century. The Tudor dynasty had ended with Elizabeth, and that of the Stuarts had begun. James the Sixth of Scotland, the only son of Mary Queen of Scot, had ascended the throne as James the First of England in 1603. He was in private and public an unwashed, ill-mannered, vulgar and contemptible man fond of gross shows on which he wasted the treasures of the kingdom; and so great was his egotism that he considered himself more wise and learned than any man in his realm in church or state. He was a bigoted believer in the royal prerogative or exclusive privileges exercised by divine right and he was a fickle tyrant who gave continual uneasiness to his subjects. This was the monarch who granted charters to the London and Plymouth Companies, authorizing them to make settlements in America.

The Plymouth Company, who were to control North Virginia, were first in the field of adventure. Circumstances seemed to be favorable. England was then burdened with two classes of men who would be willing to engage in any enterprise which might promise improvement in their condition. These were restless soldiers unemployed since war with France ceased, and who might soon become dangerous to the state and impoverished spendthrifts, idle and often vicious, who had wasted their estates in riotous living. Such men stood ready to brave ocean perils and the uncertainties of life in a distant hemisphere and when the corporators asked for emigrants, there was no lack of candidates.

The charter of each company was the same. The defined boundaries of each domain was as follows: that of the London Company, between the thirty-fourth and thirty-eighth degrees of north latitude, and that of the Plymouth Company, between the forty-first and forty-fifth degrees, leaving three degrees of space between North and South Virginia, on a breadth of one hundred miles of which, in the centre, neither party should be allowed to make settlements.

The mind of the king was visible in the grant. The idea of the royal prerogative was everywhere conspicuous. He gave to the colonists nothing but the bare territory and the privilege of peopling and defending it. Absolute legislative authority was reserved to the monarch, and he had control over all appointments. Supreme jurisdiction, under the monarch, was given to a small body of men residing in England, known as "The Council of Virginia," and local administration was entrusted to a council in the colony appointed by the one at home, the term of office of the members of both councils depending upon the caprice of the king. The only political privilege accorded to the emigrants was that of perpetual English citizenship for themselves and their children. Homage and rent were the prime conditions of the charter-land in the form of one-fifth of the net produce of the precious metals. The charter had not the slightest feature of a free government for to the emigrants not a single elective franchise, or a right to self-government, was conceded. They were subject to the ordinances of a commercial corporation of which they were not allowed to be members and even in matters of religion, they had no choice. The doctrine and rituals of the Church of England were to be the established theology and mode of worship in the American colonies, and no dissent was allowed.

The principal members of the Plymouth Company were Sir John Popham (then Lord Chief-Justice of England, who had condemned Raleigh to death), his brother George, Sir Fernando Gorges, Sir John and Raleigh Gilbert, sons of Sir Humphrey Gilbert who perished in the Squirrel, William Parker and Thomas Hanham. In 1606 they sent an agent in a small vessel to inspect the American domain. The Spaniards seized her. Popham fitted out another at his own expense, made the navigator Martin Pring her commander, and sent her to America on the same errand. Pring explored the New England coasts, and confirmed all that Gosnold and others had said about the beauty of the country and the fertility of the soil. This report stimulated Popham (who was the chief manager of the Plymouth Company) to energetic efforts towards founding a settlement, and at the beginning of the summer of 1607, a hundred emigrants sailed for America in three small vessels, with George Popham as their governor. They landed on a rather sterile spot on the coast of Maine, near the mouth of the Kennebec River, late in August, where they dug a well and built a storehouse, a few log huts and a stockade fort. It was too late in the season to raise food from the soil. There was small promise of receiving any from the Indians, who, angered by the kidnapping by Weymouth, were sullen and hostile. With this prospect before them, all but forty-five of the emigrants returned home in the ships.

The ensuing winter was a fearful one. Frost closed the rivers against fishermen, and deep snows blocked the forests against hunters. The settlers had nothing to depend upon excepting the stores brought from England. At one time their huts were nearly buried in the snow-drifts. Of two of them only the chimneys were seen above the snow for a month, out of which rolled the blue smoke along the surface of the white drifts. It was difficult to get fuel to feed the hut fires and they were about to make the storehouse their general home, when, at midnight in January, it took fire and was consumed, with a part of their provisions, which they could not save. That fire produced a wild, weird scene, its red glare spreading a crimson glow far over the snow and through the dark forests. Distress followed. Confinement, hardship and scarcity gendered disease, and when the spring of 1608 opened, Governor Popham was dead.

The settlers were on the verge of despair when a ship came with supplies and brought the sad intelligence that the chief-justice and Sir John Gilbert were dead. These men were the stronger props of the enterprise. This news, with the terrible scenes of the past winter fresh in their memories, discouraged the emigrants, and they abandoned the country and returned home, taking with them a little vessel which they had built, and some furs and other products of the country. They were not fit men to found a state. They were compulsory emigrants sent hither by their personal necessities, and had left their country for their country's good. Happily for New England they were not allowed to be the founders of a commonwealth on its soil. They gave such discouraging accounts of the country that no one seemed willing to follow their example and for a number of years afterward the Plymouth Company only kept up a little traffic with the natives of their domain, and fished in the neighboring waters.

The king, with commendable vanity, had prepared a code of laws for the colonies, really more liberal in their provisions than the intentions of the patentees, who desired immediate profitable return in money rather than the ultimate blessings of colonization. These laws enjoined the

regular preaching of the gospel, kindness to the Indians and the communication of religious instruction to them, and other provisions for the well-ordering of a civil community. Under the charter and this code of laws, the London Company prepared to make a settlement in South Virginia. Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Somers, Richard Hakluyt, and Edward Maria Wingfield were its most active members, and in December, 1606, they sent Captain Christopher Newport with three small vessels and one hundred and five emigrants, with orders to land on Roanoke Island, where Raleigh's colony had perished twenty years before. It was a company of men no better fitted for the founding of a prosperous state than were those who wintered on the coast of Maine. No family, the true nucleus of a colony, accompanied either. Of the whole number who sailed for Virginia, there were only twelve laborers and a few mechanics. The remainder were "gentlemen," a word denoting persons who were not engaged in any industrial employments - drones in society, whose numbers are, happily, small in our country at this day. Many of these were idle and dissolute, whilst a few of those who were classed with the colonists, like Bartholomew Gosnold, the projector of the scheme, Captain John Smith, George Percy brother of the Duke of Northumberland, and Edward Maria Wingfield, were men of energy and steady habits.

The silly king, with his love for concealment, trickery and surprises, had placed the names of the councillors for the Virginia government in a sealed box, with orders not to open it until the emigrants should be landed and were prepared to form a settlement. This foolish order deprived the colonists of a head whilst on the sea, and there was no competent authority to decide questions or to quell disputes, if any should arise, during the long voyage of four months, for Newport took the old southern route by way of the Canary Islands and the West Indies.

Disputes, hot and fierce, did arise on that voyage. Before reaching the Canaries there were daily quarrels, chiefly owing to the brusque and imperious manner and outspoken opinions of Captain John Smith, who possessed more energy and wisdom than any man among them. Although he was then only twenty-nine years of age, he had acquired vast renown and experience by military exploits, and his fame filled his companions with envy. He had been a wild, rollicking lad, whose friends gave him ten shillings, he said, "to get rid of him," and he went to France as a servant to an English nobleman. He was soon dismissed by his new master, and then engaged in the wars in the Low Countries. At the end of a long campaign, when he was nineteen years of age, he returned to England, built himself a hut in a dark forest, turned hermit, and devoted much of his time to the study of military history and tactics, and practicing horsemanship. The hermit became the theme of many a wild tale, when he suddenly disappeared. Rudolph, Emperor of Germany, was then waging war against the Turks, who were pressing westward through Hungary. Smith resolved to join the Christian army against them. After various vicissitudes he reached Marseilles, where he embarked for Italy in a ship filled with Roman Catholic pilgrims. A terrible storm arose. The superstitious pilgrims believed the howling tempest to be a token of God's anger because they were voyaging with a heretic, so they cast the young Englishman overboard. He swam to an island not far off, from which he was taken in a French vessel to Alexandria, and afterward on a voyage in the Levant, where they fell in with a Venetian vessel richly laden, and captured her. Soon after that, Smith joined the German army then fighting the

Turks in Transylvania, where his skill and prowess won for him great renown. On one occasion, whilst besieging a town, a famous leader of the Mussulmans challenged any Christian to single combat for the amusement of the ladies of the city. Smith was the chosen champion. The Turkish lord appeared in the arena outside the walls in a suit of glittering mail. On his shoulders were large wings made of eagle's feathers, garnished with gold and precious stones. Smith appeared in a plain suit of steel. Both were on horseback, and their weapons were the lances of the old knights. From the walls, covered with ladies and soldiers, and from the Christian camp, went up loud shouts as the combatants approached each other. The tilt was fierce. By a skillful movement, Smith thrust his spear point into the helmet of his antagonist, and pierced his brain. The Turk fell dead, when his head was cut off and sent to the Christian camp. Two other champions, who fought Smith to avenge the death of their leader, shared the same fate. The Prince of Transylvania gave him a patent of nobility and a coat-of-arms composed of a shield bearing three Turks' heads in two of the quarterings.

A little later Smith was made a prisoner and sold to a Pacha, who sent him to Constantinople as a slave for his mistress, whom that officer wished to marry. The gallant Christian, then in the bloom of young manhood, won the heart of the Turkish maiden, to whom, like the Moor, he told the story of his adventures. She tried to release him by sending him to her brother in the Crimea, but he there experienced the most grinding slavery. At length he escaped in the garb of his master whom he slew in anger, and after many stirring adventures on the continent he returned to England in 1604. Gosnold easily persuaded him to go to Virginia, where he became the real founder of that State.

After sharp quarrels on shipboard, Wingfield, who was a member of the London Company, accused Smith of a conspiracy to murder the council, whoever they might be, usurp the government, and make himself king of Virginia. This absurd charge was believed by some, and the brave soldier was imprisoned during the remainder of the voyage, which was very tedious. Whilst running up the American coast from the West Indies, they encountered a fierce storm which drove them far beyond Roanoke Island into Chesapeake Bay, the headlands of which they named in honor of the Prince of Wales and his next oldest brother, Cape Henry and Cape Charles.

A part of the voyagers landed on Cape Henry, and had a slight skirmish with the Indians; and that night the sealed box was opened, when the company were astonished to find the name of Captain Smith amongst those of the seven councillors. Yet he was not then released. They sailed across the deep waters at the mouth of the Chesapeake the next day, and landed upon a point grandly wooded and fragrant with the perfumes of flowers. Delicious was the comfort and rest of the wearied company in this paradise of beauty and repose, and with gratitude therefor they named it Point Comfort. There Fortress Monroe now stands. After resting a day or two, they entered the mouth of a broad river which the Indians called Powhatan, and sailing up that yellow stream for forty or fifty miles, they chose a place for a settlement on an island close by the northern shore of the river. There they organized government at the middle of May, by choosing Wingfield to preside over the council. In honor of their king they named the great river James, and resolved to call the island and the seat of government Jamestown. The Rev. Robert Hunt,

who was their chaplain, preached a sermon and invoked the blessings of God upon the undertaking. In that beautiful month of May, warm and sunny as in England at that season, the air laden with the perfume of wild flowers, and the children of the forest, friendly and kind, looking on in wonder, the sound of the metal axe was first heard in Virginia. The first tree was felled and the first foundation was laid for a dwelling on that charming spot where the first permanent English settlement in America was planted.

The English were told that far up the river lived Powhatan, the emperor of several confederated tribes so, whilst the carpenters were hewing the timbers for the cabins, Newport, Smith, and twenty others went up the stream in boats to discover its head and to visit the dusky monarch. They followed its winding course to the Falls, where Richmond now stands; and on a hill, a mile below, they found Powhatan at one of his imperial residences, a large structure made of saplings and boughs and covered with skins. It was surrounded by a dozen wigwams of his chief counsellors, and fields of Indian corn almost ready to burst into bloom. The emperor received them kindly, but his chiefs murmured because of the intrusion of the English. Powhatan, who was afraid, said: "They hurt you not they only take a little waste land."

Meanwhile, matters had not gone smoothly at Jamestown. The jealous and suspicious Wingfield restrained exercise with fire-arms and discouraged the building of a fort which Smith had recommended, for the latter knew that the idle and dissolute men of the company would soon make the Indians their enemies. When he returned his fears had been realized. The Indians had made a sharp attack upon the settlers, wounding several and killing a boy. Then the president consented to the building of a stockade, but daily and nightly watchings were necessary to avoid another surprise.

Newport now prepared to return to England with the ships. Smith had not been allowed to take his seat in the council, for he had not been tried nor had the charges against him been withdrawn. The jealous Wingfield, wishing to get rid of him, proposed that he should return with Newport and so avoid the disgrace of a trial. The indignant soldier rejected the proposal with scorn, and demanded an immediate trial. Smith's innocence was so plain to the comprehension of his companions, and his services were so much needed, that they demanded his release. Wingfield withdrew his charges and Smith took his seat in the council, when it was adjudged by that body that the president should pay him 203 pounds damages for false imprisonment. All of the property Wingfield had with him was seized to satisfy this award, when Smith generously "returned it to the store for the general use of the colony." From that time Captain Smith was the ruling spirit in Virginia.

At the middle of June, Newport departed for England for more emigrants and supplies, leaving a pinnacle for the use of the settlers. Already the prudent thinkers had discovered impending perils. Much of their food had been spoiled during the long voyage, and the hostile Indians withheld supplies. "Our drink," wrote one of them, was unwholesome water our lodgings, castles in the air; had we been as free from all sins as from gluttony and drunkenness, we might have been canonized for saints." Most of the emigrants were too idle or too ignorant to make efforts to till

the soil. The heat soon became intense and brought deadly malaria from the dank swamps all around them, that prostrated them with fevers and dysentery. Within a fortnight after Newport left hardly ten of them were able to stand, and before the beginning of autumn one-half of the emigrants were underground. Among the victims was the good Gosnold, a man of great worth to whose example and the precepts of Parson Hunt the settlers were indebted for the little order that prevailed among them. Despair clouded the minds of the survivors, and in the midst of their distress, they discovered that the avaricious and unscrupulous Wingfield was living on choice stores and was preparing to abandon the settlement and escape to the West Indies in the pinnace. He was deprived of his office, and Captain John Ratcliffe, a man much weaker in mind and equally wicked, was put in his place. The settlers soon perceived their mistake, and taking the reins of government out of Ratcliffe's hands, they placed them in those of Captain Smith. It was an event that saved the colony from ruin. Hopeful, cheerful, energetic, honest, full of invention and equal to any emergency, Smith's words and example diffused light amid the general gloom and revived the spirits of the most desponding. He soon brought order out of confusion inspired the Indians with awe and compelled them to bring him food. And so the settlers lived until the wild-fowl, returning from the northern waters, swarmed upon the bosom of the James in October, and at the beginning of November an abundant crop of Indian corn had been gathered by the savages, who shared it with their dependent white neighbors.

Chapter XV

Energy and Wisdom of Captain Smith - His Encounter with Indians - Saved from Death by Pocahontas - His influence at Jamestown, and His Explorations - Demands of the Company - Smith's Rule - Change in the Government - Perilous Passage of a Governor and Commissioners - Valuable Immigrants - Pocahontas Saves Jamestown - The "Starving Time" - Abandonment of and Return to Jamestown - Lord Delaware's Administration - A Better Social System - Pocahontas Kidnapped - Her Baptism and Marriage - Friendship of the Indians - The Staple of Virginia - Representative Government Established.

THE skill, prowess, and forethought of Captain Smith had secured for the settlers an abundance of food and comfortable dwellings for the winter. The sickly season was over early in November, and nothing but fear of Indian treachery made the emigrants uneasy until their improvidence had again impoverished their stores. Smith had voyaged down the James River to Point Comfort and back, making observations of the people and country, and impressing the former with a sense of the wisdom and strength of the English and he now proposed to explore the Chickahominy River, a broad stream at its mouth and flowing into the James from the northwest.

With singular ignorance of the progress of geographical discovery, and with intense greed for the wealth of India, the Company had given special instructions to the settlers to explore every considerable stream which they should find flowing from the northwest, hoping so to discover a passage to the Indian Ocean and coveted Cathay. Smith did not share the ignorance of his employers, but he gladly made their instructions his warrant for exploring the surrounding country; so, with half a dozen followers, he went up the Chickahominy in an open boat to its shallow waters among the swamps high upon the Virginia peninsula. There, with two others and two Indian guides, he penetrated the dark and tangled forests, leaving the remainder of his company in charge of the vessel with instructions not to go on shore. They disobeyed, and one of them was killed by prowling savages. Meanwhile, Smith had gone twenty miles further in a canoe, when he left his two companions and with one guide he went into the woods in search of game. The savages, under Opechancanough, the king of Pamunkey, had watched the movements of the Englishmen. They slew the two men in charge of the canoe, and then sought their leader. Smith, seeing a large number of assailants, tied his Indian guide to his own body with his long garters, and making him a buckler he fought valiantly and slew several of the savages, as he moved backward toward his canoe. Falling into a quagmire, after being slightly wounded, he was made prisoner. Death would doubtless have been his immediate fate but for his presence of mind and quickness of thought. He drew from his pocket a compass, and explained to the king its wonderful nature as well as signs could convey the forms of thought. In the same way he told them of the shape of the earth; of the nature of the sun, moon and stars, and "how the sun chased the night round about the world continually." The savages were at once impressed with the idea that he was a superior being, and they regarded him with wonder and awe.

The white captive was now conducted from village to village in great state, where the women

and children stared at him in mute astonishment. In their march the king was just behind a file of warriors, and was followed by the prisoner whose arms were held by two huge savages, having six warriors, all painted and plumed in a gorgeous manner, on each side of them. At the capital of Opechancanough, who was an elder brother of Powhatan, they held incantations for three days to discover his character, for they were in doubts whether Smith was the embodiment of a good or an evil spirit. Then they conducted him to the presence of the Emperor Powhatan, at a place now known as Shelly, on the banks of the York River, in Gloucester county, Virginia, and asked him to decide the fate of the prisoner. There Smith obtained permission to send a letter to Jamestown, in which he informed the settlers of his condition, and directed them to impress the messengers with as much fear of the English as possible. The marvelous power of that letter perplexed the Indians. It had intelligent force, and more than ever they were in doubt concerning the real character of their captive, who was now feasted in a manner which made him think he was intended as food for a banquet when he should be well fatted.

Smith was finally brought before the emperor at a great council of full two hundred warriors. Powhatan, wearing a mantle of raccoon skins and a head-dress of eagle's feathers, sat on a raised framework with a maiden on each side of him, before a fire. From this throne to the other end of the long house neatly made of boughs, the warriors stood in two rows, in their gayest attire, and back of them as many women with their necks and shoulders painted red, their heads covered with the white down of birds, and string of white beads falling over their bosoms. When the captive was brought in, they all shouted. The Queen of Appomattox brought him water that he might wash his hands, and another woman brought him a bunch of feathers wherewith he might dry them. After this he was feasted, and then a solemn council was held. By that council he was doomed to die. Two huge stones were brought before the emperor, to which the prisoner was dragged and his head laid upon them, whilst two big savages stood by with clubs ready to beat out his brains. Matoa or Pocahontas, a young daughter of the emperor, begged for the life of the Captain, but in vain, when, just as the clubs were uplifted, she darted from her father's knee, clasped the prisoner's head with her arms and laid her own head upon his.

"How could that stern old king deny
The angel pleading in her eye
How mock the sweet, imploring grace
That breathed in beauty from her face,
And to her kneeling action gave
A power to soothe and still subdue.
Until, though humbled as a slave,
To more than queenly sway she grew." - Simms.

The emperor yielded to the maid, and consented to spare the life of the captive that he might make hatchets for his majesty, and bells and rattles, beads and copper ornaments for his daughter, his favorite child. He did more; he released Captain Smith, sent him with an escort of a dozen men to Jamestown, and he and his people promised to be fast friends of the English. But for the energy and wisdom of Captain Smith and the tender compassion of an Indian maiden, the settlers at Jamestown would have all been murdered or dispersed. They had been reduced to forty persons, and when Smith returned he found the stronger ones on the point of abandoning the place and escaping in the pinnace. By his personal courage and moral force he compelled them to desist, and so, again, he saved the budding colony from ruin. These men, conscious of the purity

of Captain Smith and of their own wickedness, now hated him with an intensity of feeling that impelled them to seek his destruction.

During Smith's absence among the Indians, the church at Jamestown had been burned, and the Rev. Mr. Hunt was laboring earnestly for the good of souls under the shadow of great trees. Of that first church edifice, Captain Smith has left us an interesting account. "When I first went to Virginia," he says, "I well remember we did hang an awning (which was an old sail) to three or four trees, to shadow us from the sun our walls were rails of wood, our seats unhewed trees, till we cut planks our pulpit a bar of wood nailed to two neighboring trees; in foul weather we shifted into an old rotten tent, for we had few better, and thus came by way of adventure for new. This was our church till we built a homely thing like a barn, set upon crotchets, covered with rafts, sedge, and earth, so was also the walls. The best of our houses were of the like curiosity, but the most part far worse workmanship, that could neither well defend wind nor rain, yet we had daily Common Prayer, morning and evening, every Sunday two sermons, and every three months the Holy Communion till our minister died."

On his return, Smith found the settlers engaged in building a house for the President of the Council. When he was installed into that office not long afterward, he ordered the church edifice to be rebuilt. "Now the building of the palace was stayed as a thing needless," he said, and the church was repaired and he assisted the minister in all ways in his power to make the people better.

When Newport returned to England he found the Council there increased in numbers and power, and he was employed to return immediately with new emigrants and supplies. He arrived at Jamestown early in 1608 with two vessels, and was received with joy. But he brought no better materials for a colony than before. Instead of needed mechanics and farmers with families, he brought chiefly idle "gentlemen," some of them vicious whose friends, Smith said, "had sent them away to escape ill destinies at home" - the prison or something worse. There were one hundred and twenty of them, and there was scarcely a really useful man among them. There were several unskilled goldsmiths, whose ignorance caused a most destructive gold-fever to prevail in Virginia. They pronounced some glittering yellow earth near Jamestown to be a deposit of the precious metal, and in spite of the earnest remonstrances of Smith, the whole population turned gold-seekers. For awhile there was "no talk, no hope, no work, but dig gold, refine gold, load gold." On the recommendation of the goldsmiths, Newport loaded his vessel with the worthless earth, and returned to England with the impression that he was an immensely rich man. He was soon undeceived by a scientific test.

Captain Smith implored the settlers to plant and sow that they might have plenty and be happy, without the aid of the Indians, who, chiefly through the exertions of Pocahontas, were sending them supplies. But they would not listen to the wise man, and at length, in the early summer of that year, he turned from Jamestown in disgust, and with a few of the more sensible men he went in an open boat to explore the Chesapeake Bay and its numerous tributaries. In the space of three months, he made two voyages. During the first he went up the Potomac River to the Falls near

Georgetown, and up the Rappahannock to the Falls near Fredericksburg, and then returned to Jamestown. During the second voyage he went up the Patapsco to the site of Baltimore and up the narrower part of Chesapeake Bay into the Susquehanna River, a short distance above Havre-de-Grace, where he heard of the powerful Iroquois Confederacy in the present State of New York. In these two voyages, Smith not only explored the shores of great water, but penetrated into the country, made friendly alliances with several chiefs, and smoothed the way for the future planting of settlements on the borders of the noble Chesapeake. He had voyaged about three thousand miles in an open boat and made a map of the region explored, remarkable for its accuracy, which is preserved in London.

When Captain Smith returned to Jamestown early in September, he found the colony in confusion again. His advent was hailed with delight by the better sort of settlers, and three days after his return he was chosen. This wise measure soon produced some good fruit. The new president organized labor, and compelled the performance of the same; and when, a little later, Newport again came with two ships bearing supplies and seventy emigrants, he hoped to find among the latter better materials for a state. There were two women (the wife of Thomas Forrest, and her maid, Anne Burrows, who soon afterward married John Laydon, a carpenter), the first of European blood who had trodden the banks of the James but the men were no better than the other emigrants. And yet the greedy corporation who had sent out such men for the founding of a state, disappointed and unreasonable, demanded impossibilities. They sent a message to the settlers by Newport, saying, in substance: "Unless you shall send us back in these ships sufficient commodities to pay the charges of the voyage [L.2,000]; unless you shall also send us a lump of gold, the product of Virginia assurances of having found a passage to the South Sea (Pacific Ocean), and also one of the lost colony sent to Roanoke by Raleigh, you shall be left in Virginia as banished men. To this threat Smith replied with spirit, showing them the absurdity of their demand, assuring them that it was as much as the settlers could do to sustain life with the assistance of the savages, and saying: I entreat you rather send but thirty carpenters, husbandmen, gardeners, fishermen, blacksmiths, masons and diggers of trees roots, well provided, than a thousand such as we have."

This threat assisted the president in enforcing rules for labor. He demanded six hours of work each day from every able-bodied man. "He who will not work shall not eat," he said. Very soon the "gentlemen" became expert in the use of the axe, and the little village showed signs of an orderly community but so little attention had been given to agriculture that at the end of two years from the first arrival, and with two hundred emigrants in the settlement, not more than forty acres were under cultivation. They were compelled to depend upon the bounty of the red men for their sustenance during the winter of 1608.

With no respect for the rights of the settlers already in Virginia; with no desire to build up an industrious and prosperous colony on the banks of the James River, but with an intense longing for the speedy accumulation of wealth by the discovery of rich mines in America and a quick passage to India, the London Company sought to grasp all power and to abolish all freedom among the settlers, so making them little better than serfs. For this purpose they obtained wealthy

and influential allies; and in the spring of 1609, the Company was composed of twenty-one peers, several bishops, ninety-eight knights, and a multitude of doctors, esquires, gentlemen, merchants and other citizens. They obtained a new charter in May under the title of "The Treasurer and Company of Adventurers of the City of London for the First Colony in Virginia," by which the boundaries of their domain were enlarged the offices of president and council in Virginia were abolished, and all laws for the settlers were to be framed by the council in England and administered by officers appointed by that council. The rule of the governor was made absolute, and the lives, liberty and property of the settlers were placed at his disposal, whilst they were compelled to contribute a certain share of their net earnings to the proprietors. They were vassals, without any recognized power to cast off the yoke. Not a valuable civil privilege was conceded to them.

Nine ships were fitted out by the new Company, and freighted with stores and more than five hundred emigrants. These were placed under the general command of Captain Newport, and sailed for Virginia early in June, 1609. Sir Thomas West, Lord De la Warr, had been appointed governor and captain-general of Virginia for life, with Sir Thomas Gates as his deputy. Sir George Somers was made admiral of Virginia, with Newport as vice-admiral; Sir Thomas Dale, high marshal, and Sir Fernando Wainman, general of cavalry. Gates, Newport and Somers were commissioned to administer the government until the arrival of Lord De la Warr, who was not then ready to go. As there had been no adjustment of precedence between these three men, and they could not settle that point, they agreed to go in the same vessel, the Sea-Venture, Newport's flag-ship. When she was near the coast of Virginia, a hurricane separated her from the rest of the fleet, and wrecked her on the shore of one of the Bermuda Islands. Another small vessel perished in the gale, but seven of the ships arrived at Jamestown, leaving a large company of emigrants composed of some of the worst classes of the population of England. These were licentious and profligate young men sent by their friends with a hope that amendment in their lives might follow, or to screen them from justice tradesmen broken in fortune and spirits, and vagabonds of every grade, from idle gentlemen to dissolute criminals. The only things brought by the fleet that were valuable accessories to the settlement were horses, swine, goats and sheep, and domestic fowls. To these were added, two years later, one hundred cows and other cattle.

Such emigrants were calculated to corrupt rather than improve the settlement, and mischief ensued. They had their leaders among the "gentlemen," who, on their arrival, proclaimed the new charter, and in the absence of the wrecked commissioners refused to obey the president. Anarchy menaced the colony, but Smith, with his usual energy, asserted his authority in the absence of legal agents of the Company, and now, as on other occasions, became the savior of the settlement from utter ruin. He devised new expeditions and new settlements that the vicious herd might be employed, and the libertines were kept in restraint until the autumn, when an accidental explosion of gunpowder so wounded Smith that he was compelled to go to England for surgical aid. He delegated his authority to George Percy, a brother of the Duke of Northumberland, a man of excellent character, but deficient in force. Smith never returned to Virginia.

It was more than six months after the departure of Captain Smith, when the three

commissioners arrived from the Bermudas. Meanwhile, the settlers, left almost without restraint, had brought awful miseries upon themselves. They had indulged in every irregularity of life, and their ample store of provisions was soon exhausted. The new settlers, by injustice and cruelty, not only alienated the friendship of the Indians, but made them exasperated enemies. The red men, who had respect for Smith and feared his power, despised the new comers. They withheld food from the English, and killed those who came to their cabins in search of it. Finally, they devised a plan for exterminating the whole body of intruders. It was frustrated by Pocahontas, who proved to be the guardian angel of the settlers. When she heard of the plot, her soul was troubled. On a dark and stormy night she hastened to Jamestown, and revealing the conspiracy to Percy, put the English on their guard.

But death still brooded over the settlement. Famine came with its horrors and transformed civilized Englishmen into cannibals. They fed on Indians whom they slew, and sometimes upon their own companions who had perished of hunger. When the commissioners arrived in the spring of 1610, of the four hundred and ninety persons whom Smith had left in Virginia, only sixty remained alive. More than four hundred had perished within six months upon a soil out of whose generous bosom some moderate labor might have drawn ample sustenance for them all. Many a time during that winter and spring, which was ever afterward referred to as "the starving time," did those wretched men lament their folly and wickedness in not following the advice of Captain Smith, who was their true friend. His labors for their good had been disinterested. For his sacrifices he had received no reward but the approval of his conscience. Brave, honest and true, he won the imperishable honor of being the first planter of the Saxon race on the soil of the United States, and is entitled to the endearing name of Father of Virginia.

The commissioners and their fellow passengers, who had been wrecked on a fertile but uninhabited island, found sufficient food in fruits there to sustain them whilst building two small vessels in which they embarked for Virginia. They hoped to find a happy and prosperous colony at Jamestown but instead of the bright faces of contented people, they saw the horrid visages of sixty starving men in the depths of despair. They were perishing for want of food without a prospect of obtaining more. Gates, to whom the other commissioners had agreed to commit the administration of affairs in Virginia, saw no other way to save the lives of the starving men than to abandon the settlement, sail to Newfoundland, and distribute the settlers among the English fishermen there. So, embarking them in four pinnaces which were in the river, and giving them a share of his own stores, he sailed immediately for the far northeast. Some of the settlers desired Gates to set fire to the fort and dwellings at Jamestown, on their departure, but he would not consent. It was well he did not, for at the evening twilight the next day, the whole company, with others, were again at Jamestown offering thanksgiving to God for a great deliverance. At dawn that morning, the eyes of the disconsolate fugitives had been greeted by the apparition of white sails moving up the James River as Gates and his followers were approaching its mouth. They were the wings of Lord De la Warr's ships, which were filled with provisions and emigrants, accompanied by the governor, a pious, prudent, generous and humane man. Back to Jamestown they all sailed. The governor landed first. The emigrants followed, and when all were on shore, his lordship fell upon his knees and with bowed head engaged in a long silent prayer whilst the

people stood reverently by. When he arose, he and the Rev. Mr. Bucke, who had come with him to supply the place of Mr. Hunt, led the people in procession to the unfinished church, where the new pastor preached a sermon, in the evening twilight, and a large portion of the congregation joined in singing anthems. After the religious services were ended, the governor presented his credentials and addressed the people. Some Indians were seen in the woods near by, listening in wonder to the songs of praise that went up from the lips of the grateful multitude on that warm June evening.

The dignity and amiable character of Lord De la Warr commanded the respect of the settlers, and the future seemed full of bright promises. He caused the church to be rebuilt, and to be dedicated with as much pomp and ceremony as circumstances would permit. It was daily garnished with white flowers and there, every morning, a large number of the settlers were gathered to engage in common prayer, after which each man was required to work six hours during the day. The dwellings were improved and many more acres were cultivated. But the health of Lord De la Warr failed, and he returned to England in the spring of 1611, leaving the government in charge of Percy, Smith's successor. At the same time Sir Thomas Dale, a brave soldier, was out on the ocean in a ship with supplies, and on his arrival, which was hailed with delight, he assumed the reins of government and ruled by martial law both the church and state. He encouraged the Company to persevere in the dignified work which they had begun, and they sent Sir Thomas Gates with six well-furnished ships and three hundred emigrants. They arrived at the close of summer. These emigrants were a much better class than any who had yet appeared in Virginia. A greater portion of them were sober and industrious, and their influence upon the earlier settlers was salutary. Gates assumed the functions of governor, and Dale went up the river and planted settlements at the mouth of the Appomattox River (now Bermuda Hundred) and at the Falls (now Richmond). Over these the Rev. Mr. Whittaker was placed as pastor.

Another charter was now obtained for the Company, which allowed the powers of the association to be distributed in a democratic manner among all of the members, who met in mass for deliberation and legislation. The most important feature affecting the welfare of the settlement was that which allowed every man to cultivate a few acres of land for his own sole use and benefit. Before that time the land was tilled in common, and the industrious provided food for the lazy. There was no special incentive to industry in that system; but in the new arrangement there was such a stimulus to exertion that the privilege was enlarged, an ample supply of provisions for all was easily obtained, and the community system was abandoned. Although no political privileges were granted to the settlers by the new charter, they were contented.

And now a wicked act, which became a fortunate circumstance for the settlement, made a salutary change in the relations between the English and the Indians. Ever since the departure of Captain Smith, Powhatan had evinced hostility to the settlers, and the powerful Chickahomines, their nearest neighbors, sympathized with him, and allowed no food to be carried to Jamestown. Provisions there became scarce, and Captain Argall, the sort of buccaneer whom we met in Acadie, and who was then in Virginia, was sent with a vessel on a foraging expedition up the York and James Rivers. Being near the residence of Powhatan, he bribed an Indian with the gift

of a copper kettle to entice Pocahontas on board his vessel, where he detained her a prisoner, expecting to get a large quantity of corn from her father as a ransom for his daughter, and to recover some arms and implements of labor which had been stolen by the Indians. The emperor rejected the proposition of ransom with scorn, and refused to hold any intercourse with the pirate, but declaring to the authorities at Jamestown, that if his daughter should be released, he would forget the injury and be the friend of the English. They would not trust his word, and the maiden was taken to Jamestown and detained there several months, but was always treated with respectful consideration. The affair was assuming a very serious aspect, when Love, the powerful mediator, settled the difficulty. Among the young men of rank and education at Jamestown was John Rolfe, of an excellent English family, who became enamored of Pocahontas, and to him:

"She was a landscape on mild earth. Where all was harmony and calm quiet, luxuriant, budding. " - BYRON.

Pocahontas reciprocated Rolfe's passion, and they agreed to be wedded. But one thing troubled the soul of the young Englishman. He was a Christian; she was a Pagan. "Is it not my duty," he said to himself, "to lead the blind into the light?" Then came to his mind the Bible story of the visitation of the sons of Levi by God in his anger, because they sanctified strange women. But love conquered. He resolved to labor for her enlightenment and conversion. The young princess was an apt scholar, and very soon, in the little chapel at Jamestown, whose columns were rough pine trees from the forests, and its rude pews were of sweet-smelling cedar, and its rough communion-table and pulpit of black walnut, that dusky convert stood before a font "hewn hollow between like a canoe," and there received the rite of Christian baptism with the name of Rebecca, at the hands of Mr. Whittaker. She was the first Christian Indian in Virginia.

Very soon Pocahontas again stood before the chancel of the little chapel, now as a bride. It was a charming day in April, 1613. Her father's consent to her marriage had been easily obtained, and he had sent his brother Opachisco to give away his daughter according to the Christian ritual, for he would not trust himself with the English at Jamestown. Over the "fair, broad windows" hung festoons of evergreens bedecked with wild flowers, with the waxen leaves and scarlet berries of the holly. The communion table was covered with a "fair white linen cloth," and bore bread from the wheat fields around Jamestown, and wine from the luscious grapes from the adjacent woods. All the people at Jamestown were spectators of the nuptials. There were Sir Thomas Gates, and Master Sparks who had been co-ambassador with Rolfe to the court of Powhatan. Young George Percy and Henry Spilman were there and near them, an earnest watcher of the ceremony, was the elder brother of Pocahontas, with her younger brother and many youths and maidens from the forest. There, too, was Mistress John Rolfe, Mrs. Easton and child, and Mistress Horton and grand-child with her late maid-servant, Elizabeth Parsons, who, on Christmas Eve previously, had married Thomas Powell. These were all the English women then in Virginia, and all returned to Europe.

When all things were in readiness, the bride and groom entered the chapel. Pocahontas was dressed in a simple tunic of white muslin from the looms of Dacca. Her arms were bare even to

her shoulders; and hanging loosely to her feet was a robe of rich stuff presented to her by Sir Thomas Dale, and fancifully embroidered by herself and her maidens. A gaudy fillet encircled her head, and held the gay plumage of birds and a veil of gauze, while her wrists and ankles were adorned with the simple jewelry of the native workshops. Rolfe was attired in the gay clothing of an English cavalier of that period, and upon his thigh he wore the short sword of a gentleman of distinction in society. He was a noble specimen of manly beauty and dignity in form and carriage, and she of womanly modesty and lovely simplicity. Upon the chancel steps, where no railing interfered, the good Whittaker stood in sacerdotal robes, and, with impressive voice, pronounced the marriage ritual of the Anglican Church, there first planted on the American continent. The governor, sitting on his right on a richly carved chair of state, with his ever-attendant halberdiers with helmets at his back, heartily said Amen! at the conclusion of the ceremony.

So were wedded the Rose of England and the Totem or Indian symbol of nationality, giving promise of a friendly union of races in Virginia. It brought present peace, and Powhatan was ever afterward the fast friend of the English. Rolfe and his spouse "lived civilly and lovingly together" until the departure of Governor Sir Thomas Dale for England in 1616, whither they, with several others of the settlement and all the English women there, accompanied him. There the "Lady Rebecca" received great attentions from the court and all below it. The Lord Bishop of London entertained her with "festival and pomp," and at court she was treated with the ceremonious respect due to the daughter of a monarch. The silly bigot on the British throne was angry because one of his subjects had dared to marry a lady of royal blood, and Captain Smith, for fear of the royal displeasure, would not allow her to call him "father" as she desired to do. Her simple, tender heart was grieved because of his seeming want of affection for her. The king, in his absurd dreams of the royal prerogative, imagined that Rolfe or his descendants might lay claim to the crown of Virginia, in behalf of his royal wife! And it was considered in council whether he had not committed treason !

Pocahontas remained in England about a year; and when she was about to embark for America with her husband and son, and Tomocome, her father's chief councillor, she sickened and died at Gravesend in June, 1617, when she was not quite twenty-two years of age. She left a son, Thomas Rolfe, who became a distinguished man in Virginia, and whose descendants have been numbered among the honorable citizens of that commonwealth.

Prosperity was now the destiny of the settlements in Virginia, although the prime element of a permanent state - the family - was yet wanting. Because of this want, the settlers continually indulged in dreams of returning home - to England. Dale, who had ruled with wisdom as well as energy, discouraged this feeling, and by engaging them in the cultivation of the tobacco plant, somewhat allayed it. His successors encouraged its production, and in spite of the silly efforts of King James to prevent its use in England, by forbidding its cultivation in the British islands, its growth and exportation to the mother country soon became the staple and very profitable business of the planters in Virginia. Its culture became a mania. The streets of Jamestown were planted with it, and food-producing products were so neglected that while great cargoes of tobacco were preparing for England, the necessaries of life were wanting. It became the currency of the

country, the money value of a pound of tobacco being fixed at about sixty-six cents.

Dale left Argall as deputy governor, but his petty tyranny and rank dishonesty disgusted the people. The story of his bad conduct told in England checked emigration, and his office was given to the excellent George Yeardley, a wise statesman and friend of man. On the death of Lord De La Wart while he was on a voyage to resume the reins of government there, Yeardley was appointed governor with broad discretionary powers. Abolishing martial law, releasing the planters from feudal service and confirming their titles to lands in their possession, and establishing a representative government on the banks of the James, he laid the foundations of a permanent colony. He had found the settlers yearning for the freedom enjoyed by their fellow-subjects in England under the British constitution. He could not reconcile that freedom with then existing disabilities, so, with the sanction of the Company, he introduced a new political system in Virginia. The settlements were divided into eleven boroughs, each having two representatives, called burgesses, who were chosen by the people. These, with the governor and council, constituted the colonial government. The burgesses were allowed to debate all questions pertaining to the colony, but their decisions were not law until confirmed by the Company in England. Because of these liberties, the settlers expressed their gratitude; and when in June, 1619, a representative assembly met at Jamestown, they felt that they had a home in Virginia. They "fell to building houses and planting corn," says an old chronicler; and these houses were soon made happy ones by domestic virtues. Within two years after the first meeting of the House of Burgesses - the first representative assembly in America - about two hundred and fifty reputable young women were sent over from England to become wives for the planters. These were received with gladness, and cherished with fondness. The tribe of gold-seekers had disappeared. Industry was the rule and not the exception in the settlements, and the COLONY of Virginia was firmly established.

Chapter XVI

Explorations in New England - Kidnapping Indians - Religious Parties in England - Persecutions - A Theological Conference - Bad Conduct of King James - Puritans in Holland - Longings for America - Preparations for Emigration - "Pilgrims" go to America - Constitution of Government Signed - Founding of Plymouth - Sufferings of the Emigrants - First Marriage in Plymouth Colony.

WE have considered the failures of the Plymouth Company to plant settlements in America. We will now consider other attempts and failures, and the permanent establishment of a settlement in New England.

The restless Captain Smith did not long remain idle after his return from Virginia. In company with four London merchants, he fitted out two ships for the purpose of discovery and traffic in the northern regions of America. Captain Thomas Hunt commanded one of the vessels, and Smith sailed in the other. They left the Downs at the beginning of March, 1614, and first landed on the island of Mohegan, about twenty miles from the mouth of the Penobscot River, where they sought whales, but finding none Smith left the crews to engage in common fishing, while he and eight men, in a small boat, should explore the neighboring coasts and gather furs. They went up the several rivers far into the interior, and explored the whole coast from the Penobscot to Cape Cod. Smith constructed a map of the region; and after an absence of seven months, the vessels returned to England with cargoes of considerable value. He laid his map before Prince Charles, the heir apparent to the throne, and a man of considerable literary and artistic taste. The Prince procured from his father a confirmation of the title of New England, which Smith had given to the country, on his map; and so that region from twenty miles eastward of the Hudson River has ever since been called. As usual, crime dimmed the lustre of these achievements. Whilst Smith was exploring the coasts, Captain Hunt, an avaricious and profligate man, wishing, apparently, to impede settlements by inflaming the wrath of the Indians, so that he and a few others might enjoy the monopoly of traffic on that coast, kidnapped twenty-seven of the savages at Cape Cod, with Squanto their chief and taking them to Spain sold them for slaves. Some of them were taken by benevolent friars, who educated them for missionaries among the tribes, but only Squanto returned to America. The effect of this crime satisfied the apparent wishes of Hunt. The next fishing vessels that came from New England brought word that the natives were greatly exasperated.

This news did not discourage Captain Smith. On his return he had an interview with the energetic and ever-hopeful Ferdinando Gorges, and inspired him with such desires to plant a settlement in New England, that the Plymouth Company asked Smith to lead a colony thither. He believed that he could allay the anger of the natives, as he had done in Virginia, and having accepted the invitation of the Company, he sailed with two ships and some emigrants in the spring of 1615. Smith's ship was shattered by a tempest and returned to port. On the 4th of July following he sailed again, in a bark of sixty tons, and was soon captured by a French squadron. While on board one of the Gallic vessels, he wrote an account of his voyage to New England,

which was published the next year. After a brief captivity, he was released and returned home. Meanwhile, the Plymouth Company had made him admiral of New England; but, discouraged by ill luck, the association had again abandoned the project of planting a colony there. Smith now drops almost out of sight in history. He lived to see his friend, Prince Charles, seated on the throne of his father; and, not long afterwards (1631), the founder of the Virginia colony died at the age of fifty-one years.

Thus far English settlements in America had been attempted by private adventurers, or commercial associations, with no higher aim than the acquisition of wealth. That acquisition was denied, and full success was not obtained until better men, with more exalted motives, came to people the lands. These came to New England with families and were prepared to stay, not so much for the betterment of their temporal estates, as for the unmolested enjoyment of civil and religious freedom, which was denied them at home.

We have seen how three powerful religious parties - Roman Catholic, Anglican and Puritan - crystallized into distinct sects at about the beginning of Elizabeth's reign, all struggling for supremacy. The Puritans were fewer in numbers than either of their antagonists, but were stronger in the moral power which asserts and defended the rights of man. They boldly declared the right of private judgment in religious matters to be inalienable, and that every human being was endowed with the natural privilege of worshipping the Creator in accordance with the dictates of conscience. Upon the same platform of principles they asserted the rights of the people to the enjoyment of civil freedom. The Puritan pulpits became the tribunes of the common people, and sometimes the preachers were bold enough to promulgate the democratic doctrine, so dangerous to the royal prerogative, that "the sovereign was amenable to public opinion then fairly expressed."

As the Romish ritual was retained in the Anglican Church, many of the leading clergymen of the latter opposed its use. Bishop Hooper made Puritanism conspicuous by refusing to be consecrated in the ecclesiastical vestments; and Bishop Coverdale, at a later period, and other high dignitaries, refused to subscribe to the Liturgy and ceremonials, and so led the great army of Nonconformists. The fears and jealousy of the queen were aroused, and after years of effort, the Thirty-nine Articles of Religion of the Anglican Church, were declared by an act of Parliament to be the rule of faith and practice for all subjects of the realm. Canterbury, was commanded to enforce discipline. He obeyed the royal voice with alacrity, and immediately issued instructions to the bishops to forbid and prevent preaching, catechizing, and praying in any private family in the presence of persons not belonging to it, and to silence all preachers and catechists who had not received orders from Episcopal hands, or who refused or neglected to read the whole service, or to wear the prescribed clerical habits, or to subscribe to the queen's supremacy, the Thirty nine Articles and the "Book of Common Prayer." Under a provision of the Act of Supremacy, the queen now established a court of High Commission for the detection and punishment of Nonconformists with powers almost as absolute as those of the Inquisition of the Italian Church. With that tremendous engine of despotism, the Primate worked with vigor in the suppression of heresy. Ministers were silenced of some persons were put to death, and there was petty

persecution everywhere. Yet Puritanism flourished and grew more rank, especially in secret Ministers and congregations withdrew from the Anglican Church, and so acquired the name of Separatists or Independents. They numbered, at the time of the death of Elizabeth, about twenty thousand in the British realm and were the special objects for Whitgift's lash. Some of their ministers and their congregations, unable to endure the pressure, withdrew to Holland, where there was religious freedom for all.

On the accession of James, a reputed "Presbyterian king," the Puritans indulged high hopes of toleration, perhaps of supremacy. They were doomed to wretched disappointment. Soon after James ascended the throne he called a conference at Hampton Court, in which he was the chief actor, playing the parts of brute and mountebank. The Puritan divines, some of them the most eminent scholars in the land, were annoyed by coarse browbeating by the Bishop of London, and the coarser jests of the king. Whitgift, venerable with age, was present, and when the royal buffoon said to the Puritan ministers: "You want to strip Christ again away with your snivelling," and much more that was coarse and offensive, the Primate exclaimed, Your Majesty speaks by the special assistance of God's Spirit and the Bishop of London fell upon his knees and said: "I protest my heart melteth for joy that Almighty God, of his singular mercy, has given us such a king as since Christ's time has not been." A brilliant modern English writer, expressing the verdict of history, says of that king: "He was cunning, covetous, wasteful, idle, drunken, greedy, dirty, cowardly, a great swearer, and the most conceited man on earth." The discussions at the Hampton Court conference, conducted with so much ill-breeding on the part of the king and some of the High Churchmen, led to the important result of the appointment of a commission of learned men to make that translation of the Bible now in use among Protestants.

The Puritans were humiliated and discouraged by this farce at Hampton Court; and when the king told them, "I will make you conform or I will harry ye out of the land," and silenced or imprisoned three hundred of their ministers, many of the thirty thousand Nonconformists in the kingdom felt like seeking refuge in a foreign country. And many of them did join their brethren already in Holland. Among them was Richard Clifton, pastor of a rural congregation in Nottinghamshire. In that congregation was John Robinson as teacher and the most considerable private member was William Brewster, postmaster at Scrooby, and at one time a favorite of Secretary Davidson under queen Elizabeth. The pastor and the congregation after many trials, made their way to Amsterdam, in small companies, in 1608, where they were united. From that city, in the course of a few months, they went to Leyden, a city of seventy thousand inhabitants. Clifton was dead and Robinson was chosen to be their pastor, with William Brewster the chief elder. After awhile they all found employment and were happy with their families around them. The congregation became large and flourishing, for many of their persecuted brethren at home joined them.

English loyalty and patriotism asserted their power in the hearts of these exiles for conscience sake. Though driven from their native land by persecution, they had not lost their affection for it and they yearned to live "under the protection of the state of England." They had heard of beautiful Virginia, and longed for the freedom of the forest. That band of noble men and women

revealed a generous impulse when they said: "If God would be pleased to discover some place unto them, though in America, where they might live comfortably by themselves, and being freed from anti-Christian bondage, might keep their names and nature, and not only be a means to enlarge the dominions of the English state, but the Church also, if the Lord had a people among the natives, whither he would bring them; thereby they thought they might more glorify God, do more good to their country, better provide for their posterity and live to be more refreshed by their labors than ever they could do in Holland, where they were." Patriotism and Christian benevolence warmed their hearts.

"They sought not gold nor guilty ease, Upon this rock-hound shore They left such prizeless toys as these To minds that loved them more. They sought to breathe a freer air, To worship God unchain'd - They welcomed pain and danger here, When rights like these were gain'd."

The project of emigration to America caused much discussion, They looked every difficulty square in the face - the dangers of the sea and the savages; the burdens of fatigue that would be laid upon the weak and aged in so long a voyage; the cost of the enterprise, and the utter uncertainty that hovered around the whole project. These were all considered, and made dark shadings to the brighter pictures which faith and hope created. They pondered and prayed, and came to the conclusion to emigrate to America. The Dutch offered to send them to Hudson's River, free of charge, with their household goods and cattle, if they would settle there. They patriotically declined this generous proposal because "they wished to live on English land," somewhere within the bounds of the North Virginia domain, the proprietors whereof were then contemplating vast schemes of colonization under a new charter which they hoped to obtain from the king. That charter was granted late in 1620. It made the company absolute owners of a domain containing more than a million square miles. They superseded the original Plymouth Company, and assumed the corporate title of "The council of Plymouth."

Before the charter was granted, the congregation at Leyden sent two agents to England to ask leave of the Plymouth Company to settle within their domain, and to procure a guaranty from the king that they should enjoy religious freedom in their proposed new home. They obtained the permission of the Company, but the king would give them no written promise. Under the influence of Edward Sandys, he gave them an oral promise that they should not be disturbed so long as they should give no public offence. His word was considered no more stable than a rope of sand, and many were loth to unsettle themselves upon such a fickle tenure. But it was finally concluded to take the risk, and a deputation was again sent to England to make arrangements for the emigration. A joint-stock company with some London merchants and others was formed, by the terms of which the services of emigrants who could not contribute money were accepted as an equivalent for cash, the value of each share being fixed at 10 pounds. All profits were to be reserved for seven years, at the end of which time the lands, houses, and every product of their joint industry were to be valued, and an equal portion to be divided among the shareholders. Captain Smith, the founder of Virginia, offered to accompany them, but his aristocratic notions were a bar and his offer was declined.

It was agreed that only a portion of the congregation at Leyden - "the youngest and strongest" - should first go to America under the spiritual guidance of Elder Brewster, then a little more than fifty years of age, while the larger portion should remain with Mr. Robinson and follow the next year if the report of the pioneers should be favorable. Two small vessels were purchased for the voyage - the "Speedwell", of sixty tons burthen, and the "May-Flower", of one hundred and eighty tons. In the summer of 1620, a portion of the congregation at Leyden embarked in the former vessel at Delft Haven, for England, where she was joined, at Southampton, by the latter. These emigrants, like their brethren left behind, feeling that they had no home - no abiding place - but were pilgrims and strangers, assumed the name of Pilgrims, by which they are known in history - "The Pilgrim Fathers."

The embarkation at Delft Haven was a picturesque and interesting scene. A large portion of the congregation at Leyden followed the emigrants to the port, fourteen miles distant, after those who were to remain had feasted the pioneers at the house of the pastor. At the port, after another feast, they all engaged in religious exercises - prayers and psalm-singing - the voyagers on the deck of the "Speedwell" and the others on the quay. When the sails of the vessel were spread and she had left her moorings, the emigrants gave their brethren a parting salute with musketry and three small cannon.

The two ships sailed for America on the 6th of August. The "Speedwell" was soon reported to be too leaky to proceed, and both vessels went back to Dartmouth. She was repaired, and when again she was well out upon the Atlantic she was reported to be unseaworthy, and returned. It was believed that her captain and some of the company lost courage, and untruly reported her to be in a dangerous condition. She did not again sail for the Western world. The more courageous of her company joined those on the May-Flower, and on the 6th of September the latter sailed from Plymouth with forty-one men as settlers with their families, numbering in all one hundred-and-one souls. Among these were William Brewster and his numerous family, and William Bradford, of Scrooby John Carver, a deacon in the Church at Leyden young Edward Winslow and his bride, the richest couple of the flock; Miles Standish, a fiery little soldier, and his beautiful wife Rose John Alden, the youngest of the Pilgrims, being only twenty-one years of age, and a favorite of Standish; John Allerton and Dr. Edward Fuller, all of whom were distinguished in the history of the colony.

After a boisterous voyage of sixty-three days, the May-Flower arrived off Cape Cod. Her destination was some "point near Hudson's River, but within the territory of the London Company" - somewhere on the shores of New Jersey. Turning southward, the ship encountered "perilous shoals," perhaps those off Nantucket, when she was made to retrace her line, double the headland, and come to anchor in the bay inclosed by the long peninsula of Cape Cod sixty miles in length, in what is now the roadstead of Province-town. The weather was fine and the air was crisp, for it was early in November. To prevent anarchy when they should form a settlement, the following instrument was drawn up, and on a little table in the cabin of the May-Flower was signed by the entire company of forty-one adult masculine emigrants:

"In the name of God, Amen. We whose names are here underwritten, the loyal subjects of our dread sovereign lord, King James, by the grace of God, of Great Britain, France and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, etc., having undertaken for the glory of God, and advancement of the Christian Faith, and honor of our king and country, a voyage to plant the first colony in the northern parts of Virginia, do, by these presents, solemnly and mutually, in the presence of God and of one another, covenant and combine ourselves together into a civil body politic, for our better ordering and preservation, and furtherance of the ends aforesaid and by virtue hereof to enact, constitute, and frame such just and equal laws, ordinances, acts, constitutions, and offices, from time to time, as shall be thought most meet and convenient for the general good of the colony unto which we promise all due submission and obedience. In witness whereof we have hereunto subscribed our names at Cape Cod, the 11th of November, in the year of the reign of our sovereign lord, King James, of England, France and Ireland, the eighteenth, and of Scotland the fifty-fourth, Anno Domini, 1620."

This was the first constitution of government ever signed by a whole people. More than a month passed after this act before the Pilgrims landed. Explorations of the coasts of the great Bay were made in search of a good place for a settlement. In a shallop and on foot the explorers wandered, often suffering much from the biting cold of winter, which came early with binding frost, and blinding, hindering snow. They saw few natives, and these were shy or hostile. They found some graves some remains of human habitations many deserted wigwam some heaps of maize or Indian corn, and some tokens of civilized visitors here and there, when they touched the shores. They were assailed by a few savages who knew the English as kidnappers, for it was only a few years before that Hunt had carried away more than a score of their people. At length the explorers came to a snug harbor, and landed upon a rock on the site of Plymouth, almost due west across the water from where the May-Flower lay. It seemed a goodly place for a settlement, and they chose it as such. That landing took place on the 22nd of December, 1620. It was an important event in the history of New England, and since the year 1767 its anniversary has been celebrated; and fragments of the rock - "Plymouth Rock," which has been called the Blarney Stone of New England - are preserved on the spot with care.

The May-Flower was now immediately brought across and anchored in the harbor, when her precious cargo of human beings, men, women, and children - the seed of a nation - were landed. There had been an addition made to the number of the emigrants since the explorers departed, for the wife of William White had given birth to a boy, who was named Peregrine. The good ship that brought them safely across the stormy Atlantic was safely moored; and in grateful recollection of the hospitalities they had received at the port from which they had sailed from England, they named the spot Plymouth.

The first care of the Pilgrims was to build houses, after they had planted their five cannon on a platform and erected a storehouse for their food. But with the labor began sickness. Exposure and poor food made dreadful ravages upon their vitality that could not be stayed. There were no delicacies, and very little wholesome food. The sailors unkindly refused to let them have a variety, by sharing with the suffering their abundance of coarse food on the ship, until sickness

invaded their circle, and the kindness of the Pilgrims taught them to be ashamed. Crowded in the cabin of the May-Flower, or exposed in half-finished huts, sometimes nearly buried with snowdrifts, the sufferers had little chance for recovery and when, early in March, there came warm days and abundance of sunshine, forty-four of the passengers of the May-Flower were in their graves, doomed by quick consumption and lung fever. Governor Carver's son died soon after the landing. Six were buried in December, eight in January, seventeen in February, and thirteen in March. At one time there were only seven persons who had strength enough to wait upon the sick and bury the dead. Early in April the governor died, and his heart-broken wife soon followed him to the grave. Yet with all the discouragements of that dreadful winter, the fidelity, faith, and fortitude of the Pilgrims never faltered; and when, in March, the sun shone warmly, and the birds came and sang pleasantly, and the sickness was stayed, the living chanted songs of thanksgiving to God for his manifold mercies.

There had been, earlier than this, a cheering voice from the savages whom the settlers so much dreaded. One day in February, when the sickness was at its height, an Indian passed through the hamlet and with plain Saxon words cried, "Welcome, Englishmen! welcome, Englishmen!" It was Samoset, a chief who had come from the island of Mohegan, where Captain Smith first landed, off the coast of Maine, and where he had learned a few English words from the sailors. He told them why they had seen so few Indians. It was because three or four years before a pestilence had almost depopulated the coast from Cape Cod to the Kennebec, as if clearing the way for Christians to plant the germs of civilization, unmolested. He came several days in succession, bringing with him other Indians, among them, at last, Squanto, whom Hunt had carried away and sold in Spain, but who had been sent back. That time Samoset came with a message from Massasoit, a neighboring king of the Wampanoags, of whom Squanto was a vassal, desiring an interview with the chief of the new comers.

Governor Carver gladly consented to hold a conference with the Indian monarch. Massasoit appeared on a neighboring hill, with sixty followers all painted and plumed. Winslow was sent with Squanto to meet him, bearing presents from the governor, whilst Captain Standish, who had been chosen military commander of the settlement, remained a little way off with several musketeers. Massasoit advanced slowly with twenty armed followers, leaving Winslow behind as a hostage or pledge, and met Standish at a dividing brook. Then the dusky men were conducted by the soldier to a building, where a rug and cushions were spread for the king and his courtiers. Sitting there in state, Massasoit received the governor, who came with the braying of a trumpet and the beating of a drum, followed by a few musketeers. After salutations and feastings, they entered into a treaty of peace and amity (Squanto acting as interpreter) and the sachem agreed to send messengers to neighboring tribes to invite them to come and make similar treaties, that they might all dwell lovingly with the pale-faces. Rising from the rug, the old chief stretching forth his hand with dignity and pointing to the surrounding country, said, "in substance Englishmen, take possession of the land, for there is no one left to occupy it. The Great Spirit came in his anger and swept the people from the face of the earth." That treaty was kept inviolate for forty-five years.

When the Indians had departed, the Pilgrims reelected Carver governor of the colony, made some salutary laws, and sent the May-Flower home. She was scarcely out of sight, when the governor died suddenly from the effects of a "sun-stroke," and William Bradford was chosen to fill his place. As the season advanced hope grew stronger. Game was found to be plentiful in the forest, and fish in the streams. The survivors cultivated the land industriously, and reaped abundantly. In a short time the other emigrants joined them. The whole community was free as air; and the settlement, begun with so much suffering, bereavement and discouragement, was made permanent. Within a few months after the arrival of the May-Flower, the Christian men and women who survived that winter of terrible experience, planted strong and deep, on the principles of justice and the rights of man, the foundations of the colony and the commonwealth of Massachusetts.

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Chapter XVII

Hudson's Voyages and Discoveries - Block's Explorations - Charter for New Netherland Granted - Dutch Traders on the Hudson - Troubles with the English - Dutch West India Company Chartered - Preparations for Settlement - An English Intruder - Arrival of Walloons at Manhattan - Settlement on the Delaware - Political Organization of New Netherland - New Amsterdam Founded - Freedom There.

We have already considered the incidents attending the discovery of the Hudson River and the country on its borders between its mouth and the site of Albany, in 1609. Let us now view the more prominent events connected with the establishment of a permanent settlement there.

In the year 1602, Dutch merchants in the India trade formed an association, with a capital of more than a million dollars, under the corporate title of "The Dutch East India Company." The government of Holland gave them the exclusive privilege of trading in the Eastern Seas between the Cape of Good Hope and the Straits of Magellan - that is to say, over all the Indian and South Pacific Oceans between Africa and America. The enterprise was so profitable that an application was made to the government, in 1607, for the incorporation of the Dutch West India Company to trade along the coast of Africa from the tropics to the Cape of Good Hope, and from Newfoundland to Cape Horn along the continent of America. But political considerations in connection with Spain deferred the issuing of a charter for such a company for several years. Meanwhile, the East India Company employed Hudson to make the voyage, which resulted in the discovery of a region in America far more valuable than any to which a northwestern pad sage to India would have led.

The report that the newly-discovered region abounded with bears, beavers, otters, and other fur-bearing animals, excited the keenest cupidity of the Dutch, for they had recently tasted the pleasures of a profitable fur trade which they had opened with Northern Russia. The "Half-Moon", Hudson's discovery ship, had returned in the autumn of 1609. In the following spring she was fitted out with cheap trinkets and other articles suitable for traffic with the natives, and, with a part of her old crew, sailed from the Texel in the early summer for the "River of the Mountains." She was sent by private adventurers, some of them directors of the Dutch East India Company, to trade with the savages for peltries and furs. The island of Manhattan, at the mouth of the river, was so well adapted for commercial purposes that it was made the central point, where the treasures of the forests and the streams, gathered in the interior from the Delaware to the Housatonic and northward to the Mohawk, were collected for shipment to Holland.

Among the bold navigators who came from Holland to Manhattan was Adrien Block. His vessel was the *Tigress*. Late in the autumn of 1613, when she was laden with bear skins and was about to depart for Amsterdam she accidentally took fire and was burned to a useless wreck. The Indians kindly offered the shelter of wigwams to the Dutchmen, but they, regarding them too frail to keep out the winds and snows, built for themselves rude log huts where the warehouses of Beaver street now stand, and went cheerily at work to construct a new vessel. Before spring, the

oaks that sheltered black bears on the wooded slopes where the bulls of Wall street now contend with bruins in financial warfare, wee converted into a trim-built and staunch yacht of sixteen tons. They named her Onrust - "Restless " - a title that seems prophetic of that unresting activity which now marks the island of Manhattan. The little hamlet then built, and the vessel there constructed, were the fruitful seeds of the great commonwealth of New York.

Early in the spring of 1614, Block sailed from Manhattan in the Onrust through the narrow, turbulent and dangerous strait of Hell Gate into Long Island Sound. He discovered and explored the rivers now known as the Housatonic, Connecticut, and Thames; anchored in the bay at New Haven; touched at Montauk Point on the eastern end of Long Island, and landed upon a small island further eastward which Verazzani had discovered almost a century before, but which has ever since borne the name of Block, given to it by his countrymen. He then visited the shores of the main and the islands from Narragansett Bay around to Nahant beyond Boston Harbor. There he found the inhabitants numerous; for the plague, already mentioned, that swept along the coast three or four years later, had not yet appeared. They were "extremely well-looking, but timid and shy of Christians." There the Onrust fell in with the Fortune, commanded by Block's friend, Hendrick Christiansen, who was about to sail for Holland. Block left his own vessel in charge of another navigator and sailed for Amsterdam with his friend, to report to his employers.

Block's report further stimulated the commercial enterprise of Dutch merchants, and they hastened to avail themselves of an ordinance which the States-General or government of Holland had recently passed. It provided that whoever shall, from this time forward, discover any new passage, haven, lands, or places, shall have the exclusive right of navigating to the same for four voyages. The merchants concerned in Block's discoveries hastened to form an association, and took immediate steps to profit by the privileges offered by that ordinance. They employed an expert draughtsman, probably under the direction of Block, to construct a map of the newly-discovered regions, and appointed a deputation to go to the Hague, the seat of government, to obtain the special license to trade in these regions without interference.

At the Hague, the finest city of the Netherlands, and the residence of the Counts of Holland for four hundred years, may be seen a pile of buildings upon an artificial island irregular and quaint in appearance. They were erected at different periods, and inclose a vast quadrangle paved with small yellow bricks. There was the palace of those Counts. Its great hall, wherein hung trophies of Dutch valor and conquest, is now used as a repository of the archives of Holland. In a superbly-decorated room in the Binnenhof or inner court, the States-General held their meetings. To that sumptuous apartment went the deputies of the Amsterdam Company and gave, in a brief narrative of Block's discoveries, their reasons for asking for the special privilege. They were received by twelve "high and mighty lords" of the great council, who were sitting around an oval table. Among them was the incorruptible patriot John Van Olden Barneveldt, the grand-pensionary or chief magistrate of Holland, who, five years later, was beheaded in that court as a traitor, the victim of his jealous, malicious and unscrupulous prince. Block was probably one of the deputies. The map spoken of was spread upon tile table the countries were described, and their value as parts of the territories of the Dutch were fully set forth. The States-General gladly

complied with the wishes of the Company, and on the 11th of October, 1614, a charter was given them, duly signed and sealed, by which the petitioners were granted the usual privileges of the ordinance. The territory included in the charter, and which was defined as lying between Virginia and New France - between the parallels of 40 degrees and 45 degrees was called NEW NETHERLAND.

At the expiration of the charter at the beginning of 1618, the Amsterdam Company applied for its renewal. The privilege was denied, because the State-General contemplated the issuing of a more comprehensive and lasting patent to a West India Company. Meanwhile, the Onrust, which Block had left in charge of Cornelius Hendricksen, had entered and explored Delaware Bay and River, probably as far up as the Falls, near Trenton and on the site of Philadelphia her commander had ransomed three Dutch traders, who had fallen into the hands of the Indians. Efforts were made to obtain a four years trading charter for that region also, but the States-General, considering the domain as a part of the province of Virginia, would not grant one. The directors of New Netherland then prosecuted their trading enterprise upon the borders of the Hudson with increased vigor. They had already built a fort on an island just below the site of Albany. They now enlarged their storehouse at Manhattan, and made the little hamlet a social village. The traders went over the pine-barrens into the Mohawk Valley and became acquainted with the powerful Iroquois league of Five Confederated Nations. They built a new fort on the main at the mouth of the Tawasentha, now Norman's Kill, a little below Albany, where a treaty of friendship was made with the Five Nations, and which was kept inviolate until New Netherland passed into the possession of the English, and long afterwards. It was a wise measure, for that confederacy was strong enough to have swept from the face of the earth all European intruders. Their power was felt, as we have observed, from the St. Lawrence to the Gulf of Mexico.

"The fierce Adirondac had fled from their wrath, The Hurons been swept from their merciless path, Around, the Ottawas, like leaves had been strown, And the Lake of the Eries struck silent and lone.

"The Lenapes, once lords of the valley and hill, Made women bend low at their conqueror's will; By the far Mississippi the Illini shrank, When the trail of the Tortoise was seen on the bank.

"On the hills of New England the Pequod turned pale, When the howl of the Wolf swelled at night on the gale; And the Cherokee shook, in his green smiling bowers, When the foot of the Bear stamp'd his carpet of flowers." Street's "Frontenac"

These Hollanders were so remote from the Jamestown settlement, and all New England being a wilderness untrodden by any European resident, that they were not disturbed. The Plymouth Company complained that they were intruders on their domain; and King James growled; and a word of warning was given by Captain Dermer of an English ship which, one fine morning in June, 1619, while on its way to Virginia, sailed through Long Island Sound, and lost an anchor in its encounter with the eddies of Hell Gate. That commander thought he was the first discoverer of that "most dangerous cataract and the flowery islands between which he sailed, but when he

was fairly out upon the Bay of New York, he saw the smoke of cottages on Manhattan, and was saluted by Hollanders. He did not stop then to talk to the intruders, but on his return he felt it to be his duty to go in and warn the traffickers to leave his majesty's domain as quickly as possible. "We found no Englishmen here, and hope we have not offended," replied the good-natured Dutchmen, and went on smoking their pipes, planting their gardens, and catching beavers and otters, as if they had never heard the voice of Captain Dermer, the "loving subject" of the king of England. The sounds of royal bluster that came occasionally from Great Britain did not deter the States-General from helping their "loyal subjects" in New Netherland, and they proceeded to charter the "Dutch West India Company," making it a great commercial monopoly by giving it almost regal powers to colonize, govern, and defend, not only that little domain on the Hudson, but the whole unoccupied coasts of America from Newfoundland to Cape Horn, and the western coasts of Africa from the Cape of Good Hope far northward.

That charter contained all the guarantees of freedom in social, political, and religious life necessary to the founding of a free state. Republicanism was recognized as the true system of government, and home, in its broadest and purest sense, as the prime element of political strength. No stranger was to be questioned concerning his nativity or his creed as matters which concerned the state. "Do you wish to build, to plant, and to become a citizen?" was the sum of their catechism when a new comer appeared. If the answer should be satisfactory, he was to be welcomed. That charter was granted on the 3rd of June, 1621, at the time when the stricken Pilgrims at Plymouth, on the coast of Massachusetts, were cultivating their first fruitgardens and cornfields.

The government of the West India Company was vested in five separate chambers of managers, composed of members in different parts of Holland. General executive powers were entrusted to a board of nineteen delegates, of whom about one-half were to reside in Amsterdam, and one was to represent the States-General. The government agreed to furnish the Company, in case of war, with sixteen armed ships, of three hundred tons burden each, to assist in maintaining their rights, - these, with an equal number of the Company's ships-of-war to be under the command of an admiral appointed by the States-General. Whilst the Company might make conquests of territories and treaties with native chiefs at their own risk, they were required to submit the instructions to their governors to the approval of the home government and their officers were all required to take the oath of allegiance to the States-General.

It was two years after obtaining this charter before the Company was organized. It was an armed commercial monopoly, the chief object of which was traffic and the humbling of Spain and Portugal, and not colonization. Meanwhile, the Plymouth Company had obtained the coveted new charter already mentioned. By it their king conferred upon them almost regal powers. Without the consent of the Plymouth Company, no ships might enter any harbor on the American coast between Newfoundland and the latitude of Philadelphia; not a fish might be caught within three miles of the American coast not a skin trafficked for in the forests, nor an emigrant live upon the soil. That extraordinary charter had been signed by the king a week before the arrival of the May-Flower off Cape Cod, with the Pilgrims and that little colony who had braved the terrors of

the Atlantic for the sake of freedom, were subjected, prospectively, to an almost irresponsible despotism. The House of Commons, alarmed because of this delegation of despotic power to a grasping company of traders, presented the patent as the first of the public grievances of the kingdom. "The French ambassador in London protested against it because Canada was included within the limits of the Plymouth Company's charter; and a little later the captain of a French vessel, anchored in the mouth of the Hudson River, attempted to set up the arms of France there, and take possession of the country in the name of his king. The Dutch, too, were concerned in the matter, for if the powers granted to the Plymouth Company might be exercised without hindrance, New Netherland would be useless to them.

In defiance of the House of Commons, King James upheld the monopoly. He scolded the representatives of the people, paid no attention to the Frenchman's protest, and reminded the States-General of Holland that Dutchmen were unlawfully seated upon the domain of a chartered English Company. The Hollanders at the Hague were as little moved by the covert threats of the British monarch as were those at Manhattan by Captain Dermer's warning. The complaint, however, had a useful result. It induced the West India Company, before its final organization, to take measures for securing the rights of eminent domain in New Netherland, in accordance with the principles of English policy which declared that first occupation gave those rights. So it was that the attention of that powerful Company was called from traffic to the founding of a permanent agricultural colony in America.

At that time there were thousands of refugees from persecution in the Netherlands. Among these were many of French extraction, who spoke the French language, called Walloons. They had inhabited the southern Belgic provinces of Hainault, Namur, Luxemburg, Limburg, and a part of the bishopric of Liege. When the northern provinces of the Netherlands formed their union more than forty years before, these southern provinces, whose inhabitants were mostly Roman Catholics, declined to join the confederation. There were many Protestants in those provinces, and they were made to feel, in all its rigor, the lash of persecution in the hands of the Spaniards. Thousands of them fled to Holland, where strangers of every race and creed were welcomed. There were the Walloons, a hardy, industrious, and skillful race of men and women, who introduced many useful arts into their adopted country. There they established their peculiar mode of public worship, and were soon ranked among the most thrifty, honest, and religious inhabitants. They were numerous in Amsterdam and Leyden, and were on friendly terms with the Puritan refugees from England. Like those Puritans they heard, from time to time, the enticing stories about the beauty and fertility of Virginia, and some of them desired to emigrate to America. They applied to the British ambassador at the Hague for permission and encouragement. He referred them to his king, and James submitted the matter to the London Company. The latter were not liberal enough in their proffered conditions to induce the Walloons to go. The States-General hearing of the movement commended them and their project to the West India Company. The latter perceived the great advantage which such emigrants would be to them in founding a permanent industrial colony in New Netherland, and took measures immediately to secure them. An agreement was made with several families, and in the spring of 1623, the emigrants were ready for departure for their new home.

The Company, anxious to commence their settlement with a sufficient number of willing hands, fitted out the New Netherland, a ship of two hundred and sixty tons burden, in which thirty families, consisting of one hundred and ten men, women and children, embarked. They were provided with agricultural implements, cows, horses, sheep and swine, and a sufficient quantity of household furniture to make them comfortable. The command of the ship was given to Cornelius Jacobsen May, of Hoorn, who was to remain in New Netherland as first director or governor. His lieutenant was Adrien Joris. The vessel sailed from the Texel early in March, and taking the long and tedious southern route by way of the Canaries and the West Indies, to avoid the storms of the northern Atlantic, they did not reach their destined haven until the beginning of May, where they found the French vessel above mentioned lying at anchor. The yacht Mackerel had just come down the Hudson. With two pieces of cannon taken from the fort at Manhattan, she compelled the Frenchman to desist, and convoyed his vessel out to sea. He went round to the Delaware on the same errand, and received similar treatment from the Dutch traders who were seated on its banks, when he sailed for France. With this ridiculous feat ended attempts of the French to assert jurisdiction below the fortieth parallel.

On a beautiful morning in May the Walloons landed from the New Netherland, in small boats, upon the rocky shore where Castle Garden now is. They made a picturesque appearance as they ascended the bank in their quaint costume, every man carrying some article of domestic use, and many women each carrying a babe or small child in her arms. They were cordially welcomed by the resident traders and friendly Indians, and were feasted under a tent made of sails stretched between several trees. Under that tent a Christian teacher, who accompanied the settlers, offered up fervent thanksgivings to Almighty God for his preserving care during the long voyage, and implored His blessing upon the great undertaking before them. May then read his commission, which made him first director of New Netherland, and formally assumed the governorship of the colony and country.

Traditions have told us that these emigrants were immediately scattered to different points to form settlements, and so to secure a wide domain for the West India Company. Some, it is said, settled on Long Island and founded the City of Brooklyn others went up the Connecticut River to a point near the site of Hartford, and built Fort Good Hope others planted themselves in the present Ulster County in New York, and others founded Albany, where the Dutch had erected a military work and named it Fort Orange. Others, it is said, went to the Delaware and began a settlement at the mouth of Timber Creek, on the east side of the river, a few miles below the site of Philadelphia, and built a small fortification which they named Fort Nassau. The settlers engaged in this enterprise, it is said, were four young couples who were married on ship-board, and eight seamen who managed a little yacht that conveyed them to the South River, as the Delaware was called. This was to distinguish it from the North River, as the Hudson was then called, and which yet retain that name.

When May's lieutenant, Joris, returned to Amsterdam with a ship laden with furs worth over ten thousand dollars, and reported that the settlers were "getting bravely along," the Company were delighted, and sent out ships with cattle, horses, sheep, swine, farming implements and seeds

for their use, and more emigrants. Political affairs in Europe were now favorable to the enterprise. King James of England, angered because of the failure of his son Charles to win the hand of a Spanish princess, had leagued with the Dutch against Spain. At his death, his son became King Charles the First, and he renewed the league with the States-General in a still stronger bond. This alliance with the British sovereign promising noninterference, on his part, in the growth of a permanent colony in New Netherland, the West India Company proceeded to lay the political foundations of a state. They commissioned Peter Minuit director-general or governor of the colony, with a council of seven men, a secretary of state, who was also keeper of the Company's accounts, and a schout or sheriff, who was also public prosecutor or manager of the revenue. The council was invested with all local legislative, judicial and executive powers, subject to the jurisdiction of the Amsterdam College or Chamber of Nineteen. The Council were empowered to administer justice in all criminal cases to the extent of imprisonment, but each capital offender "must be sent, with his sentence, to Holland."

Governor Minuit arrived at Manhattan in the ship Sea-Mew, at the beginning of May, 1626. So soon as he was installed in office, he opened negotiations with the Indians for the purchase of the island, so as to procure a more valid title to its possession than that of discovery and occupation. It was estimated that it contained about twenty-two thousand acres of land, and it was purchased for the West India Company for the sum of about twenty-four dollars. A fort was immediately staked out by the engineer Frederick, at the lower point of the island, where the Battery and its stately trees now are, the plan of which called for a work faced with stone and having four angles, by which the bay in front, and the East and Hudson Rivers on its flanks, might be commanded by cannon. Before the work was finished, it was named Fort Amsterdam, and afterward the city that grew up there was called New Amsterdam. It retained that name until the province was surrendered to the English, when it received the title of New York. The State-General constituted the province a county of Holland with an armorial distinction of a count. Its great seal bore the device of a shield, with an escutcheon enclosed in a chain, emblematic of union, and bearing the figure of a beaver. The crest was the coronet of a count.

While Fort Amsterdam was a-building an event occurred, the sad effects of which were felt long afterwards. Two adult Indians and a small boy, of a tribe in Westchester county, went from their homes to the Dutch settlement with beaver-skins to barter with the Hollanders at the fort. They followed the beaten trail along the East River to Kip's Bay (foot of Thirty-fourth street), where it diverged westward to the pond and marsh formerly known as The Collect, on the borders of which, on Centre street, New York, the Halls of Justice or the "Tombs" now stand. Near that pond, three farm-servants in the employ of Governor Minuit, robbed the Indians of their property and then murdered the men. The boy escaped. He vowed vengeance and in after years, when he was a stalwart brave, he fearfully executed his vow. The murder was unknown to the Dutch authorities for a long time, and the guilty men probably escaped punishment.

When the stock of the Dutch West India Company was secured, and the several boards of direction were chosen, the College of XIX gave to the Amsterdam Chamber the exclusive management of the affairs of the province of New Netherland. Brodhead enumerates among the

prominent members of that Chamber, Jonas Witsen, Hendrick Hamel, Samuel Godyn, John de Laet, the historian Killian Van Rensselaer, Michael Pauw, and Peter Evertsen Hulft. The names of these men were identified with the first European possession of the States of New York, New Jersey, Delaware, Pennsylvania, and Connecticut. The Company took measures immediately to secure their title to the domain by more extended actual occupation. They had taken possession of the country before their final organization, by virtue of their charter, because they knew how jealous were the English and to give a show of actual occupation, they had sent trading vessels which bore instructions to the officers at Manhattan and on the North River, and, as we have seen, proceeded to build fortifications.

Within seventeen years after the discoveries of Hudson, the foundations of the great commonwealth of New York were laid by families, most of whom were voluntary exiles from their native land for the sake of freedom of thought and action. These were the first seeds of the state. To these were added, at the season of germination, noble plants from Holland, of genuine Hollanders, who brought with them those principles of toleration which lie at the foundations of a truly Christian state and give it sustenance. The community of their capital was very soon as cosmopolitan as their mother city of Amsterdam, of which Andrew Marvell quaintly wrote:

"Hence Amsterdam, Turk, Christian, Pagan, Jew, Staple of sects and mint of schism grew That bank of conscience where not one so strange Opinion, but finds credit and exchange; In vain for Catholics ourselves we bear - The Universal Church is only there."

New Amsterdam gave to the state and nation a race in whose veins courses the blood of Teuton, Saxon, Celt and Gaul. The colonists from Holland exhibited, from the beginning, a more enlarged vision of the rights of conscience and respect for the dignity of personal freedom, than and other of the early American settlers. Their passion for far-reaching commerce and adventurous enterprise has ever hovered over Manhattan Island like a tutelar deity, during all its social and political vicissitudes, and has made New York City the commercial emporium of the Western Continent.

Chapter XVIII

The Plymouth Company in Parliament - First Debate in Parliament on American Affairs - Grants of Territory East of Massachusetts - Sir William Alexander's Domain - Emigration Plan of Gorges and Mason - Settlers in New Hampshire - Dissolution of the Plymouth Company - Gorges Governor-General of New England - Founding of the Colony of New Hampshire - George Calvert (Lord Baltimore) Seeks a Charter for Maryland - His Son Receives It - Its Character - Voyage of Emigrants to Maryland - First Settlement in Maryland, and Founding of its Capital.

WHILST French and English colonists from free Holland were planting settlements on the Delaware and Hudson Rivers and the borders of Cape Cod Bay, a seed-time had again begun on that portion of the soil of New England now covered by the States of New Hampshire and Maine. Sir Ferdinando Gorges was the chief promoter of this cultivation. He had been the controlling spirit in the Plymouth Company, from the beginning, and the chief instrument in procuring the despotic charter for the Plymouth Council. For its existence and powers he contended fearlessly before the hostile Parliament, standing firmly upon the king's prerogative. In that contest he had a powerful coadjutor in Sir George Calvert, a representative of Yorkshire, and who afterward became the founder of Maryland. Educated at Oxford taught wisdom by travels; fostered in public life by Sir Robert Cecil, and through him advanced to the honors of knighthood; employed as one of the Secretaries of State when the Pilgrims were preparing to depart for America, and being possessed of a handsome person, winning manners and fluency of speech, he was very popular among all classes, and had been elected to a seat in the House of Commons by an immense majority. He had sought refuge from controversy (privately at first) in the bosom of the Roman Catholic Church. As that Church paid all due deference to the king as sovereign, it was not regarded with disfavor by James, and Sir George was an ever-welcome guest at the palace, for he was a thorough courtier.

It was a notable scene in the House of Commons, then convened for the first time in seven years, when Gorges appeared before that body to show cause why the charter should not be annulled or its despotic powers abridged. The king was present to defend his prerogative if it should be assailed. Gorges and Calvert were opposed by Sir Edwin Sandys, the wise statesman and friend of Virginia, and by the then venerable Sir Edward Coke, who had been Lord Chief-Justice of England. Coke was a member of Parliament and of the Privy Council, and he then began his famous contest with the king, which resulted in a curious exhibition of wrath and despotism on the part of James. Coke had procured the opposition of Parliament to the proposed marriage of the Prince of Wales to a Spanish princess, as dangerous to Protestantism in England. The angered king denounced the address which the House of Commons presented to him on the subject as an unlawful interference with his prerogative mentioned the name of Coke, the author of it, as a culprit and in a letter to the Speaker declared his intention to "punish any man's misdemeanor in Parliament as well during the sitting as after." This threat was aimed at Coke, who immediately moved a protestation for the privilege of the House, setting forth the right of every member to "freedom of speech, and like freedom from all impeachment, imprisonment or molestation," on account of anything said or done in Parliament. It was carried and entered in the

journals. On hearing of this act, the king immediately prorogued or dissolved Parliament, sent for the journals of the House, and with his own hand tore out the offensive record. Then he caused the arrest of Coke and others, in execution of his threat, and confined him in the Tower several months, when he was released on the petition of Prince Charles.

In the matter of the charter, Sandys pleaded for the freedom in fishing and of general commerce, which was then becoming the staple of wealth for England. "The fishermen hinder the plantations," replied Calvert, "they choke the harbors with their ballast, and waste the forests by improvident use. America is not annexed to the realm nor within the jurisdiction of Parliament you have therefore no right to interfere." We make laws for Virginia, said another member; "a bill passed by the Commons and the Lords, if it receives the king's assent, will control the patent." Sir Edward Coke argued with numerous references to the statutes of the realm, that as the charter was granted without regard to preexisting rights, it was necessarily void. This attack upon his prerogative aroused the angry monarch, who was sitting near the Speaker's chair, and he blurted out some silly words about the "divine right of kings," when the Commons, in defiance of his wrath, passed a bill giving freedom to commerce in spite of the charter. That bill had not gone through all the forms of legislation when the king broke up the Parliament for reasons just mentioned.

James, in the exercise of his prerogative, issued a proclamation forbidding any vessel to approach the shores of North Virginia without the special consent of the Plymouth Company. The Company commissioned Francis West admiral of New England, and sent him to protect their chartered rights. His police force was too feeble for so wide a domain, and the fishermen, in their fast-sailing shallops, eluded his grasp. The next Parliament proceeded to perfect what the former one had begun. The House was led by Coke, lately released from the Tower. "Your patent, he said to Gorges from the Speaker's chair, contains many particulars contrary to the laws and privileges of the subject it is a monopoly, and the ends of private gain are concealed under color of planting a colony." In debate, he said, Shall none visit the sea-coast for fishing? This is to make a monopoly upon the seas, which want to be free. If you, alone, are to pack and dry fish, you attempt a monopoly of the wind and sun." The bill passed, but never received the signature of the king. The monopolists, discouraged by the opposition of the Commons, lowered their pretensions, and many of the patentees withdrew their interests in the Company. Those who remained, like Gorges, now did little more than issue grants of domain in the northeastern parts of America.

This was the first debate on American affairs in the British Parliament; and it is a singular fact that in the course of it the supreme authority of the National Legislature over the American colonies was plainly asserted, the attempted exercise of which, in the matter of taxation, led to the old war for independence, one hundred and fifty years afterward, and the dismemberment of the British empire.

Before this disaster to the hopes of the Plymouth Company, grants of domain had been made. The first was to its secretary, Captain John Mason, who had been governor of Newfoundland. It

embraced the country in Massachusetts between Salem and Newburyport, inland to the sources of the Merrimac River, and all the islands on its sea-front within three miles of the coasts. To forestall French settlements in the East, and to secure the country to Protestants, Gorges procured a grant to Sir William Alexander of the whole main eastward of the St. Croix River, excepting a small portion of Acadie. Sir William was Secretary of State from Scotland, and author of a hundred sonnets and some dull tragedies. The domain was named New Scotland. The charter being in Latin, it was written Nova Scotia, and has ever since retained that name. The baronet was invested with the regal privileges of a count-palatine, in 1630, and was created Earl of Stirling and Viscount of Canada. The domain was created a fief or dependence of the Scottish crown, and an attempt was made to establish a Scotch settlement there. It failed. Alexander lacked the energy necessary for such an undertaking.

When the suit of Charles for the hand of the Spanish princess was ended, he sought and obtained that of Henriette-Marie, sister of the King of France. Their marriage, in 1625, promised friendly relations between the two countries, notwithstanding she was a Roman Catholic; but the folly and baseness of the Duke of Buckingham, the court favorite, who had negotiated the union, soon plunged the two nations into war, the effects of which were seen in America. Sir David Kirke was sent with ships and soldiers to conquer Canada and then occurred the surrender of Quebec to the English, mentioned in a previous chapter. It was a barren victory, for at almost the same time, Canada, Cape Breton, and undefined Acadie were restored to the French by treaty.

Meanwhile, Gorges and Mason had projected plans for a very extensive colonization. They obtained a patent for the country along the coast of New England between the Merrimac and Kennebec Rivers, and back to the St. Lawrence, under the title of the "Province of Laconic." It was represented to be a terrestrial paradise in beauty and fertility. Settlements at various points were projected and attempted, but none seem to have become permanent until about the year 1630. Mason and Gorges had agreed to divide their territory at the Piscataqua River, and in 1629 the former obtained a patent for the country between that river and the Merrimac, and gave it the name of New Hampshire. He built a house at the mouth of the Piscataqua, in 1631, and named the spot Portsmouth. He had been governor of Portsmouth, in Hampshire county, England, and these names he transferred to his new territory and first permanent settlement. Four years afterwards he died. His widow tried in vain to manage his large landed estate profitably. It passed into the possession of his retainers in payment for their services. These settlers were now left to themselves to fashion an independent state, but it was of slow growth. There was then only one agricultural settlement in all New England, excepting in Massachusetts, and scarcely the germ of a state had appeared. The colonists were mostly squatters, and moved frequently from place to place. They were chiefly hunters and fishermen, and cultivated the soil only for the production of a few vegetables and a little maize or Indian corn. Their huts were scattered along the harbors and when some families came to Maine to establish a farming community, they were laughed at by the older residents as visionaries, and they went to the Plymouth colony. The whole enterprise was unprofitable to the proprietors. From the beginning the expenses had been greater than the receipts, and now the jealousy of different parties threatened the Company with utter ruin, whilst the French, resolved to maintain their hold upon New France, were building huts at the mouth of

the Penobscot, and threatening to seize the territory between that river and the Kennebec. The Indians, too, were showing restlessness.

In this unpromising state of the affairs of the Plymouth Company, Gorges was again summoned before the House of Commons to show cause why the charter should not be revoked. The merchants were restive under the restrictions of the monopoly; the Commons regarded it as a royal instrument; churchmen looked upon it as a foe to prelacy, because Puritans were sheltered on its domain; and the new king, Charles (whose father had died in 1625), suspected the New England colonists were enjoying liberties inconsistent with the royal prerogative. Charles was as bigoted a believer in the divine right of kings as his father, and that belief manifested in practice proved his ruin.

Gorges defended the Company against the various charges with vigor, but he and his associates perceived that further contention for its existence would be useless. Therefore they prepared for its dissolution by dividing North Virginia into twelve royal provinces, assigning each to persons named and at their last meeting in April, 1635, they caused to be entered upon their minutes the following record We have been bereaved of friends; oppressed by losses, expenses and troubles assailed before the Privy Council again and again with groundless charges; and weakened by the French and other foes without and within the realm, and what remains is only a breathless carcass. We, therefore, now resign the patent to the king, first reserving all grants by us made and all vested rights - a patent we have holden about fifteen years."

The king appointed eleven of his Privy Council a "Board of Lords Commissioners of all the American Plantations," and committed to them the general direction of colonial affairs. Gorges, then sixty years of age, and robust in mind and body, was appointed Governor-General over New England. A ship-of-war was in preparation to bring him to America, but was broken in the launching, and the baronet never crossed the Atlantic Ocean. His nephew, William Gorges, was sent over as his lieutenant, to administer the government. He made his headquarters at Saco, where he found about one hundred and fifty inhabitants governed by a voluntary social compact. There he established a regular government on the 28th of March, 1636, the first within the State of Maine. Soon afterward a royal charter made the elder Gorges lord proprietor of a large territory in that region, called the "Province or County of Maine." Gratified by this mark of royal favor, he began energetically in his old age to devise laws for his palatinate, such as a soldier and royalist would be likely to conceive, but they were little heeded in America. Gorges lived eight years in the enjoyment of his vice-regal honors, and soon after his death his province passed under the jurisdiction of Massachusetts.

Feeble and scattered settlements grew in New Hampshire, and in 1641 these formed a union with the flourishing Massachusetts colony, and remained a part of that province until 1680, when the king ordered their separation, and the more feeble partner became a royal province. Its first governor (John Cutts) was appointed by the Crown, who was assisted by a council also made by royal appointment; and there was a house of representatives elected by the people. Then was laid the foundation of the Commonwealth of New Hampshire.

Sir George Calvert has been alluded to as the founder of Maryland. He was a thorough courtier, and one of the most brilliant and able of the supporters of the royal prerogative. King James knighted him in 1617, and in 1619 he was commissioned one of the principal Secretaries of State. He was then thirty-seven years of age. For a few years afterward he was one of the most active of James's courtiers.

Calvert had taken great interest from early youth in the discovery and settlement of foreign countries. He was a member of the East India Company, and also of the London Company, by whom Virginia was colonized. The same year when the May-Flower came to America, he purchased a part of Newfoundland, and named his domain Avalon. He at once took vigorous measures for planting an English colony there, but failed. At about the same time his son Cecil married the beautiful Anne, daughter of the Earl of Arundel, who was a member of the Roman Catholic Church. This union brought him into more intimate relations with distinguished persons of that sect. Among them was Gondamar, the Spanish ambassador in London, and Tillieres, the French ambassador at the same court. The influence of these men soon wrought a change in Calvert's religious thoughts. He became an advocate for the Spanish match, on the floor of the House of Commons; and he inflamed the resentment of King James against that body by giving him a highly-colored account of their proceedings in the matter. Finally, in the summer of 1624, his adherence to the Church of Rome became so palpable, that he was compelled to abandon the Secretary-ship. Early the following March, James gave him an Irish peerage by creating him "Baron of Baltimore in the County of Longford." Sixteen days afterward the monarch died. When his successor came to White Hall and the oath of allegiance and supremacy was offered to Lord Baltimore as one of the Privy Council, he declined to take it, and retired to Ireland bearing a cordial letter of introduction and good-will from his king to the Lord Deputy of that country.

The Roman Catholics of England were suffering much persecution at that time from the Puritans on one side, who were daily increasing in strength, and from the Churchmen on the other; and Lord Baltimore desired to provide an asylum for them in America. In the summer of 1627 he visited Avalon to inspect it in person, with a view of planting a Roman Catholic colony there. He went in a ship armed with twenty cannon, as a protection against the French. A few friends and some priests accompanied him. After remaining a few months he returned to England, and the next spring he sailed again for Newfoundland with his second wife and all his children, excepting the married ones.

The following winter was a very severe one. In the spring he sent his children home; and at the beginning of autumn, with his wife and retainers, he sailed for Virginia, arriving at Jamestown in October. When he appeared before Governor Harvey and his council, and was asked what his purpose was, he answered: "To plant and dwell." "Will you take the oath which we all have taken?" asked the governor. "I cannot with a good conscience," his lordship answered. "Then you must leave with the first ship hence to England," said Harvey. He did so, leaving his wife and retainers to winter in Virginia. He returned for them in 1630, and brought with him a patent from King Charles for a territory south of the James River, for the rigors of the climate and the barrenness of the soil of Avalon, and the menaces of the French, had determined him to abandon

his domain on Newfoundland. The Virginia Company made so much opposition to his new charter that he was induced to surrender it and accept one for territory north and east of the Potomac River, and embracing the Chesapeake Bay, which he had explored.

Lord Baltimore desired to call that chartered domain *Crescentia*; but in deference to the king, when the charter was drawn up, the space for the name was left blank that his Majesty might fill it as he pleased. When Baltimore appeared before Charles to receive his signature to the document, the monarch asked: "What will you call the country?" His lordship referred the matter to his Majesty. "Then let us name it after the queen," said Charles. "What do you think of Mariana?," the expert courtier dissented, because that was the name of the Spanish historian who taught the heresy that "the will of the people is higher than the law of tyrants." The king, still disposed to compliment his queen, said: "Let it be *Terra Maria*" - Mary Land. So it was that in the charter the province was named Maryland, in honor of Queen Henrietta Marie. Before the great seal of England was affixed to the patent, Lord Baltimore died in London. His son Cecil, the successor to his estates and titles, received the charter a few months afterward, dated June 20, 1632. The territory defined in the patent extended along each side of Chesapeake Bay from the fortieth degree to the mouth of the Potomac, and westward along the line of that river.

The Maryland charter, it is said, was drawn up by the hand of the first Lord Baltimore. It was evidently copied, substantially, from the one granted by Charles to his Attorney-General, Sir Robert Heath, for Carolina, "a territory south of the Roanoke River." It gave greater democratic privileges to the settlers under it than any yet issued by monopolist or monarch. It declared that the territory was out of the plenitude of royal power; the people were exempted from taxation by the crown except by their own consent and other important political privileges were secured to them. It silently allowed religious toleration. While it directed the dedication and consecration of churches, chapels, and places of worship in accordance with the prescriptions of the ecclesiastical laws of England, the matter of a state theology was left entirely untouched, and within the legislative power of the colonists themselves. This toleration was a wise provision. It promoted the growth of the colony when it was established, for those who were persecuted by the Puritans of New England and the Churchmen of Virginia, went thither and found a refuge and peace. The charter also provided that the proprietary should have "free, full, and absolute power to enact all laws necessary for the common good, not, however, without the advice, consent, and approbation of the freemen of the province or their representatives convoked in general assembly." This was the first instance of any provision having been made in an American patent for securing to the citizen a share in legislation.

Armed with this charter, young Lord Baltimore set about the business of colonizing his domain, not for an asylum for his persecuted co-religionists, but chiefly for pecuniary gain. He appointed his half-brother, Leonard Calvert, governor, and on the 22nd of November, 1633, that kinsman and his brother, "with very near twenty other gentlemen of very good fashion, and three hundred laboring men" (so Lord Baltimore wrote to Wentworth, afterward Earl of Stafford), sailed from Cowes, in the Isle of Wight, in two ships, the *Ark* and *Dove*. The Calverts and the other "gentlemen and some of the laborers were Roman Catholics, but a greater portion of the

latter were Protestants, who took the oath of supremacy before leaving England. The emigrants were accompanied by two Jesuit priests, Fathers Andrew White and John Altham. They performed religious ceremonies at the point of departure, while a gentle east wind was blowing, "committing the principal parts of the ship to the protection of God especially, and of His most Holy Mother, and St. Ignatius, and all the guardian angels of Maryland."

The colonists took the tedious southern route by way of the Canaries and the West Indies. They had just escaped the perils of The Needles on the coast of the Isle of Wight, when the fear of the Turkish cruisers, then the terror of all Christian seamen, took possession of them. This fear was soon allayed by the appearance of a large English merchantman called The Dragon, well armed and bound for Angola, which would convoy them beyond the line of danger. When only two days out, they were overtaken by a furious gale. The Dragon turned back; the emigrant vessels went forward. The tempest increased when the night came on. The people of the Dove, the smaller vessel, notified the officers of the staunch Ark that in case of danger they would hang out a lighted lantern at the masthead. That signal of distress appeared at midnight for a few minutes, and then suddenly vanished. "All are lost!" thought the tenants of the Ark, and they grieved sorely. They had no doubt the Dove, with her precious freight of Christians, had gone to the bottom of the sea.

For three days the tempest swept the ocean, when suddenly the clouds gathered in fearful tumult, rain fell in torrents, and for a few minutes a dreadful hurricane threatened instant destruction to all in its path. It seemed as if all the malicious spirits of the storm, and all the evil genii of Maryland had come forth to battle "against the good ship." Her mainsail was split from top to bottom her rudder was unshipped, and she was left at the mercy of the winds and waves. In mortal terror the emigrants fell on their knees and prayed; and the Roman Catholics uttered vows in honor of "the Blessed Virgin Mary and her Immaculate Conception; of St. Ignatius, the patron saint of Maryland St. Michael, and all the guardian angels of the same country." I had betaken myself to prayer," says Father White, from whose narrative I have quoted, "when the sea was raging its worst, and (may this be to the glory of God) I had scarcely finished, when they observed that the storm was abating." After that the voyagers had delightful weather for three months, on the sea and on the land.

The Ark steered for Bonavista, one of the Cape de Verd Islands, but altered her course and entered a harbor of the island of Barbados, on the eastern verge of the Antilles, where her people, all regarded as Roman Catholics, were coldly received, and charged extravagant prices for the provisions which they were compelled to purchase. The voyagers there learned that they had escaped a Spanish fleet lying at Bonavista, and also another peril in the port at which they had arrived. The slaves on the island had conspired to murder their masters, seize the first ship that should appear, and put to sea. The conspiracy had just been discovered, and its cruel purposes arrested. Their eyes were now greeted by the arrival there of the pinnace Dove, after a separation of six weeks. In the terrible gale she had put back while her lantern was at the masthead, and took refuge in the Scilly Isles, whence she sailed with a fair wind in search of her consort. After perilous wanderings over the waters, the Dove returned to the Ark.

The emigrants left Barbados after a short sojourn there, passed several islands of the Antilles, near one of which they encountered canoes full of naked and painted cannibals, and late in February they sailed in between the Capes of Virginia. They touched at Point Comfort and then went up to Jamestown, where royal letters borne by Calvert secured for them a friendly reception from Governor Harvey. Nine days they tarried pleasantly there, and then sailed for the Chesapeake and entered the broad mouth of the Potomac River. They were delighted with the great stream and the scenery on its banks, and gave to it the name of St. Gregory, in honor of the canonized Pope of that name. "Never have I beheld a larger or more beautiful river," wrote Father White, "The Thames seems a mere rivulet in comparison with it is not disfigured by any swamps, but has firm land on each side. Fine groves of trees appear, not choked with briars or bushes or undergrowth, but growing at intervals as if planted by the hand of man, so that you can drive a four-horse carriage, wherever you choose, through the midst of the trees. Just at the mouth of the river we saw the natives in arms. That night fires blazed throughout the whole country, and since they had never seen so large a ship, messengers were sent in all directions, who reported that a canoe, like an island, had come with as many men as there were trees in the woods."

The colonists sailed up the Potomac to the Heron Islands, and on Blackstone (which they named St. Clements) they landed at a little past the middle of March. The air was balmy, and sweet with opening spring flowers, and birds were filling the groves with rich melody. The shy natives came to them one after another, and were disarmed of all hostility by the kindness of the Britons. There, on the feast of the Annunciation (March 25th), the priests, in full canonicals, performed religious services, and administered the Lord's Supper for the first time in all that savage region. Then the whole company followed Governor Calvert and the priests in procession, bearing a huge cross which they had fashioned from a tree, and planted the symbol of Christianity and civilization at a chosen spot. The Roman Catholics, on bended knees, recited the "Litanies of the Sacred Cross" according to the Italian ritual. On the verge of the forest shadows, as wondering spectators of the strange scene, stood groups of savage men, women and children, clad in scanty and picturesque garments, with their emperor and his queen. He was at the head of a tribe called the Piscataways, and ruled over several small principalities, as did Powhatan, in Virginia.

Calvert proceeded at once to pay a visit of ceremony to the emperor to make a treaty of friendship and secure his influence over the surrounding tribes in favor of the colonists. In the Dove and another pinnace which they had procured at Jamestown; the governor, with Father Altham and a part of the emigrants, sailed up the river, leaving the Ark at anchor. Indians appeared here and there along the shores for a few minutes, and then disappeared in the woods, fleeing in alarm. They finally reached the village of Potomac, near Mount Vernon, whose king was a youth, and the people were ruled by his uncle as regent. Their fears were soon overcome, and Father Altham, through an interpreter from Jamestown, explained that their object in coming was to teach the Indians to lead better lives, and to live with them as brothers. The old sachem welcomed them, saying: "We will use one table - my people shall hunt for my pale-faced brother, and all things shall be in common between us."

The colonists, pleased with this peaceful conquest, went on to Piscataway, where they found five hundred warriors ready to dispute their landing. A parley ensued which ended in the emperor venturing on board the Dove, where he was soon satisfied that his visitors were peaceful and powerful. He readily gave them permission to settle anywhere within his empire, near him or more distant. Calvert thought it better to settle nearer the mouth of the Potomac, and returned to St. Clements. There he found the natives very friendly and familiar, and watching with marvelling eyes the building of a brigantine, of timber brought over from England. They supposed the floating vessels had been each hollowed out of a single tree, as were their own canoes, and concluded England must be a mighty country where such big trees grew. They were awed by the flash and roar of the cannon, supposing them to be lightning and thunder under the control of the visitors.

The governor now explored the Wicomico River emptying into another (which they called St. George) twelve miles upward, and anchored at an Indian village of the same name, where he and his company were hospitably entertained that night, after holding a friendly conference with the reigning sachem, who gave up his own mat to Calvert to sleep on. The interpreter explained the object of the visit. The sachem said but little, but told them to examine the country. The governor did so the next day. Pleased with the situation, the soil and the forest growth, he determined to plant his first settlement there, and make Wicomico the capital. He possessed delegated power to take possession of the country without leave or reward, in accordance with the custom of the strong mailed hand of Europeans at that time, whose creed ran - "We believe that Might makes Right," but he believed it to be more noble and wise to be just. He believed, too, that there was more worldly profit in honor than in dishonor - that "honesty" was "the best policy," and found it so. He entered into a treaty with the sachem for the purchase of a large portion of his domain. It was concluded and Calvert gave the Indians some English cloth, axes, hoes, rakes, knives, and some trinkets for the women of little real value, for about thirty miles of territory, including the village; and he named the domain "Augusta Carolina." The Indians gave up to the colonists, for their immediate use, one-half of their village. Their houses were of an oblong, oval shape, "with a window in the roof which admitted light and also permitted the smoke to escape from the fire built in the centre of the room." They also agreed to give to the settlers one-half of their corn-grounds, which they were then planting, reserving the residue for their own use until the harvest should be gathered, when the whole of the purchased domain was to be given up to the Britons. They mutually agreed that if an injury should be done by one party, full satisfaction should be given by the other; and there was a tacit understanding that they should be allies in war. The king regarded this as essential; indeed it was the most cogent argument in favor of his making a treaty, for he wished a powerful ally, his territory having been desolated and his subjects driven from their homes, by the powerful "Susquehanocs" of the North.

On the 27th of March, 1634, Calvert took formal possession of the territory. The vessels came from St. Clements with the remainder of the emigrants, and when they landed, a cannon was fired to commemorate their arrival at the end of their weary wanderings. They built a storehouse and a small battery and planted a portion of the soil. Then the governor, on a warm day in April, proceeded with a part of the company to a chosen spot fragrant with wild-flowers, about a mile

from the river, where he laid out a capital city that was dedicated, with imposing religious ceremonies, to the "Blessed Virgin Mary," and was named St. Mary's. There the settlers immediately began to build, and were aided by the really gentle Indians. While they were so engaged, they were visited by Governor Harvey, of Virginia who came in a pinnace with some of his councillors. Governor Calvert received him on board the Ark with great ceremony, and gave a banquet there to which several of the neighboring chiefs were invited. To the king of Patuxent, reigning eastward of St. Mary's, special attention was paid, for he was a conspicuous friend of the white people. He was seated at table between the two governors, when one of his followers seeing him there, and suspecting there was some evil design against his sovereign, would have leaped overboard, swam ashore, sped to his people and aroused them to arms with possible disastrous consequences, had he not been restrained by those near him, and assured by the king that all was right. When the warrior's suspicions were allayed and he was pacified, the monarch of the Patuxent addressed the other chiefs present, saying: "I love the English so well, that if they should go about to kill me, and I had so much breath as to speak, I would command the people not to avenge my death; for I know they do no such thing, except it were through mine own fault."

These settlers seem to have been exempted from the distresses which had befallen the earlier emigrants to other colonies. The surrounding native inhabitants were friendly they had a genial climate general good health prevailed they had abundance of food, and the soil yielded to moderate tillage abundant fruit. They were vested with peculiar civil privileges were not hampered by ecclesiastical restrictions and a year after they had established their capital at St. Mary's, a legislative assembly, composed of the whole people - a purely democratic legislature - convened there. As their numbers increased by emigration, this method of legislation was found to be inconvenient, and in 1639 a representative government was established, the people being allowed to send as many delegates as they pleased. Then was founded the republican commonwealth of Maryland It had been founded in justice, and by the exercise of kindness toward the native inhabitants and, but for the wickedness of ambitious men, the hite people and the Indians might have lived together in perfect harmony, for the savages were easily and powerfully impressed with a sense of gratitude for good treatment. This trait was exhibited by the king of the Piscataways, the most powerful tribe in Maryland. He was taken sick and forty conjurers tried to cure him by conjurations. He grew worse, when Father White asked and obtained permission to treat him. The priest gave him some medicine and bled him, when the king soon recovered his health. Grateful for the blessing, he begged the priest to baptize him, his queen, and their daughter, to prepare them to enter the Christian Church. In a chapel built of bark for the occasion, they and some chiefs were baptized; and in the afternoon the king and his queen were married according to Christian rites. Their daughter, as I have observed elsewhere, was sent to St. Mary's, to be educated.

Chapter XIX

Claims of the Dutch in New England - A Dutch Embassy to the Pilgrims - The Capital of the Pilgrims - The Dutch and the English in the Valley of the Connecticut - First English Settlement There - The Dutch Exasperate the Indians - Emigration of Puritans to the Connecticut Valley - Conflicting Claims to the Territory - Hooker's Emigration - The Pequods Jealous - War with the Pequods - Their Destruction.

WE have observed that the Dutch who founded New Netherland and the city of New Amsterdam (now New York) extended their explorations and traffic east, west, north, and south. They even went as far as Narraganset and Cape Cod bays in search of the beaver and otter. As Captain Block had discovered the Connecticut River and named it the Fresh-Water, and had looked into Narraganset Bay, the Dutch felt that they had a legal claim upon those regions according to the English doctrine concerning the right of discovery. So early as 1623, the agent of the Dutch West India Company seems to have taken possession of the Connecticut River and the lands drained by its tributaries, in the name of the Company and of the States-General of Holland.

A peaceful and profitable trade might have been carried on with the natives of the Connecticut Valley, by the Dutch, had not the latter exasperated the Indians by the seizure of one of their chiefs and demanding a heavy ransom for his release. The savages threatened the intruders with violence, and the Dutch began to build a stockade fort for their own protection, at what is yet known as Dutch Point, near the City of Hartford. Wrath prevailed a long time. At length the Indians were pacified, and at their request the Dutch abandoned the fort.

A friendly intercourse was now opened between the Dutch on Manhattan and the English at New Plymouth. In the spring of 1627, Isaac de Rasieres, secretary of the colony of New Netherland, by order of Governor Minuit, wrote a letter to Governor Bradford, of Plymouth, officially informing him of the founding of a settlement and province on the Mauritius or Hudson's River, and assuring him that the Hollanders wished to cultivate friendly and commercial relations with the Pilgrims. Bradford reciprocated these friendly professions, but in his reply he warned the Dutch not to occupy or to trade in the country north of the fortieth degree of latitude, as that region was claimed by the Council of New England. He wished to maintain friendly relations with New Netherland, and proposed not to molest the Dutch provided they would refrain from trading with the natives on the waters at the very doors of the English. Minuit replied courteously, but firmly, that the Dutch had a right to traffic with the Narragansets as they had done for years. "As the English claim authority under the king of England," said Minuit, "we derive ours from the States-General in Holland." Bradford was not disposed to contend, for obvious reasons. For strength of men and fortification," he wrote to the Council for New England, "they [the Dutch] far excel us and all in this land."

Bradford made no reply to Minuit's letter. The latter finally sent a messenger to New Plymouth to invite the governor to send a deputy to Manhattan to confer orally with the authorities there. The messenger took with him a "rundlet of sugar and two Holland cheeses" as a

present for Bradford, who entertained him generously in return. It was agreed that a commission should be sent to New Plymouth from Manhattan to confer upon all matters of intercourse. With De Rasieres at their head, such commissioners sailed in a bark laden with wampum and other things for traffic, and when they landed near one of the outposts of the Plymouth colony, the echoes of the forest and the attention of the Pilgrims were awakened by the braying of trumpets at the lips of sturdy Dutchmen. With the same noise the commissioners entered New Plymouth. They were hospitably entertained for several days at the table of the governor, whereat probably sat Elder Brewster, Miles Standish, Edward Winslow, Dr. Fuller and other passengers of the May-Flower. There the commissioners attended public worship on the Sabbath, of which De Rasieres gave a vivid account in a letter. "They assemble," he said, "by beat of drum, each with his musket or fire-lock in front of the captain's door. They have their cloaks on, and place themselves in order, three abreast, and are led by a sergeant without beat of drum. Behind comes the governor in a long robe. Beside him, on the right hand, comes the preacher, with his cloak on the left hand the captain, with his side-arms and his cloak on, and with a small cane in his hand. And so they march in good order, and each sets his arms down near him. Thus they are constantly on their guard, night and day," for they had excited the anger of the Indians.

The secretary also graphically described New Plymouth. "It lies on a slope," he said. "The houses are constructed of hewn planks, with gardens also inclosed behind and at the sides with hewn timber; so that their houses and court-yards are arranged in very good order, with a stockade against a sudden attack. At the ends of the streets are three wooden gates. In the centre, on the cross street, stands the governor's house, before which is a square inclosure, upon which four swivels are mounted, so as to flank along the streets. Upon the hill they have a large square house with a flat roof, made of thick sawn plank, stayed with oak beams; upon the tops of which they have six cannon, which shoot iron balls of four and five pounds weight, and command the surrounding country. The lower part they use for their church, where they preach on Sundays and the usual holidays." Such was the capital of the English colony six years after they had landed from the May-Flower, and at the time of the embassy of Secretary Rasieres. That mission opened a profitable trade between the two settlements, and led to the speedy planting of an English colony in the Valley of the Connecticut.

With a keen eye to self-interest, the Dutch advised the Pilgrims to leave their more sterile soil and make their home in the beautiful and fertile country on the banks of the Fresh-Water River, under the jurisdiction of New Netherland. The fertility of that region was set forth in glowing terms and the stories of the Dutch were confirmed by native chiefs. One of these, of the Mohegan tribe, whose council fire was on the eastern bank of the Hudson, visited Governor Winthrop, of Massachusetts, in 1631, and with self-interest as strong as that of the Dutch, but rather more artfully concealed, he urged them to settle in the Connecticut Valley. He offered to give them lands, and an annual tribute of corn and beaver skins, if they would do so. The Mohegan chief's prime object was to so plant a barrier between his people and the powerful and warlike Pequods, whose seat was on the hills that stretch between New London and Stonington. The Puritans saw the selfish policy of both parties under the thin disguise of friendship, and declined to move in a body. They would not consent to become subjects of the Dutch nor to be made shields for the

savages.

The stories of the "pleasant meadows" along the Connecticut River excited the attention of the English, and in 1632 Edward Winslow visited that region. He was delighted with the country, and confirmed all that Dutch ambassadors and traders and savage chieftains had said about it. The fame of it had already reached Old England, and two years before Winslow's visit, the Council for New England had granted the soil of that region to the Earl of Warwick. That nobleman conveyed his chartered rights to the domain to other parties (Lords Say and Seal, Lord Brook, Mr. Saltonstall and others) in 1632. In that conveyance the territory was defined as extending, "in a certain width throughout the main lands there, from the Western [Atlantic] Ocean to the South Sea" or the Pacific Ocean. These parties did not take immediate steps for colonizing the Connecticut Valley, and the ever-vigilant Dutch got there before them. The Dutch purchased the territory of the Indians, the rightful owners, and Commissioner Van Curler completed the redoubt already begun on Dutch Point, named it Fort Good Hope, and armed it with cannon.

Governor Bradford and Edward Winslow visited Governor Winthrop at Boston, and proposed an alliance for the purpose of taking immediate possession of the valley. Winthrop refused to join them in such an enterprise, but thought it necessary, in some formal way, to assert, promptly and firmly, the jurisdiction of the English over that now coveted region. He sent his bark the Blessing of the Bay on a trading voyage along Long Island Sound, her captain bearing a message to Manhattan, declaring that "the King of England had granted the river and country of Connecticut to his own subjects," and that the Dutch must "forbear to build there." The messenger and his companions were kindly treated by Governor Van Twiller, Minuit's successor, who, in a courteous letter to Winthrop, requested him to defer the pretense or claim to the Connecticut until their respective governments should agree upon the limit of the colonies. At the same time Van Twiller informed Winthrop that the Dutch had already "purchased the soil and set up a house with intent to plant."

These Dutchmen and initial "Yankees" were now playing a sharp game in diplomacy, with soft words. The Yankees outwitted the Dutchmen, and the Plymouth people out-generated those at Boston at first. At Plymouth was a company of "banished Indians" - families driven from the Connecticut Valley, with their chief, by the Pequods. From these the Plymouth settlers purchased a tract of land above Fort Good Hope. They prepared a house of wood, which they stowed in pieces on board of a bark commanded by Captain William Holmes. In this bark sailed the fugitive savages and some Englishmen, and went up the Connecticut River. When they approached Fort Good Hope, the commander of the fort hailed the little craft and demanded of Captain Holmes whither he was going, and for what purpose. "Up the river to trade!" answered the skipper. This little fib did not satisfy the suspicious Dutchmen, who rightly supposed that the intruders had orders to settle rather than to trade. "Heave to" shouted the commander of the garrison standing by the side of a heavy gun, "or I'll shoot." "I must obey my commands," said the intrepid Holmes, and sailed by. The Dutchmen blustered, but did not shoot. The English landed above; hastily erected the house they had brought with them, and took possession of the country. They sent the bark back, palisaded their house, and prepared to maintain their position. This house was built on

the site of Windsor, in Connecticut. So was begun the first English settlement in that region in the autumn of 1633.

When Van Twiller heard of this impertinent intrusion, he sent to Van Curler, at Good Hope, a protest to be delivered to Holmes, and a peremptory order for the latter "to depart forthwith with all his people and houses" - from that Dutch domain. "I am here," replied Holmes, "in the name of the King of England, whose servant I am, and here I will remain." Van Twiller stormed at this defiance, but prudently referred the matter to his superiors at Amsterdam. Before an answer could arrive, the subject became mixed with another of a serious nature. A Captain Stone had been on a trading voyage from Massachusetts to Virginia, and on his return ran into and up the Connecticut River to traffic with the Dutch garrison at Good Hope. He and his companions were treacherously seized and murdered by Pequods on the banks of the stream. This crime was soon followed by the massacre of some Indians friendly to the Dutch. Then Van Curler seized a guilty old sachem and some of his followers, and hanged them. This exasperated the Pequods. They flew to arms and declared war against the Dutch. They sought the friendship of the English, and for this purpose they sent four or five ambassadors to Boston to negotiate a treaty. These ambassadors appeared before the governor in all the barbaric splendor of paint and rich skins, gorgeous feathers and rude ornaments. A treaty was made which provided that the Pequods, in consideration of the passive friendship of the English, were to surrender to the latter the Connecticut Valley and the remaining two murderers of Captain Stone's party, and pay a large tribute of wampum and beaver-skins. So Winthrop gained a great aid vantage over Bradford in the accession of territory, and both parties won powerful allies, as they supposed, in the work of expelling the Dutch from the Connecticut Valley. At the same time, the position and security of the settlers at Windsor were strengthened.

At about this time, Van Twiller received instructions from Amsterdam, to maintain possession of the Connecticut at all hazards. He sent seventy men with arquebuses, swords, trumpets, and banners to dislodge the settlers at Windsor. The latter made a bold stand. After much blustering and a great deal of noise, there was a parley, when the Dutch withdrew and friendly relations were established. The region was opened for an influx of immigrants from Massachusetts Bay. Permission for such immigration was given by the authorities there, without any territorial restraints. The question to whom does the Valley of the Connecticut belong - to the Dutch, the Pilgrims at Plymouth, the Puritans at Boston, or to the savages? - was not considered; and in the autumn of 1635, sixty men, women, and children from the Puritan settlements journeyed westward through the forests to join the colony planted by Holmes at Windsor. During the previous summer, a few pioneers had explored the country. They went from Dorchester and Watertown to the beautiful valley, and their report stimulated emigration.

The exodus from Massachusetts Bay began late in October, when frost and snow-flurries were prophesying of an early coming of winter. With oxen for tillage and beasts of burden, and cows for the production of food, these emigrants made their way on foot through the pathless woods a hundred miles or more, sometimes wading miry swamps, sometimes climbing rugged hills or fording swift streams, the men carrying the smaller children, and the larger ones with their

mothers trudging after. At the end of a wearisome journey of a month's duration, they descended into the Connecticut Valley, then white with snow, and found the river so hard frozen that a vessel which had been sent with supplies could not ascend it. It never tried to navigate that stream, for it was wrecked on the rocks near Point Judith in a gale.

At Wethersfield, and on the site of Hartford, these immigrants built log huts in the snow, and there they passed a dreary, bitter winter in great privation, for a vessel in which had been sent clothing and household furniture was kept back by the ice. Snow fell to a great depth. Many cattle suffered and perished from want of food, and the settlers were threatened with the horrors of famine. In the face of this impending peril many of them made their way to the mouth of the river in the vain expectation of finding their food-bearing vessel, which, alas had been beaten into pieces on the rocks. When almost despairing, another vessel appeared, in which they sailed to Boston. The settlers whom they left behind subsisted much of the time upon acorns, Indian corn and malt, until the spring opened and supplies were sent to them from Massachusetts, then rapidly filling with emigrants. Twenty vessels had brought three thousand colonists to its shores during the year 1635.

Governor Winthrop's son John, then twenty-nine years of age, arrived at Boston from England in October. He bore a commission as governor of the Connecticut territory, from the proprietors of the soil. With him came Hugh Peters, his senior by six years, and Henry Vane, only twenty-four years of age, who were joint commissioners with him, instructed to build a fort and plant a colony at the mouth of the Connecticut River. They were directed to gather the scattered settlers near the fort but these were left where they had planted themselves. Other measures were taken to secure the possession of the territory and peace of the colony. Governor Bradford had denounced as "an unrighteous and injurious intrusion," the settling of Massachusetts people upon the lands on the Connecticut which the Plymouth people had purchased from the Indians, not considering that the "Plymothians," as the Dutch called them, were equally intruders upon the territory of New Netherland, according to English doctrine. And the Connecticut commissioners perfected their usurpation of the territorial authority of the Netherlands by driving away, by force of arms, a Dutch vessel which came into the river to protect the rights of the West India Company.

"Might makes right," was the stern rule among the nations then and the cannon at the mouth of the river gave a warrant for the more important emigration of the English to the Connecticut Valley, which occurred in the summer of 1636. The dispute with the Plymouth people was amicably settled.

Arrangements having been made for the accommodation of new settlers on the site of Hartford, the Rev. Thomas Hooker, a zealous non-conformist minister, who came to Boston from his refuge in Holland, in 1633, led a company of one hundred men, women, and children thither in the summer of 1676. He was accompanied by the Rev. Mr. Stone. Their followers consisted of their families and congregations. The emigrants drove before them one hundred and sixty head of cattle. The cows of the herd, pasturing in grassy savannas which they found on the way, gave

them an ample supply of fresh milk. They had no pathway, and were guided only by a compass. Through thickets and morasses, and over streams they made their way, clearing away here with axes, making causeways and bridges there with felled trees, and resting in shady groves. The women and children were conveyed in wagons drawn by oxen, and Mrs. Hooker, who was an invalid, was carried on a horse litter.

The company had ample provisions and were regaled on the way by delicious strawberries growing in abundance in open places. The songs of birds and the fragrance of flowers afforded them exquisite delight in the midst of the weariness of travel. They made easy stages, consuming a fortnight in the journey of a hundred miles. It was ended when, on the fourth of July, they stood on the beautiful banks of the Connecticut, under the shadows of great trees and trailing vines, and sang hymns of praise to the Good Father. On the following Sabbath, Mr. Hooker preached and administered the Lord's Supper in the little chapel on the site of Hartford, which the first colonists there had erected. Some of the new comers settled at Wethersfield, and others went further up the river and founded Springfield. There were now five feeble settlements in the Connecticut Valley. One of these was near the fort at the mouth of the river, and in honor of two of the proprietors of the territory, Lords Say and Brook, it was called Say-Brook.

In the very morning of this colonial era of Connecticut, dark clouds gathered black and threatening, and for awhile a storm impended which seemed ready to sweep the little settlements from the face of the earth in a moment. The fiery Pequods had become jealous of the English because the latter appeared to be on friendly terms with the Mohegans on the west and the Narragansets on the east, the bitter enemies of this warlike tribe. Over the Pequods, a famous sachem and chief named Sassacus was ruler. He was cool, calculating, treacherous, haughty, fierce and malignant, and he was the terror of the neighboring tribes. He ruled over twenty-six sagamores or inferior princes, and his domain extended from Narraganset Bay to the Hudson River, and over Long Island. His bravery won the unbounded admiration of his warriors, of whom almost two thousand were always ready to follow him wheresoever he might lead. Seeing the power of the few English in garrison at Saybrook, and dreading the strength and influence of more who would undoubtedly join them, he resolved to exterminate the intruders. By every art of persuasion and menace, he tried to induce the Mohegans and Narragansets to become his allies. The united tribes could put four thousand men on the war-path at one time, while among all the English in the Connecticut Valley, there were not more than two hundred and fifty men capable of bearing arms. How easily might those fierce pagans have annihilated the pale-faced Christians!

The Pequods moved cautiously. At first they were sullen. Then they kidnapped children; and finally they murdered Englishmen found alone in the forests or on the waters, and destroyed or made captive families on the borders of the settlements. It was evident that they intended to exterminate the white people in detail, and terror prevailed throughout the valley. This was heightened by the capture of a Massachusetts trading vessel by the allies of the Pequods on Block Island, killing the commander and plundering the vessel.

The authorities at Boston determined to punish the Pequods and awe them into quietude. For

this purpose they sent a small military force, in three vessels, into Long Island Sound. This force killed some Indians on Block Island, burnt their wigwams, broke their canoes in pieces, and cut down their growing corn. Then they went over to the Pequod country on the main, where they made demands which they could not enforce, burnt some wigwams, destroyed crops, and killed a few people. The expedition, weak in numbers and injudiciously conducted, was looked upon with contempt by the savages, and intensified their hatred of the white intruders. They sent ambassadors to the monarch of the Narragansets urging him to join them at once in a war of extermination, declaring, as a powerful plea, that the two races could not live together in the same land, and that the Indians, who would soon be the weaker party, would be scattered and destroyed like leaves in autumn.

At this critical juncture, a deliverer appeared in the person of Roger Williams, a Puritan minister, who had been driven out of Massachusetts by persecution and had taken refuge in the land of the Narragansets, who soon learned to love and respect him. He heard of the proposed alliance and perceived the danger. Unmindful of the cruel wrongs he had suffered at the hands of his Puritan brethren, he hastened in an open boat on a stormy day, across Narraganset Bay, to the dwelling of Miantonomoh near the site of Newport, on Rhode Island. He was the acting chief sachem of the Narragansets (for his uncle, Canonicus, the chief, was very old), and was revered by them all. There Williams found fierce ambassadors from Sassacus, urging their suit, and at the peril of his life he opposed them with arguments. "Three days and nights," Williams wrote to Major Mason, "my business forced me to lodge and mix with the bloody Pequod ambassadors, whose hands and arms, methought, reeked with the blood of my countrymen, murdered and massacred by them on Connecticut River, and from whom I could not but nightly took for their bloody knives at my own throat, also." Williams prevailed. He not only prevented the alliance, but induced Narraganset chiefs to go to Boston, where they concluded a treaty of peace and alliance with the colonists. So the Pequods were not only compelled to carry on their proposed war alone, but to fight the Narragansets.

This failure did not dishearten the Pequods. They kept the settlements on the Connecticut in a state of constant fear, all the autumn and winter. They plundered and murdered whenever opportunities offered. Barns were fired and cattle were killed by them and the murders were sometimes accompanied by the most horrid atrocities. Finally, a band of a hundred Pequods attacked Wethersfield, killed seven men, a woman and a child, and carried away two girls. They had now slain more than thirty of the English, and the settlers were compelled to choose between flight and destruction, or war and possible salvation. They resolved to fight, having promise of aid from the eastern colonies.

At this time there were in the colonies two brave soldiers who had served in the Netherlands. These were Captains John Mason and John Underhill. The former had taken an active part in military and civil affairs in Massachusetts, and was now in Connecticut. The latter was an eccentric character, and might have been mistaken at one time for a friar and at another for a buffoon. He had been brought to Massachusetts by Governor Winthrop to teach the young colonists military tactics, which it was evident they would need. Under him the authorities of that

colony and Plymouth placed two hundred men to aid the Connecticut people in their war.

It was not safe for the settlers in the valley to wait for their allies on the sea-coast. They placed ninety men under Mason, who rendezvoused at Hartford. With twenty of them, the captain hastened to reinforce the garrison at Saybrook. There he found Underhill, who had just arrived with an equal number of men. Mason hurried back, assembled his whole force, and with these and seventy warriors of the Mohegans under Uncas, he marched down to the tort. Uncas was of the royal blood of the Pequods, and had been a petty chief under Sassacus, but was now in open rebellion against his prince, and a fugitive. He gladly joined the English against his enemy, and Captain Mason as gladly accepted his services. As the war was begun by the Connecticut people, Captain Mason was regarded and obeyed as the commander-in-chief of the expedition.

It was determined in council to go into the Narraganset country and march upon the rear of the Pequods, where they would least expect an attack. In three pinnaces the expedition sailed eastward. As they passed the Pequod country, those savages concluded that the English had abandoned the Connecticut Valley in despair. It was a fatal mistake and the relaxation which that belief caused ruined them. They had no spies out beyond the Mystic River; and when the expedition landed near Narraganset Bay, Sassacus was rejoicing in a sense of absolute security from harm. So he continued to rejoice while the white people, joined by two hundred Narragansets and as many Niantics - more than five hundred warriors in all, pale and dusky - were marching swiftly and stealthily toward the citadel of his power.

That chief stronghold of Sassacus was on a hill a few miles northward from both New London and Stonington, near the waters of the Mystic River. It was a fort built of palisades, the trunks of trees set firmly in the ground close together, and rising above it ten or twelve feet, with sharpened points. Within this inclosure, which was of circular form, were seventy wigwams covered with matting and thatch and at two points were sallyports or gates of weaker construction, through which Mason and Underhill were destined to force an entrance. When the invaders reached the foot of the hill on which this fort stood, quite undiscovered, and arranged their camp, the sentinels could hear the sounds of noisy revelry among the savages in the fortress, which ceased not before midnight. Then all was still, and the invaders slumbered soundly. At two hours before the dawn on a warm June morning, they were aroused from sleep and arranged in marching order so as to break into the fort at opposite points and take it by surprise. The Indian allies had grown weak in heart, all but the followers of Uncas. They regarded Sassacus as a sort of god, and supposed he was in the fort. So they lagged behind, but formed a cordon in the woods around the fortress to arrest any fugitives who might escape.

In the bright moonlight the little army crept stealthily up the wooded slope, and were on the point of rushing to the attack when the barking of a dog aroused a sentinel and he gave the alarm to the sound sleepers within. Before they were fairly awake, Mason and Underhill burst in the sallyports. The terrified Pequods rushed out of the wigwams, but were driven back by swords and musket-balls, when the tinder-like coverings of the huts were set on fire. Within an hour about seven hundred men, women and children perished in the flames, and by the weapons of the

English. The strong, the beautiful, and the innocent were doomed to a common fate with the blood-thirsty and cruel. The door of mercy was shut. Not a dusky human being among the Pequods was allowed to live. When all was over, the pious Captain Mason, who had narrowly escaped death by the arrow of a young warrior, exultingly exclaimed God is over us He laughs his enemies to scorn, making them as a fiery oven. Thus does the Lord judge among the heathen, filling the place with dead bodies. And the equally if not more pious Dr. Mather afterward wrote: "It was supposed that no less than 500 or 600 Pequod souls were brought down to hell that day." Happily a better Christian spirit now prevails.

Sassacus was not in the doomed fort, but was at another near Groton, on the Thames, to which point Mason had ordered his vessels to come. As the English were making their wearisome way to the river, three hundred warriors came from the presence of Sassacus to attack them. The savages were soon dispersed. Most of the victors then sailed for the Connecticut, making the air vocal with sacred song. The remainder, with friendly Indians, marched through the wilderness to Hartford to protect the settlements in that vicinity. There warriors and clergymen, Christians and pagans, women and children, gathered in a happy reunion after great peril.

Sassacus sate sullenly and stately in his embowered dwelling, when the remnant of his warriors, who escaped from the citadel, came to tell him of the great disaster. They charged the whole of the misfortunes of the day to his haughtiness and misconduct. Tearing their hair, stamping violently, and with fierce gestures, they threatened to destroy him, and doubtless they would have executed the menace had not the blast of a trumpet startled them. From the head-waters of the Mystic came almost two hundred armed settlers from Massachusetts and Plymouth to seal the doom of the Pequods. The question, Shall we fight or flee? was soon answered at the court of Sassacus, for there was little time for deliberation. After a strong and hot debate, it was determined to flee. They set fire to their wigwams and the fort, and with their women and children hurried across the Thames and fled swiftly westward, with the intention of seeking refuge with the Mohawks beyond the Hudson.

The English hotly pursued the Pequods, with despairing Sassacus at their head. As the chase was kept up across the beautiful country bordering on Long Island Sound, a track of desolation was left behind, for wigwams and corn-fields were destroyed, and helpless men, women and children were put to the sword. At last the fugitives took refuge in Sasco Swamp, near Fairfield, where they all surrendered to the English excepting the sachem and a few followers, who escaped to the Mohawks. A blow had been struck which gave peace to New England forty years. A nation had been destroyed in a day. But few of the once-powerful Pequods survived the national disaster. The last representative of the pure blood of that race was, probably, Eunice Mauwee, who died at Kent, in Connecticut, about the year 860, at the age of one hundred years. The proud Sassacus, haughty and insolent in his exile, fell by the hands of an assassin among the people who had opened their arms to receive him; and his scalp was sent to the English, whom he hated and despised. He was the last of his royal line in power excepting Uncas, who now returned to the land of his fathers and became a powerful sachem, renowned in war and peace. He remained a firm friend of the English, and was buried among the graves of his kindred near the falls of the

Yantic, in the City of Norwich, where a granite monument, erected by the descendants of his white friends, marks the place of his sepulchre.

Chapter XX

A Settlement Begun at New Haven - A Peculiar Government Established There - The Dutch and English at Variance in the Connecticut Valley - A Government Formed at Hartford - Roger Williams in Massachusetts - His Banishment - Williams and Others Found Providence - Rhode Island Settled - Form of Government There - Anne Hutchinson and Others Driven from Massachusetts - Williams Obtains a Charter for Rhode Island - Intolerance in Massachusetts - Reception of Williams on His Return from England.

WHEN peace and security were established in the Connecticut region after the destruction of the Pequods in the summer of 1637, a desire for emigrating thither was revived. At about that time several gentlemen destined to occupy conspicuous places in history as founders of a state arrived at Boston. These were Rev John Davenport, a popular Puritan preacher of London, who had been persecuted by Arch-bishop Laud and taken refuge in Rotterdam. Another was Theophilus Eaton, an opulent London merchant and member of Mr. Davenport's congregation and a third was Edward Hopkins, another rich London merchant and member of the same society. They were much attached to Mr. Davenport, and gladly came to share his voluntary exile from his native land.

At the time of the arrival of these gentlemen, society in Massachusetts was violently agitated by bitter theological discussions, which will be noticed hereafter. Mr. Davenport and his friends belonged to a school who sought to carry out in practice the idea of finding in the Scriptures a special rule for everything in church and state. For the purpose of trying an experiment in government on the basis of that idea, they desired an unoccupied field. From some of those who pursued the fugitive Pequods along the country bordering on Long Island Sound, they heard of the beauty and fertility of that region, and early in the autumn Mr. Eaton and a small party visited the country. He was charmed with a harbor on the north side of the Sound and on the banks of a stream, which the Indians called Quinnipiack, he erected a hut, where some of the party passed the winter to try the climate. That was on the site of New Haven, Connecticut. The place had been called by the Dutch navigator, Block, who had anchored in the harbor, "Roodenberg" or Red Hills, in allusion to the red cliffs a little inland.

In the spring of 1638, Mr. Davenport and his friends sailed for Quinnipiack, where they arrived at the middle of April. They were accompanied by a number of followers, mostly persons from London who had been engaged in trade; and in proportion to their number, they formed the richest colony in America. They spent their first Sabbath there - a warm April day - mostly under the shadow of a great oak, where Mr. Davenport preached a sermon on the subject of Jesus being led into the wilderness. They purchased the land of the Indians and proceeded to plant the seeds of a new state by framing articles of association, which they called a "Plantation Covenant," according to their peculiar ideas. In it they resolved that, as in matters that concern the gathering and ordering of a church, so likewise in all public offices which concern civil order, as choice of magistrates and officers, making and repealing of laws, dividing allotments of inheritance, and all things of like nature, "they would be ordered by the rules which the Scriptures held forth." So

they began their settlement without any reference to any government or community on the face of the earth. The place where the first hut was built was on the present corner of Church and George Streets, New Haven, and the spot whereon stood the oak tree - their first temple for worship - was at the intersection of George and College Streets.

For about a year this little community endeavored to learn by experience, from reflection, and light from Heaven through the medium of prayer, what would be the best kind of social and political organization for the government of the colony. They talked together much, and early in the summer of 1639 they were nearly or quite all of one mind. Then they assembled in a barn - all the free planters "to compare views and settle upon a plan of civil government according to the word of God." Mr. Davenport prayed earnestly, and preached from the text "Wisdom hath builded her house she hath hewn out her seven pillars." In his discourse, he showed the fitness of choosing seven competent men to construct the government and he then proposed for their adoption four fundamental articles; (1) That the Scriptures contain a perfect rule for the government of men in the family, in the church, and in the commonwealth; (2) That they would be ordered by the rules which the Scriptures held forth; (3) That their purpose was to be admitted into church-fellowship, according to Christ, as soon as God should fit them thereunto; and (4) That they held themselves bound to establish such civil order, according to God, as would be likely to secure the greatest good to themselves and their posterity.

These articles were unanimously adopted, when Mr. Davenport presented two other articles designed to put into practical operation the theories of the other four. These were (1) That church membership only should be freeburgesses or freemen endowed with political franchises, and that they only should choose magistrates, and transact civil public business of every kind (2) That twelve or more men should be chosen from the company and tried for their fitness, and these twelve should choose seven of their number as the seven pillars of the church. These articles were subscribed by sixty-three persons present, and soon afterward by fifty others.

The twelve men were chosen, and after due deliberation they selected the "seven pillars." After another pause, these pillars proceeded to organize a church. Their assistants, nine in number, were regarded as freemen or "free burgesses," and the sixteen elected Theophilus Eaton as magistrate for one year. Four other persons were chosen to be deputies, and these constituted the executive and legislative departments of the new-born state of Quinnipiack. To these Mr. Davenport gave a "charge," grounded upon Deuteronomy i. 16, 17. A secretary and sheriff were appointed. The "Freeman's Charge," which was a substitute for an oath, gave no pledge of allegiance to king or Parliament, nor any other authority on the face of the earth, excepting that of the civil government here established. It was a state independent of all others. It was resolved that there should be annual General Court or meeting of the whole body, in the month of October, and that "the word of God [the Bible] should be the only rule to be attended unto in ordering the affairs of government." Then orders were issued for building a meeting-house for the distribution of house-lots and pasturage for regulating the prices of labor and commodities, and for taking measures to resist the attacks of savages. They resolved, also, to choose their own company, and it was ordained that "none should come to dwell as planters without their consent and allowance,

whether they came in by purchase or otherwise." In 1640 they named the settlement New Haven.

In the meantime, the planters in the Connecticut Valley had been perfecting a system of government, and preparing to possess the land westward as far as the Hudson River. People from Quinnipiack and the valley planted themselves at Fairfield, Norwalk, Guilford, and Stratford and Milford on the Housatonic. Captain Patrick, the commander of a part of the forces sent from Massachusetts against the Pequods, and who had married a Dutch wife, settled as far westward as Greenwich, with a son-in-law of the elder Governor Winthrop. At that time there were no Dutch settlers east of the Harlem River excepting Bronck and his lessees or tenants. The Dutch, however, continued in possession of their lands at Fort Good Hope, and a small garrison was kept up there under Commissary Guysbert of Dyck. But the English, when they became strong in numbers, paid little respect to the rights of the Netherlanders. They ploughed up their lands, excusing themselves for the intrusion with the plea that the soil was lying idle and ought to be cultivated by somebody. When the Commissary attempted to resist these encroachments, his soldiers were cudgelled by the planters, who said they (the English) were Israelites, while the Dutch in New Netherland and the English in Virginia were Egyptians.

The troubles with their neighbors, pale and dusky, and the necessity which called for fundamental laws, induced the planters of the valley to meet in convention at Hartford at the middle of January, 1639, to form a constitution of government. Like that of the New Haven colony, it was framed without the slightest reference to any other government. It provided that all persons in the commonwealth should be freemen, and should take an oath of allegiance to the general government; that the governor, to be elected at each spring meeting of the freemen, should be a member of some church that there should be as many magistrates (not less than six) and other officers as should be found necessary; that there should be a house of deputies, composed of four from each of the then existing towns, and as many as the General Court or legislature should determine from towns that might be created; and that the governor, four magistrates, and a majority of the deputies, should be competent to make all laws and deal generally for the good of the commonwealth. In the absence of special laws, the rule of the word of God was to be followed.

This instrument which has been spoken of as the "first example in history of a written constitution - a distinct organic law, constituting a government and defining its powers," and which recognized no authority outside of its own inherent potency, continued in force as the fundamental law of Connecticut one hundred and eighty years. It secured for that commonwealth a degree of social order and general prosperity rarely equalled in the life of nations. The political organization under it was called the Connecticut Colony, and the domain acquired the title of "the land of steady habits." Notwithstanding the two colonies were not united until twenty-six years afterward, now, in the year 1639, was laid the foundations of the commonwealth of Connecticut.

While the framework of the colony of Connecticut was in process of construction, that of its little neighbor on the east, Rhode Island, was likewise in a formative state. Persecution by brethren had driven into the forests on the borders of Narraganset Bay, good men who became

the founders of a state. That bay had been discovered and thoroughly explored by Block, the Dutch navigator, as early as 1614, when he gave the name of Roode Eylandt or Red Island to the insular domain on its eastern side, now known as Rhode Island. Eight or ten years afterward the Dutch on Manhattan carried on a profitable fur trade with the natives there, and a few years later they had the monopoly of that trade as far east as Buzzard's Bay. The Pilgrims at Plymouth were annoyed by this commercial intrusion, as we have seen, and especially when the New Netherlanders claimed territorial jurisdiction as far east as Narraganset Bay, and westward from a line of longitude from that bay to Canada. That claim was made at about the time when Roger Williams, the founder of the commonwealth of Rhode Island, sought refuge from persecution in the forests on the borders of the Narraganset. The claim was not relinquished until many years afterwards, but was never pressed with injurious vehemence.

Mr. Williams was a Welsh Puritan educated in England by Sir Edward Coke, who found him in London, a mere youth, reporting sermons and Star-chamber speeches in shorthand. At the age of thirty-two years he fled from persecution to New England, where he arrived in 1631 with his beautiful bride Mary, a charming young English woman. He was soon appointed assistant minister in the church at Salem, where his broad and enlightened views respecting the freedom of conscience and the injurious character of a wedded church and state offended the dignitaries in both, at Boston, and he withdrew to Plymouth. There he was an assistant minister, acceptable to the people, for about two years, when he returned to Salem and became pastor of the congregation to whom he had ministered as assistant.

Bolder than ever, his convictions having become more firmly rooted by opposition and controversy, Mr. Williams now put forth his views in sometimes intemperate language, for in support of toleration he became intolerant. He boldly questioned the authority of magistrates in respect to the right of the king to appropriate and grant the lands of the Indians without purchase, and the right of the civil power to impose faith and worship. This denial of the right of magistrates to intermeddle, even to restrain a church from heresy or apostasy, was regarded as so monstrous and dangerous an error and innovation that the banishment of Williams from the colony was decreed unless he should recant, or take back what he had said. He would not recant. He maintained with vehemence his opinion that there was an absolute and eternal distinction between the spheres of the civil government and the Christian church. He also appealed in writing to the charter against the decision of magistrates and he wrote a long letter to his own congregation in favor of the rigid separation of church and state. These writings were among his enumerated offenses, and were called letters of defamation in the preface of his sentence of banishment which was now put in force, and which ran thus:

"It is therefore ordered that the said Mr. Williams shall depart out of this jurisdiction within six weeks now next ensuing, which, if he neglect to perform, it shall be lawful for the governor and two of the magistrates to send him to some place out of this jurisdiction, not to return any more without license from the court."

This sentence was pronounced late in 1635. The friends of Williams were indignant. The

enlightened Edward Winslow, who was then governor of Plymouth, sympathized with him; and twenty leading men in the two colonies determined to go with him to the wilderness and share his privations of exile. Salem was in an uproar, and the magistrates began to suspect that they had made a mistake in passing the sentence. A rumor spread that he intended to found a colony among the Narragansets, with whom he had become familiar while he was at Plymouth and gained the friendship of their sachems and learned their language.

A colony founded upon the liberal principles advocated by Williams was not a pleasant subject for the contemplation of Massachusetts magistrates and clergymen at that period, and the time for his departure was extended until spring. Williams regarded this as a concession. No doubt he had formed a plan for founding a new colony, and was now glad of an excuse to leave Massachusetts; so he taught his doctrines with more fervor, and boldly proclaimed himself to be an Anabaptist - one who denies the validity of infant baptism - a Baptist of our day. This was too much for his people and the authorities in church and state, and it was resolved by Governor Haynes to send the "troublers" back to England. He had refused to obey a summons to appear before the magistrates at Boston, and they sent a pinnace to Salem, with a warrant to Captain Underhill to arrest him, take him on board the little vessel, and convey him to a ship then ready to sail for England.

Williams had been informed of this order. Ex-Governor Winthrop had kindly but secretly advised him to steer his canoe to the Narraganset Bay and Indians; and when Underhill and his men went to his house to arrest him, they found only his sorrowing wife and two babes. Williams had been gone three days. On a cold winter's night, the moon on the wane, he had kissed his wife and children and departed in the gloom to seek a refuge with the dusky pagans, who were more tolerant than his pale-faced Christian brethren. He went forth alone with a long staff and a scrip thrown over his shoulders. The snow was deep. Wild beasts were in his path. Behind him were the treasures of wife and children before him, as radiant and enticing as the star in the east, glowed the brilliant luminary of Christian ethics, which was his pole-star and guide. He made his way to the house of Massasoit, the venerable sachem of the Wampanoags, where he was warmly welcomed. The sachem gave him a tract of land on the Seekonk River, eastward of the site of Providence, at which place he and some friends who joined him seated themselves in the spring of 1636. Some distance above them, on the Seekonk or Pawtucket River, was a solitary settler named William Blackstone. He was a non-conformist minister, who disliked the "lords brethren" of Massachusetts as much as the "lords bishops" of England. He had withdrawn to the wilderness, and there lived the life of a hermit at a place which he named Rehoboth-room. He was the first settler but not the founder of Rhode Island, for he refused to join Williams and his friends.

Just as the new colony had begun to build and plant near the present Manton's cove, a friendly letter came from Governor Winslow saying they were within the jurisdiction of the Plymouth Colony, and as he did not wish to offend "the Bay," and desired the undisturbed repose of the exiles, he advised Williams and his little party to pass to the other side of the Seekonk, where he would have a large country before him beyond the jurisdiction of both colonies on the coast.

The settlers heeded this kind and wise advice. The six exiles left the Seekonk in a large canoe, with all the worldly goods which they had brought into the wilderness, and rounding the headlands known as Fox and India Points, they went up to the mouth of the Mooshansic River and landed. It was a warm day late in June. Near by, upon a grassy slope shaded by sycamore trees, they saw a gushing spring. It was a joyful sight to the thirsty pilgrims. Around it they gathered, and after partaking of its clear waters, they fell on their knees and offered fervid supplications and thanksgiving to God for his goodness. At that spring, now surrounded by a populous city and yet shaded by sycamores, these devout men resolved there to lay the foundations of a free state. In commemoration of "God's merciful providence to him in his distress," Williams named the spot Providence, and dedicated it as "a shelter for persons distressed for conscience."

The freedom enjoyed at Providence was spoken of at Boston, and persecuted men flocked to the new settlement with their families. Williams had purchased the land from the aged Canonicus and the younger Miantonomoh, who had learned to love him. These men, naturally shy and suspicious, had perfect confidence in Williams, and willingly took him and his friends into their bosoms. "It was not thousands nor tens of thousands of money," Williams wrote, "that could have bought of them an English entrance into the bay." It was the personal influence of the men who there established a pure democracy, under the following simple article of agreement:

"We, whose names are hereunder written, being desirous to inhabit in the town of Providence, do promise to submit ourselves, in active or passive obedience, to all such orders or agreements as shall be made for public good by the body in an orderly way, by the major consent of the inhabitants, masters of families, incorporated together into a township, and such others as they shall admit into the same, only in civil things."

Every man was required to sign this compact, which left him "free in all but civil things." The conscience was left absolutely free. The founder reserved no political power to himself and the leader and follower had equal dignity and privileges. Under the sunny skies of such freedom, the settlers fell to work cheerfully. The summer was too far advanced to allow them to procure much food from the soil and when Governor Winslow visited Providence in the autumn, the planters were much pinched. This fact is made evident by the touching manner in which the founder gratefully alludes to the kindness of the governor. "He put a piece of gold into the hands of my wife for our supply," he wrote - "that sweet, loving wife who shared with her husband the privations as well as the comforts and honors which were his lot."

Now came the war with the Pequods. Persecution and slander had not embittered the feelings of Williams toward the authorities of Massachusetts. Seeing the danger, he warned them of it early. He sent to Governor Winthrop a rude map of the country along the coast from the Narraganset to the Connecticut, which he had drawn from descriptions by the Indians, with a plan for a campaign, and periled his life for the good of his enemies. He saved his persecutors from destruction, yet the rulers in church and state in Massachusetts had not the Christian manliness to show gratitude by expunging from their records his sentence of banishment and receiving him to

their bosoms as a brother. They proclaimed a solemn thanksgiving at the close of the war, and received the leaders of their troops in triumph with feasting and rejoicing; but they passed no vote of thanks to one who had achieved more for the life of that commonwealth than any soldier or statesman. Winthrop tried to procure a vote of thanks and Williams's recall from banishment, but bigotry prevailed. The following couplet, written by Governor Dudley, expresses the prevailing sentiment of magistrates and clergy then in Boston: "Let men of God, in court and churches, watch over such as do a toleration hatch."

The theological disputes already referred to as agitating the people of Massachusetts divided them and sent many into exile. A brilliant woman named Anne Hutchinson, of powerful intellect and beautiful person, came to Boston. She was a sister of Rev. John Wheelwright, a popular preacher there. She agreed, generally, in theological views, with Roger Williams, and very soon boldly proclaimed the doctrine that conscience, the indwelling Holy Spirit in every believer, and the conscientious judgment of the mind, are of paramount authority. She denounced the prevailing spiritual despotism, and startled and charmed the best thinkers with the loftiness of her ideas concerning the spiritual freedom of the individual. She soon drew many leading men after her. Among these was the young Henry Vane, then governor of the commonwealth, and a few of the clergy, but only her brother among the ministers ventured to openly advocate her doctrines. He was censured by the civil authorities, when he threatened to appeal to the king. This threat a synod of clergy and lay delegates, called to act upon the subject, construed into a menace of rebellion, and gave them a pretext for recommending the civil authorities to disarm the Hutchinsonians.

The war of words was waged more fiercely. The civil authorities arraigned Mrs. Hutchinson, her brother, and another leader in the movement, on a charge of heresy. The result was a decree for the banishment of these three persons, and the disarming of sixty citizens of Boston. They were forbidden, upon the penalty of a fine, to buy or borrow any other arms or ammunition, until permitted by the General Court or legislature. Unwilling to endure this indignity, a large portion of them under the leadership of John Clarke and William Coddington, left Boston with their families, accompanied by Mrs. Hutchinson and her brother, with the intention of settling on the Delaware Bay. They were so "lovingly entertained" by Roger Williams at Providence, and so kindly invited to settle in the land of the Narragansets, that they paused. Through the influence of Williams they were enabled to purchase from the Indians the beautiful island of Aquetneck, now Rhode Island; and at the close of March, 1638, they began a settlement at Portsmouth, near its northern extremity. The colonists were charmed with the salubrity of the climate, and thankfully exchanged their home on Shawmut (the Boston peninsula) for one on Rhode Island. They all immediately adopted and all signed a written agreement similar to that of the Providence colony, in these words:

"We, whose names are underwritten, do swear solemnly, in the presence of Jehovah, to incorporate ourselves into a body politic, and, as He shall help us, will submit our persons, lives, and estates, unto our Lord Jesus Christ, the King of kings and Lord of Hosts, and to all those most perfect and absolute laws of His, given us in his Holy Word of Truth, to be guided and

judged thereby."

In imitation of the Jewish form of government, under the judges, Mr. Coddington was chosen judge or chief ruler of the Rhode Island colony. Both settlements flourished. They were separate governments, but one in aims and sentiment. The persecuted came to them and population rapidly increased. Liberty of conscience was there absolute; and upon the seal which the Rhode Island colony adopted was the motto: *Amour Vincit Omnia* - "Love is all-powerful." The jealousy of the Massachusetts authorities was frequently conspicuous, and stood in the way of a friendly intercourse and a profitable trade between the two colonies. Because a refugee from Boston, writing from Providence, spoke harshly of Massachusetts magistrates, the latter passed an ordinance forbidding citizens of Providence, of like views, coming into that colony.

Unwilling to yield allegiance to either of the other colonies, the Rhode Island and Providence settlements sought an independent charter which should unite them in one commonwealth. At about that time, a confederacy of the New England colonies, for mutual defence, was formed, but the stern bigotry which banished Mr. Williams and Mrs. Hutchinson, excluded these settlements on the Narraganset from the Union. That isolation, in case of trouble with the savages, would be both perilous and inconvenient, and Williams was sent to England to obtain a royal charter. He sailed from New Amsterdam in the summer of 1643, and arrived in Great Britain at the time when the civil war was raging violently. Circumstances favored his mission. The king was powerless; the Parliament was supreme. That body had entrusted the management of colonial affairs to a commission of which the Earl of Warwick, the original grantee of Connecticut, was the head as "Governor-General and Lord High Admiral of the colonies in America." He was assisted by a council composed of five peers and ten commons. Henry Vane, who had returned to England and had been created a baronet, was one of that Council. He received Mr. Williams cordially, and introduced him to his associates. That body listened to Mr. Williams's statements with great attention, and granted his prayer. On the 14th of March, 1644, they issued a charter in the name of the king, which connected the towns of Providence, Portsmouth, and Newport under the title of "the Incorporation of Providence Plantations in the Narraganset Bay in New England."

Mr. Williams left England for his home in the summer of 1644, bearing the charter. He also bore a letter signed by several members of Parliament, addressed to the authorities of Massachusetts, in favor of the exile, and with this he landed in Boston. The letter did not weaken the aspirates of the magistrates toward him, excepting sufficient to allow him to pass to Providence unmolested. That heretical colony, now that it had received a charter and been applauded by high authority in England, was more than ever an object of distrust and suspicion on the part of the Massachusetts authorities. But Mr. Williams bore himself meekly under their frowns. As he approached Providence he was cheered by a gratifying spectacle. The people had heard of his coming, and all turned out to meet him and welcome him home. The Seekonk was covered with well-filled canoes gaily decked with flowers and evergreens, and the shore was alive with men, women and children in holiday attire, who greeted him with loud huzzahs, the waving of handkerchiefs, and the singing of psalms. The charter which he bore to the people on the banks of the Narraganset was the corner-stone of a state. Then was founded the commonwealth of

Rhode Island.

Chapter XXI

Social Condition of Holland in the Seventeenth Century - Inducements to Settle in New Netherland - The Patroons, Their Privileges and Dependants - A Settlement in Delaware and Its Fate - The Swedes on the Delaware - The Dutch and Swedes at Variance - The Swedes Maintain Their Position - New Jersey Granted to Royal Favorites - Inducements to Settle There - Governor Carteret and Settlers at Elizabethtown - Trouble with the Settlers - A Republican Prophet.

WHEN industry was made honorable in Holland, the feudal system began to decay. It was a system embracing large landowners, whose tenants were military men who controlled all labor and bore allegiance to the lordly proprietor. In the new era which had gradually dawned in Holland, the owner of the soil was no longer the head of a band of armed depredators who were his dependants, but the careful proprietor of broad acres, and devoted to industry and thrift. The nobles who composed the landlord class gradually came down from the stilts of exclusiveness, and in habits and even costume imitated the working people. The latter became elevated in the social scale. Their rights were respected, and their value in the state was duly estimated. Ceaseless toil in Holland was necessary to preserve the hollow land from the invasion of the sea, and the common needs assimilated all classes in a country where all must work or drown.

It was this state of society in Holland which stimulated agricultural interests in New Netherland, and changed trading into farming communities. This impulse was much accelerated by a charter of Privileges and Exemptions given by the Dutch west India Company in 1629, for the purpose of encouraging agricultural settlements on their American domain. They reserved the lands on and around the island of Manhattan, which they called the commercial emporium of the province, and required that all products for exportation should first be brought there. To persons who were disposed to settle in any other part of the province, the Company offered as much land as each emigrant might be able to improve, with "free liberty of hunting and fowling," under the direction of the provincial governor. They also offered to every person who should "discover any shores, bays, or other fit places for erecting fisheries, or the making of salt-ponds," an absolute property in such discovery.

The rural tenantry of Holland were not rich enough to avail themselves of this privilege, so the Company offered inducements for wealthy citizens to promote emigration, by transplanting into America the modified feudal system of the Netherlands. They offered to grant lands and manorial privileges and exemptions to any member of the Company who should, within four years, plant a colony of fifty adults in any part of New Netherland outside of Manhattan Island such proprietor being constituted feudal chief of the domain which he might thus colonize. The lands of each colony were limited to sixteen miles along one shore of a navigable stream, or to eight miles if they occupied both shores, but they might extend into the interior indefinitely. It was also provided that if any proportionably greater number of emigrants should be settled by a proprietor, the area of his domain should be extended in the same ratio. He was to be absolutely lord of the manor, political and otherwise. He might hold inferior courts for the adjudication of petty civil cases; and if cities should grow up on his domain he was to have power appoint the magistrates

and other officers of such municipalities, and have a deputy to confer with the governor.

The settlers under the patroons, as these manorial proprietors were called, were to be exempted from all taxation and tribute for the support of the provincial government for ten years; and for the same period every man, woman and child was bound not to leave the service of the patroon without his written consent. The colonists were forbidden to manufacture cloth of any kind, on pain of banishment; and the Company agreed to furnish them with as many African slaves "as they conveniently could" also to protect them against foes. Each colony was bound to support a minister of the Gospel and a schoolmaster, and so provide a comforter for the sick and a teacher of the illiterate. It was also provided that every colonist, whether patroon or an independent settler, should first make a satisfactory arrangement with the Indians for the lands they should occupy.

Such is a brief outline of the charter of Privileges and Exemptions under which several large manorial estates were acquired in New Netherland, one of which (the Van Rensselaer Manor on the Hudson) existed, with some of its privileges, until late in the present century. It recognized the right of the Indians to the soil invited independent farmers to whom a homestead should be secured; promised protection to all in case of war, and encouraged religion and learning. Yet this system of colonization was not so favorable to the development and growth of popular liberty as was that in New England.

While this charter was under consideration in the meetings of the Company at Amsterdam, two of the directors (Samuel Godyn and Samuel Bloemmaert) purchased of the Indians a tract of land on Delaware Bay, extending from Cape Henlopen (the southern boundary of New Netherland) northward, full thirty miles, and two miles in the interior. This purchase was ratified by the Company when the charter was issued. Very soon afterward Killian Van Rensselaer purchased a large tract of the natives on the upper navigable waters of the Hudson River; and Michael Pauw, another director, secured by the same means a large tract in New Jersey at the mouth of the river, opposite Manhattan, and all of Staten Island. This adroit management of wide-awake directors, in securing the best lands in the province, as to situation - who helped themselves by the cunning trick of merchants - provoked jealousy and ill-will among their fellow-directors, which was finally allayed by admitting others into partnership with them.

Immediate steps were taken for colonizing these manors. Under the direction of Captain de Vries, an eminent navigator and friend of Godyn, who had made him a partner in the purchase, two ships sailed with colonists, cattle, seeds and agricultural implements, for Delaware Bay. They left the Texel under the command of Peter Heyes on the 12th of December, 1630, and took the long southern route by way of the Canaries and the West Indies. One of the vessels was captured the other, carrying eighteen cannon, did not reach the Delaware until April following. Near the site of the village of Lewiston, thirty emigrants, with their cattle and implements, seated themselves. There Heyes set up a wooden column, and on it placed a piece of tin emblazoned with the arms of Holland in token of taking possession of the country in the name of the States-General. The place was named Swaanendael. They built a house and stockaded it; and

then Captain Heyes went over to the New Jersey shore and purchased from the Indians, in the name of Godyn, a tract of land along the coast from Cape May, twelve miles. In the autumn, Heyes returned to Holland, leaving the colony in charge of Gillis Hossett.

In the spring of 1632, De Vries went with two vessels to the Delaware. There a sad sight greeted him. The house which the settlers had built was in ruins; the palisades had been burned; and the bones of the settlers strewed the ground. They had all been murdered by the Indians. One of the savages told De Vries all about it. A chief thoughtlessly took down the piece of tin which bore the arms of Holland, to make a tobacco-pipe of it. Hossett made such ado about it that the Indians, to allay the feeling, slew the offending chief and sent his scalp to the Dutch commander. When the bearer presented it, Hossett told him the Indians had done wrong; that had the offender been brought to him he would only have cautioned him not to repeat the offence. The friends of the victim burned with vengeful desires, and determined to destroy the white people as a retribution. A party of warriors visited the settlement under the guise of friendship and massacred the whole of them in their houses and in the fields. This crime was forgiven, and the Indians and Hollanders remained friends.

A competition with the English and Dutch for American possessions now appeared in the North. The enlightened Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden, had looked with longing eyes westward as he heard from time to time of the rich countries beyond the British isles. At length he was excited to action by William Usselincx, the projector of the Dutch West India Company, who, dissatisfied with his associates in that corporation, visited Sweden, and laid before its monarch well-arranged plans for colonization on the Delaware. The king was delighted. He entered warmly into the projects of Usselincx, and was preparing for the execution of a scheme for planting a colony in America that should be an open asylum for all Christians, when the danger which threatened Protestantism in Germany called him to the field to contend for the principles of the Reformation. While leading victorious armies against the Imperial hosts marshalled under the banner of the Pope on the fields of Germany, he did not forget the scheme for American colonization. At Nuremburg he drew up a paper for his great chancellor, the Count Oxenstierna, in which he recommended the enterprise as the "jewel of his kingdom." A few days afterwards he was face to face with his enemy at Lutzen, in battle array. On their knees he and the brave Swedes sang Luther's glorious hymn, *Eine feste Burg ist unser Gott* - "A tower of strength is our God." Then they sang a hymn composed by the king himself and springing to their feet, they made a furious charge upon the Imperialists, Gustavus leading the right wing. He fell covered with mortal wounds.

But the words of Gustavus did not die. Oxenstierna, at the head of a regency, administered the government for the heir to the throne, Christina, who was then only six years of age. "A colony in America would, indeed, be a precious jewel in the crown of Sweden," said the wise Chancellor. He had favored the project from the beginning; and in 1634, he issued a charter for a Swedish West India Company.

Governor Minit, who had been recalled from New Netherland because he had favored the

grasping patroons too much, it was thought, hastened to Stockholm and offered the fruits of his experience in America and his personal services to the new company. They were gladly accepted and at near the close of 1637, he sailed from Gottenburg with fifty emigrants in two vessels, bearing a commission to plant a colony on the west side of Delaware Bay, within the manor of Godyn and Blommaert, where he knew no settlement then existed. He landed at the site of Newcastle in April, 1638, and purchased from the Indians the whole territory from Cape Henlopen to the falls of the Delaware River at Trenton without the slightest regard to the claims of the Dutch. Then he sailed into the mouth of the river, and anchored in a creek at the site of Wilmington. They built a fort and then a church, and named the place Christina, in honor of their young queen. The territory they had purchased they called New Sweden.

When the Dutch at Fort Nassau, fifteen miles further up the river, heard of this intrusion, they went down to inquire what it meant. Minuit gave them evasive answers at first, but finally told them that he intended to plant a settlement in the country, and build a fort there. "The Queen of Sweden," he said, "has as good a right to build a fort here as the Dutch West India Company. A messenger to tell the news was at once sent to Manhattan. Kieft, the newly arrived governor, sent an officer to Minuit at Christina to protest against the movement. The warning was unheeded. Then Kieft issued a proclamation saying that he was persuaded that the Queen of Sweden had not authorized the building of forts within the domain of New Netherland, and that while he would not be responsible "for any mishap, bloodshed, trouble and disaster" which Minuit and his people might suffer thereafter, he was resolved to defend the rights of the West India Company as he should deem proper.

Minuit paid no attention to this proclamation, but built Fort Christina on the site of Wilmington, and erected posts with the royal initials and the crown of Sweden carved on them. Well acquainted with the Indian traffic, from long experience at Manhattan, he soon drew to Christina a profitable fur-trade and at midsummer he sent the vessels back to Sweden with cargoes of peltry and other products of the land. The fort was well garrisoned and provisioned, and the settlers there planted and reaped. So was established the first permanent settlement on that soil, and there and then was planted the fruitful seed of the commonwealth of Delaware.

Eastward of the Delaware Bay and River (so called in honor of Lord De la Warr, Governor of Virginia), lies New Jersey. Its domain was included in the New Netherland charter. So early as 1622, transient trading settlements were made on its soil at Bergen and on the banks of the Delaware. The following year, as we have observed, Director May, moved by the attempt of a French sea-captain to set up the arms of France on the Delaware, built a redoubt called Fort Nassau at the mouth of Timmer Kill or Timber Creek, a few miles below Camden, and settled some young Walloons near it. The most southern headland of New Jersey and now popular summer resort, Cape May, received its name from the first director-general of New Netherland, who gave it, also, to several other places.

The Walloons - young couples who had been married on shipboard - settled on the site of Gloucester. This was the first settlement on the soil of New Jersey that lived long; but it, too,

withered away in time. It was seven years later when Michael Pauw made his purchase of the Indians extending from Hoboken to the Raritan River, and latinizing his name, called it Pavonia. In this purchase was included the settlement of some Dutch at Bergen. Other settlements were attempted, but none became permanent until about forty years afterward. Cape May, which Captain Heyes bought of the Indian - a territory sixteen miles square - remained an uncultivated wilderness all that time yielding the products of its salt meadow to the browsing deer.

We must now run ahead of our story, as we leave, a little, at other times, in coming to the period when the foundations of a colony were actually laid, and glance at an important event in the political history of New Netherland Charles the Second, King of England, granted a greater portion of the claimed territory of New Netherland to his brother, the Duke of York, then Lord High Admiral of the realm. The duke sent a fleet and army to take possession of his domain. This armament, stronger than any in New Netherland, found the task an easy one, and early in the autumn of 1664, the province passed into the hands of the English. Soon after that armament sailed, and while it was yet on the bosom of the Atlantic, the duke conveyed to two of his favorites all the territory between the Hudson and Delaware rivers from Cape May north to the latitude of forty degrees and forty minutes. These favorites were Lord Berkeley, brother of the governor of Virginia and the duke's own governor in his youth, and Sir George Carteret, then the treasurer of the Admiralty, who had been governor of the island of Jersey, which he had gallantly defended against the forces of Cromwell. In the charter this province was named "Nova Caesarea or New Jersey," in commemoration of Carteret's loyalty and gallant deeds while he was governor of the island of Jersey. Colonel Richard Nicolls, the commander of the expedition to seize New Netherland, and deputy-governor of the province, changed the name to New York; and, ignorant of the charter given to Berkeley and Carteret, he called the territory west of the Hudson Albania, so honoring his employer, who bore the title of Duke of York and Albany.

Berkeley and Carteret hastened to make use of their patent. They framed a constitution of government for the new domain under the title of "The Concessions and Agreement of the Lords Proprietors of the Province of Nova Caesarea or New Jersey, to and with all and every of the new adventurers and all such as shall Settle and Plant there." It was a fair and liberal constitution. It provided for a governor and council appointed by the proprietors, and deputies or representatives chosen by the people, who should meet annually, and with the governor and his council form a General Assembly for the government of the colony. It provided for the choice of a president by the representatives when in session, in case of the absence of the governor and deputy governor. All legislative power was vested in the Assembly of Deputies, who were to make all laws for the province - these to be consistent with the laws and customs of Great Britain, and not repugnant to the interests of the proprietors. Provision was also made for the encouragement of emigration to New Jersey. To every freeman who should go to that province with the first governor, furnished with a good musket and plenty of ammunition, with provisions for six months, was offered a free gift of one hundred and fifty acres of land and for every able manservant that such emigrant should take with him so armed and provisioned, a like quantity of land. Any person sending such servants should be likewise rewarded; and for every weaker servant or slave, of either sex, over fourteen years of age, which any person might take or send, at that time, should be given seventy-

five acres of land each, Christian servants being entitled, at the expiration of the term of service, to the land so granted for their own use and benefit. To all who should settle in the province before the beginning of 1665, other than those who should go with the governor, were offered one hundred and twenty acres of land, on like conditions.

These offers were certainly attractive, and the proprietors expected to see their country rapidly peopled with industrious settlers. They appointed Philip Carteret, la cousin of Sir George, governor, and with about thirty emigrants, several of whom were Frenchmen skilled in the art of salt-making, he sailed for New York, where he arrived in July, 1665. The vessel had been driven into Chesapeake Bay in June and anchored at the mouth of the James River, whence the governor sent despatches to New York. Among them was a copy of the duke's grant of New Jersey. Governor Nicolls was astounded by the folly of the duke in parting with so much of his valuable domain, for he regarded Albania as the most improvable" part of the territory. He was mortified by this dismemberment of a state over which he had been ruling for many months with pride and satisfaction. But he kept his thoughts between his lips until the arrival of Carteret, whom Colonel Nicolls received at Fort James, late Fort Amsterdam, with all the honors due to his rank and station. That meeting in the governor's quarters in the fort was a notable one. Nicolls was tall, athletic, and about forty-five years of age a soldier, haughty and sometimes very irritable, and brusque in speech when excited. Carteret was shorter and fat, good-natured and affable, with polished manners which he had learned by being much at court. He entered the governor's room with Bollen, the commissary of the fort, when the former arose, beckoned his secretary to withdraw, and received his distinguished visitor cordially. But when Carteret presented the outspread parchment, bearing the original of the duke's grant with his grace's seal and signature, Nicolls could not restrain his feelings. His temper flamed out in words of fierce anger at first. He stormed, and uttered denunciations in language as respectful as possible. He paced the floor backwards and forwards rapidly, his hands clenched behind his back, and finally calmed down and begged his visitor's pardon for his uncontrollable outburst of passion.

Nicolls yielded gracefully but sorrowfully to circumstances, and contented himself with addressing a manly remonstrance to the duke, in which he urged an arrangement for the grantees to give up their domain in exchange for a hundred thousand acres all along the sea-coast. It was too late. In pursuance of the duke's orders, Nicolls formally surrendered Albania into the quiet possession of Carteret, and thenceforth that region appeared as New Jersey on the maps. Its governor crossed over to his domain early in August, and landed, at the head of a few followers, with a hoe on his shoulder in token of his intention to become a planter among them. He chose for his seat of government a beautifully shaded spot not far from the strait between Staten Island and the main, called The Kills, where he found four English families living in as many neatly-built log cabins, with gardens around them. In compliment to the wife of Sir George Carteret, the governor gave to the place the name of Elizabethtown, which it yet retains. There he built a house for himself near the bank of the little creek, and there he organized a civil government. So was laid the foundations of the colony and commonwealth of New Jersey.

The land on which Governor Carteret found the four families had been bought of some Indians

on Long Island, who claimed it as their own. They gave a deed of it to John Bailey, Daniel Denton, and Luke Watson of Jamaica, Long Island, and Governor Nicolls granted a patent for it to seventy-four associates, whose descendants are numerous in East Jersey. This patent was given before Nicolls had heard of the extraordinary grant of the Duke of York and when the governor's grantees were informed of that transaction, they resolved to assert their rights, as against the claims of the duke's friends. Some of the company went to Elizabethtown to confer with Carteret on the subject. At the head of the embassy was John Ogden, of Long Island, who had left England on the accession of Charles the Second to the throne, for he was republican. The governor received them under the shadow of a great tulip tree on the borders of the creek, and there the conference was held. Ogden showed the Indian deed and the Nicolls grant. Carteret showed the duke's grant with his seal and signature attached. Ogden declared that Indian titles were more valid than royal titles, because the grantors were the original owners of the soil. This point was conceded, when the governor pointed to the lion in the British arms impressed upon the seal, as an emblem of competent power, intimating that might makes right. By this intimation the spirit of Ogden was powerfully stirred. Pointing to the sun as the visible presence of the Great Spirit whom all the Indians worshipped, he said: "As far above petty kings and their powers as is the sun in the heaven, now making the earth teem with abundance and beauty, above all below, so far is justice, the prime attribute of God, above might - the mere brute force that gives kingship to the lion and the eagle among beasts and birds. The Dutch acquired possession of this soil by the divine right of a just purchase from the Indians; King Charles had no right to this domain but that of a strong-armed robber. The British lion on that seal is, in this case, only an emblem of oppression and wrong, whose only warrant for injustice is his strength to conquer. In this land monarchs will yet be taught that they have no divine rights not the common property of their subjects, and that there is more strength in justice than in the sword."

John Ogden was a prophet. Under that tree on the soil of New Jersey, that sturdy republican caught luminous visions of the struggles of a people with royalty for the rights of man, which, more than a hundred years afterwards, led to the dismemberment of the British empire and the founding of our free Republic. Carteret admired his spirit, but his words sounded too much like the voices of the followers of Cromwell, and he refused to hold further conference with him. "Very well," said Ogden. "We shall maintain our rights as best we may;" and he and his friends were about to depart, when the courteous governor invited them into his house to partake of refreshments. He then accompanied them to their boat at the Kills, and gave them a cordial invitation to come again as friends, but not as ambassadors.

The Long Islanders liked the good-natured governor personally, and to show their kind feeling toward him and his family, they gave the name of Elizabethtown Associates "to their company, and to their territory the Elizabethtown Grant." They adhered to their determination to defend their rights; and during the seven years that Philip Carteret governed New Jersey there were frequent and severe conflicts between the "Associates" and the grantees of the Duke of York.

Chapter XXII

The "Friends" or "Quakers" - William Penn Obtains a Charter for Pennsylvania - Emigration to Pennsylvania - Penn Visits America - The Swedes on the Delaware - Treaty with the Indians - Penn Visits New York - Meets the First Pennsylvanian Assembly - Visits Lord Baltimore - Finds Philadelphia - Settlers in North Carolina - The Carolinas Granted to Royal Favorites - Settlements on the Cape Fear - Charleston Founded - Government for the Carolinas Framed.

LATER in the seventeenth century than the period of settlement in Delaware and New Jersey was the domain called Pennsylvania colonized, chiefly by a sect called Quakers in derision. That sect appeared in England at about the time when Roger Williams was there to procure a charter for Rhode Island. Their founder and preachers were among the boldest and yet the meekest of the non-conformists. Their morality was so strict that the world called them ascetics - persons who devote their lives to religion only. They carried this strictness into all departments of life and personal habits. Fashionable dress, extravagance in expenditure, dancing, attendance at theatres, games of chance and other amusements were forbidden and music was discouraged as a seductive vanity. Taking part in war, slavery, lawsuits, intemperance and profanity of speech, was a sufficient reason, if persisted in, for the expulsion of a member from the Society; and the whole body was bound to keep a watch upon the actions of each other. Their practices so generally agreed with their principles that society was compelled to admit that the profession of a Quaker or "Friend," as they styled themselves, was a guaranty of a morality above the level of the world.

George Fox, a shoemaker of Leicestershire, England, was the founder of this sect. At the age of nineteen years, conceiving himself to be called by God to preach the gospel of Jesus, he went from place to place exhorting his hearers to repentance and newness of life. He complained of the coldness and spiritual deadness of all the modes and forms of religious worship around him, and thereby he soon excited a persecuting spirit by which his ministerial life of about forty years was marked as a pilgrimage from one prison to another. When, in 1650, he was called before Justice Bennet, of Derby, he admonished that magistrate to repent, and "tremble and shake before the word of the Lord," at the same time his own body was violently agitated by emotion. Then and there the sect received the name of Quakers.

Among the multitude of converts to the moral and religious doctrines of George Fox was young William Penn, a son of the distinguished admiral of that name. He embraced the doctrines and adopted the mode of life of George Fox and his followers, while he was yet in college. Then he had a long and severe struggle with his father, a worldly and ambitious man, for the privilege of following the directions of his conscience. He was beaten and turned out of doors by the angry admiral; he was sent to France to be lured with gaiety; and he was dazzled with promises of wealth and distinction. He suffered with his sect. On one occasion he was tried, with another, on a charge of preaching in the streets. The jury, after being kept without fire, food or water two days and nights, brought in a verdict of "not guilty," when they were each heavily fined by the court and committed to Newgate and Penn and his companion were also fined and imprisoned for contempt of court in wearing their hats in the presence of that body. The young Quaker was then

only about twenty-four years of age.

Many "Friends" had emigrated to America, and two had become proprietors of New Jersey. Penn acted as umpire between them, in a dispute that arose, and so his particular attention was drawn toward his country. He looked with longing eyes across the Atlantic for a home for himself and his sectarian friends, out of the reach of persecution. From the crown he obtained a charter for a vast territory beyond the Delaware, in payment of a debt of eighty thousand dollars due to his father from the government, with perpetual proprietaryship given to him and his heirs, in the fealty of an annual payment of two beaver skins. Penn proposed to call the domain "New Wales," in honor of the land of his ancestors, but the Welsh secretary of state objected. Then he suggested "Sylvania" as appropriate for such a woody country. The secretary who drew up the charter prefixed the name of Penn to Sylvania, in the document. The proprietor offered him a hundred dollars if he would leave it off. On his refusal to do so, Penn complained to the king - the "merry King Charlie" - who insisted that the province should be called "Pennsylvania," in honor of his dead friend the admiral. And so it was. The domain extended north from New Castle in Delaware three degrees of latitude, and five degrees of longitude west from the Delaware River. To Penn was given power to ordain all laws with the consent of the freemen, subject to the approval of the king. No taxes were to be raised except by the Provincial Assembly; and clergymen of the Anglican Church were to be allowed to reside in the province without molestation.

Penn's charter was granted on the 14th of March, 1681. In May he sent his kinsman, William Markham, to take possession of his province and to act as deputy governor. A large company of emigrants went with him. They were employed by the "Company of Free Traders," who had purchased lands in Pennsylvania of the proprietor. They seated themselves near the Delaware and "buildd and planted." With the help of Algernon Sidney, the sturdy republican martyr who perished on the scaffold soon afterward, Penn drew up a code of wise, liberal and benevolent regulations for the government of the colony, and sent them to the settlers the next year for their approval. It was not a formal constitution, but a body of wholesome laws for the benefit of all concerned.

Penn found that the want of a seaboard for his province would be a serious bar to its future prosperity. He coveted Delaware for that purpose, and resolved to have it if possible. It was claimed by Lord Baltimore as a part of Maryland, and had been a matter of dispute between him and the Duke of York. The latter, for the sake of peace, offered to buy the territory of Baltimore. The baron could not sell. Penn then assured the duke that Lord Baltimore's claim was against law, civil or common. The duke gladly assented to the opinion, and the worldly-wise Quaker obtained from his grace a quit-claim deed for the territory comprising the whole State of Delaware, then, as now, divided into the counties of Newcastle, Kent, and Sussex; also for all of his interest in the soil of Pennsylvania.

When Penn had gained these coveted possessions, he made immediate preparations for going to America and within a week after the bargain was officially settled, he set sail in the ship

Welcome with about one hundred emigrants, many of whom died of small-pox on the voyage. That was at the close of August, 1682. On his arrival at New Castle early in November, he found almost a thousand new emigrants there. These, with the three thousand old settlers - Swedes, Dutch, Huguenots, Germans and English composed materials for the solid foundation of a state. There, in the presence of the people, he received from the agents of the Duke of York a formal surrender into his hands of that fine domain. The Dutch had, long before, conquered and absorbed the Swedes on the Delaware; and by virtue of his charter, giving him a title to all New Netherland, the duke claimed this territory as his own. By this transfer, Penn inherited for himself and descendants a dispute with the proprietors of Maryland. In honor of the duke, the courteous Quaker called Cape Henlopen Cape James, but the two capes of the Delaware - Henlopen and May - have preserved their original name given to them by the Dutch.

Having secured his domain, Penn went many miles up the Delaware River, to the present Kensington district of Philadelphia, and there, under a wide- spreading elm, just shedding its foliage, he concluded a treaty with Indian chiefs, not for the purchase of lands, but to confirm what Markham had promised them for him, and to make an everlasting covenant of peace and friendship with them. "We meet," Penn said, "in the broad pathway of good faith and good will; no advantage shall be taken on either side, but all shall be openness and love. I will not call you children; for parents sometimes chide their children too severely; nor brothers, only; for brothers differ. The friendship between me and you, I will not compare to a chain; for that the rains might rust, or a falling tree might break. We are the same as if one man's body was to be divided into two parts; we are all one flesh and blood." Then he gave them presents and they in turn handed him a belt of wampum as a pledge of their fidelity. They were delighted with his divine words, and believed in his noble promises. "We will live in love with William Penn and his children," they said, "as long as the sun and moon shall endure." And they did. Not a drop of the blood of a Quaker was ever shed by an Indian.

William Penn had achieved a marvelous victory over the savage arm and the savage spirit. While in other colonies the might of the sword and musket, of the arrow and the hatchet, were making fearfully red records of crime while the savages were in fierce array, secretly and openly, against the pale-faced intruders, Penn had conquered and subdued those of Pennsylvania by love. There were not even contentions between the races there.

"We have done better," said the Friends, in their Plantation Speech, in 1684, "than if, with the proud Spaniards, we had gained the mines of Potosi. We may make the ambitious heroes whom the world admires, blush for their shameful victories. To the poor, dark souls round about us, we teach their rights as MEN." Significant is the question of the historian "Was there not progress from Melendez to Roger Williams? from Cortez and Pizarro to William Penn?"

There is no written record of that treaty made in the open air on the banks of the Delaware. We have accounts of the personal character of the council. Penn was then a graceful man, strong built and of fair complexion, and thirty-eight years of age. Most of his companions were younger than himself, and all were dressed in the garb of the Quakers - the fashion of the more simple

Puritans during the Protectorate of Cromwell. The Indians were clad in the skins of beasts, for it was on the verge of winter - their harvest time was over. Frost and expanding buds were stripping the trees of their foliage, and every aspect of the scene was becoming dreary excepting the bright council-fire under the great elm around which the high contracting parties were gathered. Penn was accompanied by the deputy governor and a few others; and the Indian sachems brought their wives and children, who sat upon the ground modestly back.

From that treaty place, Penn journeyed through New Jersey to New York and Long Island, visiting Friends and preaching with fervor. Then he returned to the Delaware, and on the seventh of November he went to Uplands (now Chester), where he met the first Provincial Assembly of his province. There he made known his benevolent designs toward all men, civilized and savage, and excited the love and reverence of his hearers. The Assembly tendered their grateful acknowledgments to him, and the Swedes authorized one of their number to say to him in their name that they would live, serve and obey him with all they had, "declaring that it was the best day they ever saw." He informed the Assembly of the union of the territories (as Delaware was called) with his province, and received their congratulations. Then was laid the foundations of the commonwealth of Pennsylvania.

From Chester, Penn went to Maryland to confer with the third Lord Baltimore concerning their boundary lines, but did not make a satisfactory arrangement. On his return, he went up the Delaware in an open boat to Wicaco, to attend the founding of a city, to which allusion had been made in his "Concessions," in 1681. Before his arrival in this country he had determined to give to the future city the name of Philadelphia - a Greek word signifying brotherly love - as a token of tended to govern his province. Near a block-house which the Swedes had built, and which they had changed into a church, he purchased lands extending from the high banks of the Delaware fringed with pines to those of the Schuylkill. There his surveyors laid out the city of Philadelphia upon a plan which would embrace twelve square miles.

Although the efforts of Raleigh and Coligny to make settlements in the warmer portions of North America had utterly failed, and the country south of the James River was untrodden by the foot of the white man unless by the few survivors of the lost colony of Roanoke Island or around the Spanish fort at St. Augustine, the desire to plant colonies there remained strong, and finally led to the wished-for result. From time to time restless, discontented, adventurous or greedy persons went there to find homes for themselves and their children, or to acquire fortunes, but no permanent settlement was planted until past the middle of the seventeenth century.

So early as 1609, some colonists under the direction of Captain John Smith left Jamestown and seated themselves on the Nansemond River, near the Dismal Swamp. In 1622, the ambitious Porey, Secretary of the Virginia colony, penetrated the country southward to the tide-waters of the Chowan River. He told, in earnest words, of the beauty and richness of the country, but did not induce settlers to go there. Eight years later, as we have observed, Sir Robert Heath, the Attorney General of Charles the First, obtained from his king a charter for a domain south of Virginia, six degrees of latitude in width, and extending westward to the Pacific Ocean. This

included the region between Albemarle Sound and the St. John's River in Florida. That patent was declared void in 1663, because neither the proprietor nor his assigns had fulfilled their agreements.

Sufferers from the oppression of the State Church in Virginia looked to the wilderness for freedom, as the Huguenots and the Pilgrims had done. In 1653, a few Presbyterians from Jamestown settled on the Chowan River near the present village of Edenton. Other non-conformists followed, and the settlement flourished. Already the New England colonies had begun to swarm. The Massachusetts hive had become too small; and in 1661, some adventurous New Englanders appeared in a small vessel, in the Cape Fear River, in search of a home in a more genial climate. They purchased lands of the Indians, and were making the experiment of establishing a colony of farmers and herdsman there, when news came that the whole region had been given by Charles the Second to some of his favorites. The New Englanders had partners in their enterprise, in London. These pleaded, in behalf of the claims of the colonists, their prior purchase of the soil, and also their right to self-government. A compromise was offered by the patentees, yielding to every claim of the settlers excepting the ownership of the soil and that they offered at a yearly rent of a half-penny an acre. The soil was not inviting enough for those who might choose a dwelling-place from almost an entire continent. Most of the New Englanders returned home and "spread a reproach on the harbor and the soil" at Cape Fear.

The grant alluded to was made to several of the rapacious courtiers of Charles the Second, the most of them men past middle-life in age, and possessed of the easy virtue which distinguished the reign of that monarch. They begged the domain of the king under the pretense of a pious zeal for the propagation of the gospel among the heathen. Their real object was to rob the heathen of their lands, and to accumulate riches and honor for themselves. These grantees were the covetous and time-serving Earl of Clarendon, the historian and the Prime Minister; Monk, who, for his conspicuous and treacherous services in the restoration of Charles to the throne of his father, had been created Duke of Albemarle; Lord Craven, who is supposed to have been the husband of the Queen of Bohemia; Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, afterward Earl of Shaftesbury; Sir John Colleton, a corrupt loyalist who had played false to Cromwell; Lord John Berkeley and his younger brother, Sir William, who was then governor of Virginia and the "passionate, ignorant and not too honest" Sir George Carteret, proprietor of New Jersey. It is said that when these petitioners appeared before Charles in the garden at Hampton Court and presented their memorial so full of pious pretensions, the monarch, after looking each in the face for a moment, with a merry twinkle of his eye, burst into loud laughter, in which his audience joined involuntarily. Then taking up a little shaggy spaniel, with large, meek eyes, and holding it at arms length before them, he said "Good friends, here is a model of piety and sincerity which might be wholesome for you to copy." Then tossing the little pet to Clarendon, he said "There, Hyde, is a worthy prelate; make him archbishop of the domain which I shall give you." He granted the prayer of the petitioners, and in March, 1663, he gave them a charter for the territory which had been given to Sir Robert Heath. By the terms of that charter, the proprietors were made absolute sovereigns of the domain, returning to their king only a bare allegiance. Charles, with grim satire, introduced into the preamble of the charter the statement that the petitioners, excited with a laudable and pious zeal for the

propagation of the Gospel, have "begged a certain country in the parts of America not yet cultivated and planted, and only inhabited by some barbarous people who have no knowledge of God." The title of "Carolina," in honor of the king, was given to this vast domain.

We have observed that some non-conformists from Virginia were settled on the banks of the Chowan ten years before the charter was granted. How extensive was the settlement at the latter period, we do not know. The plantations were mostly on the northern bank of the Chowan, and had become so conspicuous that in the autumn of 1663 the new proprietors authorized Governor Berkeley, of Virginia, to extend his jurisdiction over them. He organized a separate government instead, under the title of the Albemarle County Colony, so named in honor of Monk. He appointed William Drummond, a Presbyterian emigrant from Scotland to Virginia, and a republican at heart, governor, and gave to the colonists every freedom which they could reasonably desire. Here was presented the anomaly of a colony founded under the direction and control of rigid churchmen and royalists who were filling the prisons of England with men like John Bunyan, composed of non-conformists as rigid as these, and republicans as staunch as Sidney. And they were left to grow into an independent state with very little hindrance.

Two years later some English emigrants came from Barbados, purchased from the Indians a tract of land on the Cape Fear River, thirty-two miles square, including the domain abandoned by the New Englanders, and near the site of Wilmington founded a settlement. They treated the few New Englanders who had remained very kindly, and harmony prevailed. This settlement was soon organized into a political community under the title of the Clarendon County Colony, in honor of the historian. Sir John Yeamans, an impoverished baronet who had settled in Barbados to improve his fortune, was appointed governor of the new colony, with a jurisdiction extending from Cape Fear to the St. John's River. The poverty of the soil prevented a rapid growth of the settlement, yet the industry of the inhabitants made them prosperous. Finding themselves in the bosom of a vast pine forest, the settlers turned their labor into the manufacture of boards, shingles and staves, and the gathering of turpentine, for all of which they found a ready and profitable sale in the West Indies. The settlement became permanent and so, with the organization of the two colonies, the foundation of the commonwealth of North Carolina was laid.

The avaricious courtiers now sought the acquisition of more territory, and in June, 1665, they readily obtained from the king another charter which confirmed the former one, and gave renewed assurance and commendation of the "pious and noble purpose under which these men thought it decent to cloak their ambition and rapacity. It granted to them the territory from the now southern boundary of Virginia to the peninsula of Florida, and westward to the Pacific Ocean, comprising all of our States excepting the lower part of Florida south of the thirty-sixth degree, and a part of Mexico, the whole under the name of Carolina. The terms of the charter give evidence that the founding of a great empire was contemplated. Provision was made for the appointment of legislators and magistrates; for levying troops and erecting fortifications; waging war by sea and land; erecting cities establishing manors and baronies, and creating titles; levying impost duties; and other features coincident with those of the existing British government. Every favor was extended to the proprietors," says an eminent historian; "nothing was neglected but the

interests of the English sovereign and the rights of the colonists." It was the duty of Clarendon, as Prime Minister of the realm, to affix the great seal of the kingdom to this charter that conferred such extraordinary privileges upon himself and his seven associates.

In the year 1670, the proprietors sent three ships with emigrants to settle the more southern portions of Carolina. These were under the directions of William Sayle and Joseph West. Sayle had already explored the coasts; and twenty years before, he had endeavored to plant in the Bahama Isles a Puritan colony from Virginia, and to establish an "Eleutheria" - a place dedicated to liberty - among the islands near the coast of Florida. The three ships entered Port Royal harbor, and the emigrants landed at Beaufort Island, near the place where the Huguenots built Fort Carolina a hundred years before. There Sayle died early in the following year, and was buried under a broad live-oak tree draped with Spanish moss. The emigrants abandoned Beaufort soon afterward, and sailing northward entered Charleston harbor. On the banks of a stream a few miles above the site of Charleston, they landed, built houses and cultivated the soil. There they planted the first seeds of the colony of South Carolina at a spot known as Old Town.

The settlers found the Indians unfriendly, for tradition had taught them to believe that the white man was a cruel robber. The planters were compelled to labor in the fields and on the waters, well-armed, yet they prospered; and they soon conquered the savages by kindness. West exercised the authority of magistrate until the arrival of Sir John Yeamans from Barbados with the commission of governor late in 1671. He brought with him fifty families and many negro slaves. This was the introduction of slave-labor into South Carolina, which has always been preeminently a planting state.

The settlement at Old Town was organized under the title of the Carteret County Colony, and representative government was established there in 1672. So was founded the commonwealth of South Carolina. It was known as a place where freedom was enjoyed, and emigrants flocked to it from England, Holland, and New York. They spread over the peninsula between the Ashley and another stream which they called the Cooper River, both so named in honor of Ashley Cooper, one of the proprietors. At Oyster Point, at the junction of three streams, on the verge of a fine harbor and in sight of the sea, they laid the foundations of a capital city for the province eight or ten years later, and named it Charles Town (Charleston) in compliment to the king. Old Town was abandoned, and the new village flourished. Very soon thriving settlements were seen along the Santee and Edisto Rivers; and the region between the Ashley and Cooper - the Ke-awah and E-ti-wan of the Indians - became quite populous with industrious inhabitants.

We have observed that it was designed to establish a great empire in the region of the Carolinas. It was deemed proper to devise a scheme of government commensurate with that grand idea. To Sir Ashley Cooper, and the philosopher John Locke, was entrusted the task of framing a constitution. Cooper was then about forty-seven years of age, and in the full maturity of his genius and power. He was of an old and wealthy family, and was connected with some of the most distinguished members of the English aristocracy. He was now a royalist of the strictest pattern. A few years later (1672), he was elevated to the peerage as Earl of Shaftesbury, and

made Lord High Chancellor of England. Locke was much younger - only thirty-four - but was a more profound thinker than Cooper, and was already famous as a philosopher. He was a tutor of Cooper's son. His views of government were consonant with those of his friend, the statesman and courtier. Neither of these men was fitted for the task of framing an acceptable constitution for the government of a free people, and the magnificent scheme which they prepared, with the title of "Fundamental Constitutions," was entirely inconsistent with the condition and circumstances of the American colonists. It was the production chiefly of the brain and hand of Locke, it is believed, and was perfected in 1669.

For purposes of settlement, the proposed constitution provided for dividing the vast domain into counties, each to contain four hundred and eighty thousand acres. These lands were to be distributed in five equal parts, one-fifth to remain the inalienable property of the proprietors; another fifth the inalienable property of two orders of nobility, namely, landgraves or earls, and caciques or barons, one of the former and two of the latter belonging to each county; and the remaining three-fifths to belong to "the peoples," that is to say, "farmers and lords of manors, the latter having no prescriptive legislative powers, but exercising judicial functions on their respective domains, in baronial courts. The number of the nobility was not to be increased nor diminished, the places of those who should not leave heirs, to be supplied by election. It gave to every freeman of Carolina absolute power over his negro slaves; and tenants, cultivating small quantities of land, were not only to be denied political franchises of any kind, but were serfs of the soil, and under the jurisdiction of their lord, without appeal and all their children were to endure the same social degradation to all generations."

When that elaborate constitution, which provided for titles, and classes, and aristocratic distinctions in America, was submitted to the people of the Carolinas, they rejected it as absurd in its details. They had made judicious laws for their own government, were satisfied with their workings, and resolved to have nothing to do with the scheme of the proprietors. Under their own laws they built up flourishing colonies, inseparable in interests and aims, and so they remained over sixty years, when they were dismembered and formed the separate colonies of North and South Carolina.

Chapter XXIII

The English and Spaniards - Slaves in South Carolina - Prisoners for Debt in England - Revelations of the Prisons - Measures for the Relief of the Prisoners - Charter for Georgia Granted - General Oglethorpe Accompanies Emigrants to the Savannah River - Joy of the Carolinians - Friendship of the Indians - To-mo-chi-chi - A Treaty - Indians Accompany Oglethorpe to England - Their Reception There - Oglethorpe Returns to Georgia with the Wesleys - An Unwise Code for Georgia.

SELFISHNESS and philanthropy went hand in hand in promoting English settlements in the country south of the Savannah River. There seemed to be an unconquerable antagonism between the Spaniards and the English, in both hemispheres. The Spaniards viewed with jealousy the rapid increase of English settlements in America, especially in the region bordering on Florida, which the Castilians held by right of undoubted first discovery. They saw the English rapidly gaining the monopoly of the trade with the Indians and exercising a wide influence over the native inhabitants in the Gulf region, who had been taught by past sad experience to look upon the Spaniards as their abiding enemies. Therefore the Castilians in Florida were disposed to cast obstacles in the way of an extension of the English colonies southward.

Early in the eighteenth century, South Carolina was well stocked with slaves from Africa, especially in the rice-planting districts, where Negro's performed nearly all of the manual labor. They had become essential to the prosperity of the colony. The Spaniards believed that the most effectual way to discourage the English planters add to prevent their making settlements below the Savannah River, would be to entice away their slaves by promises of the freedom and the privileges of the Spanish subjects. This measure was successfully employed. A complete regiment was formed at St. Augustine of runaway slaves from South Carolina; and they were taught to hate the English as their enemies. This was an alarming state of things for the South Carolinians, and they anxiously sought a remedy for the evil.

Between the Savannah and Alatomaha rivers, there was a region wholly unoccupied by white inhabitants at the end of the first quarter of the eighteenth century. The South Carolinians proposed to erect a barrier between themselves and the Spaniards in Florida, by the planting of an English colony in that region. They asked the British government to do so. There were great obstacles in the way. Voluntary emigrants preferred a settled country away from immediate danger from foes; and a penal colony for British convicts was not desirable.

At that juncture, the subject of the condition of prisoners for debt in Great Britain was attracting general attention. These men, unconvicted of any crime, were crowding the jails of the kingdom, and enduring sufferings more horrible than those inflicted upon negro slaves in the West Indies. Disease and moral degradation were making sad havoc among them. The hearts of the benevolent yearned to relieve them. A humane and wealthy citizen of London bequeathed his fortune to the government to be employed in liberating the most deserving insolvent debtors from the jails, where they were doomed to hopeless indigence and misery by the cruel laws oftentimes

more cruelly administered.

This act caused the appointment of a committee by Parliament to inquire into the condition of prisoners for debt. It was done at the suggestion of Colonel James Edward Oglethorpe, a graduate of Oxford, a brave soldier, and then a member of Parliament. That was in the year 1728. Colonel Oglethorpe was made chairman of the committee, and they entered upon their duties with vigor. The revelations of the prisons were horrible and sickening. The writings of the afterwards illustrious Howard give us vivid pen-pictures of the scenes. The pencil of Hogarth has left us actual delineations of them. The English merchant, unfortunate in his business, was often suddenly plunged from a sphere of affluence and usefulness, to the dreadful dens called prisons, there to herd with the ignorant and vile in hopeless poverty and degradation.

Oglethorpe stood before one of these men who had been a distinguished alderman, in London, when he was a boy, and had been highly esteemed for his many virtues and practical benevolence. He had also been a "merchant prince," but had been ruined by great losses. His creditors sent him to prison. In an instant he was compelled to exchange a happy home and delightful society for a loathsome prison cell and the company of the debased. One by one his friends, who could aid him in keeping famine from his wretched abode, disappeared, and he was forgotten by the outside world. Twenty-three years he had been in jail. Gray-headed, haggard, ragged and perishing with hunger, he lay upon a heap of filthy straw in a dark, damp, unventilated room. His devoted wife, who had shared his misery eighteen years, had just starved to death, and lay in rags by his side, silent and cold. An hour before he had begged his jailor, with outstretched arms of supplication, to remove her body to the prison burying-ground. The inhuman wretch, who knew his history, refused with an oath, saying, with horrid irony: "Send for your alderman's coach to take her to the Abbey!"

The man expired when he had finished his sad story. There and then, inspired by God, Oglethorpe conceived a scheme of providing an asylum for such as these beyond the sea, where they might enjoy comfort and happiness. He also resolved to bring such jailers to punishment. The records of some of the English state trials show how earnestly he pursued these felons.

Oglethorpe proposed to plant the colony of unfortunates in the unoccupied country below the Savannah. His colleagues readily assented, and in his report to the House of Commons he laid a scheme for the colony before that body. It promised the advantages of securing that domain to the British Crown, relieving the South Carolinians from danger, and doing good to a large class of worthy British subjects. The king and Parliament approved the project. An appropriation of money for the object was made, and on the 9th of June, 1732, the king granted a charter for founding a colony with the title of Georgia. That name was given in compliment to King George the Second, then the ruling monarch of England.

The management of the new settlement was entrusted to twenty-one "noblemen and gentlemen," who were constituted Trustees for Settling and Establishing the "Colony of Georgia." Colonel Oglethorpe was one of them. They were vested with legislative powers for the

government of the colony for the space of twenty-one years, at the expiration of which time a permanent government was to be established by the king or his successors in accordance with British law and usage.

Oglethorpe generously offered to accompany the emigrants and assist them in making their first settlement. Every feature of the project commended itself to the hearts of the British people. Donations from all ranks and classes were freely given to assist the emigrants in planting comfortable homes in the wilderness. The Bank of England made a generous gift; and the House of Commons, from time to time, voted money, amounting in the aggregate, in the course of two years, to one hundred and sixty thousand dollars. Lord Viscount Percival was chosen president of the trustees, and a code of regulations for the colony, with agreements and stipulations, was speedily prepared.

All things being in readiness, thirty-five families - one hundred and twenty emigrants, men, women, and children - sailed from Gravesend for Georgia in the ship *Anne*, of two hundred tons burden, on the 6th of November, 1732. They were accompanied by Colonel Oglethorpe as governor, the Rev. Mr. Shubert, of the Church of England, as a spiritual guide, and a few Piedmontese silk-workers; for one of the projects of the trustees was the growing of silk in Georgia.

The *Anne* arrived at Charleston harbor at the middle of January, 1733, where the emigrants were received with joy by the inhabitants. The Assembly of South Carolina voted them a large supply of cattle and other provisions, for they were regarded as valuable auxiliaries. Their mutual aid was foreshadowed by the following lines which appeared in the *Gentleman's Magazine*:

"To Carolina be a Georgia joined! Then shall both colonies sure progress make, Endeared to either for the other's sake; Georgia shall Carolina's protection move, And Carolina bloom by Georgia's love."

The *Anne* was piloted from Charleston into Port Royal Sound, near Beaufort Island, whence the emigrants were to be conveyed to the Savannah River in small boats. From that point, Oglethorpe, accompanied by a guide furnished by the council of South Carolina, went forward to select a suitable place for a settlement. He chose Yamacraw Bluff, on the Savannah River, about ten miles from the sea, where Governor Moore, of South Carolina, had planted a small tribe of Creek Indians thirty years before, as owners of the soil. It was a high plain, its river front forty feet above the stream, and gently sloping to the swamps in the rear. There he laid out a town and returned to Beaufort, where the emigrants had landed, to conduct them to their final destination. They all arrived there on the first of February, and slept in tents that night.

The South Carolinians had sent boats with the additional provisions, and a body of rangers for the protection of the colonists while the latter should build cabins and a fort for their defence. The town projected by the governor was named Savannah, and there the emigrants soon had comfortable dwellings and a formidable military work armed with cannons. Concerning this spot,

Oglethorpe wrote to the trustees:

"Upon the river side, at the centre of this plain, I have laid out a town, opposite to which is an island [Hutchinson's Island] of very rich pasturage, which I think should be kept for the trustees' cattle. The river is pretty wide, the water fresh, and from the key of the town you see its whole course to the sea, with the island of Tybee, which forms the mouth of the river. For about six miles up into the country the landscape is very agreeable, the stream being wide and bordered with high woods on both sides."

Before their departure from England, the colonists had received some military training from the sergeants of the guards, in London. Oglethorpe now formed them into a company of militia with officers; and he frequently exercised them that the Indians might be impressed with their military skill. The fort was soon completed and cannon mounted upon it. Then the governor turned his earliest attention to the important business of establishing friendly relations with the Indians. He was within territory claimed by the powerful Creek Confederacy, and not far from the seat of a tribe composed partly of Yamacraws and partly of Yamasees or Savannahs, over whom presided To-mo-chi-chi, a venerable chief. He had suffered banishment at the hands of his people, the Lower Creeks, but for what cause is unknown. He was then ninety-one years of age, of commanding person and grave demeanor. His power over his immediate followers was supreme, and his name had great weight throughout the Confederacy as a renowned warrior and wise sachem. Oglethorpe therefore sought an early interview with To-mo-chi-chi. It was held under the tall pines and wide-spreading live-oaks that covered Yamacraw Bluff, with Mary Musgrove, the half-breed Creek wife of a South Carolina trader, then at Savannah, as interpreter.

That interview was very satisfactory. To-mo-chi-chi pledged his unwavering friendship for the English, and assisted Oglethorpe in making arrangements for a general convention of the heads of the Confederacy. That convention assembled in one of the large houses at Savannah, late in May, 1733, and was attended by fifty chiefs representing eight tribes of the Creek Nation.

Oglethorpe addressed the assembled chiefs. He told them of the great power, wealth and wisdom of the English people, and of the advantages the Indians might derive by the cultivation of friendly relations between the two races. He expressed a hope that as the Indians had a superabundance of land, they would freely resign a portion of it to those who had come over the sea for their instruction and benefit. When the governor ceased speaking, the venerable To-mo-chi-chi arose and, in behalf of the Creek warriors present, he gave their cordial assent to Oglethorpe's proposition. "I was a banished man," he said. "I came here, poor and helpless, to look for good lands near the tombs of my ancestors, and the trustees sent people here. I feared you would drive us away, for we were weak and wanted corn but you confirmed our land to us, gave us food and instructed our children." After further declaring the goodness of the English and expressing thanks, To-mo-chi-chi said, as he gave a buffalo-skin to the governor, on the inside of which were delineated the head and feathers of an eagle "Here is a little present. I give you the skin of a buffalo adorned with the head and feathers of an eagle, which I desire you to accept, because the eagle is an emblem of speed and the buffalo of strength. The English are as swift as

the bird and as strong as the beast since like the former, they flew over vast seas to the uttermost parts of the earth and like the latter, they are so strong that nothing can withstand them. The feathers of the eagle are soft, and signify love; the buffalo's skin is warm, and signifies protection; therefore I hope the English will love and protect our little families."

A satisfactory treaty was made by which all unoccupied lands within defined boundaries were assigned to the English. This treaty was ratified by the trustees on the 18th of October, 1733, when the English obtained sovereignty over the domain between the Savannah and Alatomaha rivers, westward from the Atlantic to the extent of tide-water, and all the islands but three from Tybee to St. Simons. Unfortunately the Indians were allowed to reserve for their use in hunting, bathing and fishing the islands of Ossabaw, Sapela and St. Catharines, which were within the limits of the English domain. This reservation was a source of trouble afterwards.

At the conclusion of the treaty, To-mo-chi-chi invited the members of the convention to his own town near by, where they spent the night in feasting and dancing. The treaty was signed on the 21st, when the governor distributed the following presents among the Indians A laced coat and a laced hat and shirt to each of the chiefs to each of the warriors, a gun and a mantle of duffils (a coarse woolen cloth with nap and fringe), and to all their attendants coarse cloth for clothing; a barrel of gunpowder; four kegs of bullets a piece of broadcloth a piece of Irish linen a cask of tobacco pipes eight belts and cutlasses with gilt handles tape, and of all colors; eight kegs of rum to be carried home to their towns one pound of powder, one pound of bullets, and as much provision for each one as they pleased to take for their journey home. Rum appears to have been freely used at first in Georgia. In the minutes of the trustees, under date of August 11, 1733, is the following record Read a letter from Mr. Oglethorpe with an account of the death of several persons in Georgia, which he imputed to the drinking of rum. "Resolved, That the drinking of rum in Georgia be absolutely prohibited, and that all which be brought there be staved." This was a short but pretty effectual prohibitory law.

In the spring of 1734, Oglethorpe went to England, leaving the colony in the care of others. Believing that a sight of England, its inhabitants and evidences of its power, by some of the Indians, would increase the reverence of the savages for Englishmen and add strength and permanence to the colony, he invited To-mo-chi-chi and some of his friends to go with him. The invitation was accepted, and the old Creek monarch with his queen, See-naw-ki; their adopted son and nephew, Too-na-ho-wi and five chiefs, went on the voyage. The vessel reached England in June, when Oglethorpe sent a letter to his friend, Sir John Phillips, in which he spoke of To-mo-chi-chi as an aged chief, the mico or king of Yamacraw, a man of an excellent understanding, so desirous of hearing the young people taught the English language and religion, that, notwithstanding his advanced age, he has come over with me to obtain means and assistant teachers. He has brought with him a young man whom he calls his nephew and next heir, and who has already learned the Lord's prayer in the English and the Indian language. The reception of the governor and his dusky friends was cordial. The Indians were objects of great curiosity, none having been seen in England since Schuyler took some Mohawk kings to the court of Queen Anne. To-mo-chi-chi was made the subject of an ode of eleven stanzas of ten lines each, the first

of which was as follows:

"What stranger this? and from what region far? This wondrous form, majestic to behold? Uncloath'd but arm'd offensive for the war, In hoary age and wise experience old? His limbs inured to hardiness and toil, His strong large limbs what mighty sinews brace! Whilst truth sincere and artless virtue smile In the expressive features of his face, His hold, free aspect speaks the inward mind, Arm'd by no slavish fear, from no vile passion blind."

On the first of August the Indians were conveyed in three of the royal coaches, each drawn by six horses, to Kensington palace, to have an interview with the king. They had been dressed at the office of the trustees in English costume. To-mo-chi-chi and his queen in scarlet and gold. The chiefs, less gorgeously attired, had their faces painted according to their home-custom. They were received at the door of the palace by the royal body-guard and conducted to the presence of the king and queen, who were seated on thrones. Then To-mo-chi-chi presented some eagle's feathers to the monarch, and said:

"This day I see the majesty of your face, the greatness of your house, and the number of your people. I am come for the good of the whole nation called the Creeks, to renew the peace which was long ago had with the English. I am come over in my old days, although I cannot live to see any advantage to myself. I am come for the good of the children of all the nations of the Upper and Lower Creeks, that they may be instructed in the knowledge of the English.

"These are the feathers of the eagle which is the swiftest of birds, and who flieth all around our nations. These feathers are a sign of peace in our land, and have been carried from town to town there; and we have brought them over to leave with you, O great king! as a sign of everlasting peace. O great king! whatsoever words you shall say to me, I will tell them faithfully to all the kings of the Creek nations."

The sovereign gave a gracious answer to this speech, assuring the old chief that he and his people might rely upon the friendship of the English. Then they withdrew. A cloud was upon their spirits. One of the chiefs, a brother of queen See-naw-ki, was very sick with the small-pox. He soon died, and was buried with the custom of his country as nearly as possible. Then Oglethorpe took the whole party to his estate, where they bewailed their loss for several days. After remaining four months in England, and becoming deeply impressed with the greatness of the English people, To-mo-chi-chi and his company returned to Georgia, in the company of a considerable number of new emigrants. The Indians were conveyed to the ship at Gravesend, in the royal coaches, bearing with them presents valued at two thousand dollars. The Prince of Wales had given to To-mo-chi-chi's heir a gold watch, with an injunction to call upon Jesus Christ every morning, when he looked on it. They reached Savannah late in December, 1734. Among the emigrants was an English baronet (Francis Parkhurst) and his family, and fifty-six Saltzburghers newly arrived from Rotterdam.

Oglethorpe did not return to Georgia until the beginning of 1736, when he was received with

joy by the colonists and the Indians. He took with him several cannon and about one hundred and fifty Scotch Highlanders, well skilled in the military art, who constituted the first army in Georgia during its early struggles. With him also came the Rev. John Wesley, the founder of the Methodist Church, and his brother Charles, who came to preach the gospel to the heathen. To Mr. Wesley, To-mo-chi-chi remarked: "I am glad you are come. When I was in England, I desired that some one would speak the great word to me. I will go up and speak to the wise men of my nation, and hope they will hear. But we would not be made Christians as the Spaniards make Christians; we would be taught before we are baptized."

With a population of more than five hundred souls with a military force, and with means for religious instruction, the foundations of the colony of Georgia, were now firmly laid. And had the wisdom of the trustees been equal to their benevolence, immediate and great prosperity would have been visible. But they bound the colonists by such unwise rules and regulations that their energies were cramped, and it seemed, at one time, as if the grand object of the trustees, and the hopes of Englishmen, would be frustrated.

We have now considered the more prominent events in the history of the planting of settlements in America, and the development of many of them into permanent colonies. The ingredients of the story are highly picturesque. The simple outline picture, when drawn from nature with fidelity, possesses marvelous interest to the student of human nature. The imagination may not conceive incidents more romantic than those which sober truth reveals in the career of men and women who came from Europe to explore and make homes in the wilds of America. Nearly all of them were impelled to the undertaking by those powerful motives of human action, - avarice, ambition or the love of liberty. In all of the earlier adventurers and settlers, we see these passions dominating all others. The discoverers stand out on the page of history as grand heroes, worthy of a representation on the shield of Achilles. In the delineation of their deeds and of those of their followers who occupied what they discovered, faith, hope, courage, hardihood, fortitude, indomitable perseverance and untiring energy, are prominent features in the picture. These were the necessary elements of success in the wide and wild fields of adventure, and were ever present in great abundance when required in laying the foundations of our Republic.

We will now consider the processes by which small settlements grew into great commonwealths in the form of British-American colonies.

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Overview of Our Country: Volume 2

A history of the United States from the discovery of America to the present time (1905). Volume 2 of 8 covers the Virginia Colonists and the first public Thanksgiving in New England through the capture of Detroit and the fate of Pontiac.

Chapter XXIV

The Virginia Colonists - Introduction of Slaves from Africa - Young Women Sent to Virginia - Families and Schools Established There - Constitution of Virginia - Better Prospects - Massacre by Indians - Retaliation - Pestilence - The New British Monarch - An Unpopular Government Deposed - Sir William Berkeley - Another Massacre by the Indians - Death of the Indian Emperor - End of the Confederacy - Berkeley and Royalty - The "Old Dominion."

WE have observed that in Virginia was first established a permanent English colony in our country, when, in 1619, Governor Yeardley organized representative government there, and so laid the foundations of a commonwealth. The tribe of gold-seekers had disappeared forever; but the unwholesome influences of a tribe of felons from the prisons of England, which the king had ordered to be sent to Virginia - a hundred in number - was yet felt in the scandal it had brought upon the colony, and in their demoralizing example. Captain Smith declared that they gave Virginia such a bad reputation, "that some did choose to be hanged ere they would go thither, and were."

Another element was introduced into Virginia society in 1619, which had a powerful influence over the destinies, not only of that colony, but of the nation of which it afterward formed a part. Just at sunset, on a hot evening in August, a Dutch trading vessel arrived from the coast of Guinea with a strange cargo of living creatures for sale. They were black men and women who had been stolen from their homes on that coast and destined for slaves. The planters had heard of the capacity of Africans for enduring labor in warm regions, and they purchased twenty of them - fourteen men and six women. They found them to be good workers and very docile. Others were imported; and so was begun the system of negro slavery in our country - a stain which was washed out with blood almost two centuries and a half afterwards, when the servile race numbered about four million.

At about the same time another element was introduced into Virginia society, which exerted a most healthful and beneficent influence over the colony. The wise Sir Edwin Sandys, who had lately been appointed treasurer of the London Company, had, for the purpose of effecting a

reform, entered upon a thorough and fearless investigation of the abuses which had attended the colonization of Virginia, and retarded its progress. It was then twelve years since the first emigrants landed at Jamestown. A large amount of money had been spent in sending persons to people the region, and yet there were only about six hundred Europeans there when Sandys entered upon his duties. He pursued his purpose with zeal, and very soon he purged Virginia of its bad name. His reputation for candor and other virtues were so well known, that within the space of one year he persuaded more than twelve hundred emigrants to go to the James River. He had patriotic colleagues in the Board, and they effected a wonderful change in the fortunes of the colony.

The English settlers, more delicate in their tastes and habits than the French and Portuguese, would not marry the Indian women, and very few English women had ventured to cross the Atlantic. Therefore the planters of Virginia had not the comforts and sacred connections of married life. Few of them expected to remain in the colony. Most of them looked for a return to England when they should acquire a competency. They were unsettled, and unfitted for patient industry. The sagacious Sandys clearly perceived their needs and the remedy. He proposed to send over to Virginia one hundred virtuous and attractive young English women from the middle class in society, to become wives for the planters, the cost of the transportation of each to be paid by the husband who should choose her.

The scheme involved a half-social, half-commercial speculation. It was tried and succeeded. Ninety young women of the class named were induced to go to Virginia early in 1620. When they arrived at Jamestown, they were landed from the ship in small boats. The shore was covered by young planters who came to see the disembarkation of the novel and precious cargo. Led by the rector of the parish, these maidens walked in procession to the church, where thanksgivings were offered to their Maker for their preservation from the perils of the sea. The church was crowded and within the space of a few days, every maiden was wooed and won by the young planters. Love at first sight was the rule. Several nuptials occurred in the church at the same time. According to contemporary witnesses, the seeming indelicacy of the transaction was qualified by the true affection which prevailed among the married couples, most of them being happily mated. The young matrons sent word home for other maidens to come, and sixty more, "young and handsome," arrived at Jamestown the next year. Others followed.

The price of a wife was at first fixed at one hundred and twenty pounds of tobacco, then the currency of the colony. The money value was about ninety dollars. It finally arose to one hundred and fifty dollars. A debt incurred for a wife was regarded as a confidential one. It took precedence of all others. To encourage wedding, the Company gave preference to married men in conferring employments. The salutary effects of the scheme and of this policy were soon visible in the colony. Homes - fire-sides - family altars - the purest and strongest elements in the foundations of a virtuous and prosperous state, were established. Domestic ties so created, promoted personal virtue and habits of thrift. Men no longer talked of returning to England, but called Virginia their home. Emigration rapidly swelled the population, and before the close of 1621, fifty patents had been granted for land, and there were three thousand five hundred

inhabitants of European blood in Virginia. Settlements had been already made so remote from the capital as the Falls of the James River, where Richmond now stands. Below there, at what is known as Dutch Gap (so called because Germans were employed to cut a new channel for the river across a narrow isthmus there), a town had been founded which was named Henricopolis, and there a church had been built and a grammar-school established for the education of Indian children. When the school was endowed with money and thousands of acres of land, the dignified title of The University of Henrico was given to it. The church, the college and the town have long ago crumbled into ruins, which no longer attract the eye of the curious or the scrutiny of the antiquary.

The blessings of marriage created the necessity for making provision for the education of children. English Bishops and other philanthropists collected money for the purpose. The colonists bore a share of the burden. Other schools beside that of Henrico were established in which Indian children were also taught. Finally, in the reign of William and Mary, more than seventy years after the emigration of the maidens, a college was established at Williamsburg, the new capital of Virginia, which still flourishes, and yet bears the names of those sovereigns.

In the year 1621, the London Company granted a written constitution to the Virginia colonists, modeled after that of England, but exceedingly simple the Pilgrims in the May-Flower, more democratic, gave to themselves a written constitution at about the same time, fashioned to meet the circumstances of their case, and still more simple. A century and a half afterward, as we shall discover, the inhabitants of these two colonies, then founded, were leaders in the great struggle for that political independence which these early constitutions foreshadowed. The Virginia constitution provided for a governor and council to be appointed by the Company, and a popular legislative body to be chosen by the people, and called the House of Burgesses. Each settlement was allowed two burgesses, and these, with the governor and council, composed the General Assembly. That Assembly exercised full legislative power, but none of its acts were valid until they received the sanction of the Company in London. With unexampled justice, it was also provided that no orders from the Company should be binding on the colonists, unless they should be, in like manner, ratified by the General Assembly. This was the work of the Earl of Southampton (the bosom friend of Shakespeare), Sir Edwin Sandys and the patriotic party in England, who were careful to imbue public life in Virginia with the principles of popular freedom. It was at the dawn of that eventful day of political disputes in England which resulted in the beheading of her king and the abolition of monarchy for a season.

When Sir Francis Wyatt came to Virginia, bringing with him the new constitution, he was pleased with the aspect of everything around him and the colonists rejoiced in the prospect of long years of peace and prosperity before them. The atmosphere of their daily life appeared perfectly serene. There was no cloud in the firmament. But at that moment a fearful tempest was brooding, in restraint, in the forests around them. Powhatan, the friend of the English, was dead, and his younger brother, the subtle, treacherous and truly savage Opechancanough (the captor of Smith in the forest), was then wielding the sceptre of his empire. He could command fifteen hundred warriors to do his bidding. He hated the English intensely, and inspired his followers with the

same passion yet lie feigned the warmest friendship for them, and deceived them with Satanic smiles. He believed that the English intended to seize the lands of his empire and exterminate his race, and his patriotism impelled him to strike a blow for his country and countrymen.

Opechancanough used various arts to inflame the anger of the Indians against the English. He had a rival in the admiration of his people, who had shown himself to be a bitter enemy of the colonists. For the double purpose of ridding himself of this rival and exciting the anger of his nation against the English, the emperor sent word to Governor Wyatt that he gave him liberty to cut that man's throat. Such an act would surely have aroused the savages into furious war. It was not done but, unfortunately, in an affray with a settler, the man was shot. The wily emperor pretended to bewail his loss, and so he fired the resentment of the Indians against the English. Then he went secretly to the governor, half-clad in skins, his head plumed with eagle's feathers, and bearing in his belt a finely-wrought hatchet. After making warm professions of friendship, he demanded in a haughty tone, some concessions to his incensed people. His demand was refused, and forgetting himself for a moment, he snatched the hatchet from his belt and struck its keen blade into a log of the cabin, uttering a curse upon the English. His words fell like a fearful revelation upon the mind of the governor. Instantly recovering himself the savage smiled, and said blandly: "Pardon me, governor; I was thinking of that wicked Englishman [Argall] who stole my niece [Pocahontas], and struck me with his sword. I love the English who are the friends of the family of Powhatan. Sooner will the skies fall than my bond of friendship with the English shall be dissolved."

Sir Francis warned his people that there was treachery abroad. They were slow to believe it. There had never been a war with the Indians. Their settlements were scattered - some of them in solitary places - and yet no one had ever been disturbed by the savages since the happy marriage of Pocahontas. So secure had they felt, that they had broken a law which forbade the teaching of the use of fire-arms to the Indians, and had employed them to hunt with the musket. In the midst of this calm of confidence, the tempest suddenly burst upon the colony. At midday, on the 1st of April [the 22nd of March, old style], 1622, the Indians rushed from the forests upon all of the remote settlements at a pre-concerted time, and in the space of an hour three hundred and fifty men, women and children were slain. Even the devoted missionary at Henrico, who had instructed the children of the savages and tenderly nursed the young and old in sickness, was not spared. Among the victims were six members of the council and several of the wealthier inhabitants. On the very morning of the massacre, the treacherous savages were in the houses and at the tables of those whom they intended to murder at noon.

The people at Jamestown were saved by Chanco, a Christian Indian, who heard of the conspiracy in the evening before the massacre. He hastened to Jamestown to warn a friend of impending danger. The alarm spread, but it was too late to reach the more remote settlements. The people at Jamestown were prepared to meet the assassins, and so averted the blow which might have extinguished the colony. Those at a distance, who survived the carnage, beat back the savages and then fled to Jamestown. In the course of a few days, eighty inhabited plantations were reduced to eight. But a large part of the colony was saved.

The people thus gathered at Jamestown by a terrible necessity prepared for vengeance. A vindictive and exterminating war was immediately waged. Every man capable of bearing arms appeared in the field, and fearful retaliating blows were given. The English spread death and desolation over the peninsula between the York and James rivers. The Indians were slaughtered by scores, or driven far back into the wilderness. Opechancanough fled for his life to the land of the Pamunkeys, and lost much of his influence by a show of cowardice. His power was broken, and the strength of his people had departed. Before the war, there were about six thousand Indians within sixty miles of Jamestown, occupying a domain eight thousand square miles in extent at the close of the war, there were probably not a thousand within that territory.

The blight of war, pestilence and famine fell upon the colony. Sickness prevailed among the people, who were gathered into a narrow space for mutual protection. Large areas of land were left uncultivated and many of the settlers, discouraged and terrified, returned to England. The colony of almost four thousand souls was soon reduced to twenty-five hundred; and these never retired at night with all assurance that they would not hear the savage war-whoop before the dawn.

The sufferings of the colonists excited the liveliest sympathy in England. Ships were sent with supplies. The mean king made it the occasion for a false show of generosity. He sent to the colonists a number of guns from the Tower of London, which had been cast aside as useless in Europe.

"They may serve the people," said the king, "against ignorant and naked heathen salvages." The generous Captain Smith, deeply interested in the fate of the colony he had helped to found, offered his services to the Company to lead an expedition to overawe the Indians and to protect the people. Some of the Company, moved by inordinate greed more than by compassion for the colonists, offered to give Smith permission to lead an expedition at his own expense, provided he would give the Company one-half the plunder.

The meddlesome King James, finding a majority of the London Company surely drifting toward republicanism, and disliking the freedom of debate in the General Assembly of Virginia, resolved to control the Company and the colony. "The Virginia House of Burgesses," said Gondamar, "the Spanish envoy at the English court, is but a seminary to a seditious Parliament." The king believed it and at the election of officers for the Company in 1622, he tried to control the choice of candidates. He failed. Then he determined to deprive the Company of their charter, and, by taking control of the affairs of the corporation, regain what he had lost by granting them the liberal third charter. He sent a commission to Virginia, composed of his pliable instruments, to inquire into the affairs of the colony. They tried to coax and frighten the House of Burgesses into a relinquishment of the rights guaranteed to them by the terms of the charter. Finding these representatives of the people firm in support of their liberties, the commissioners recommended a dissolution of the charter. A pliant judiciary assisted the king in the measure, and in July, 1624, the patent was canceled and Virginia became a royal province again. No material change was made in the domestic affairs of the colony. The monarch appointed Sir Francis Wyatt governor,

with twelve councillors of state, but wisely refrained from interfering with the House of Burgesses. He boasted that he would make the colony more prosperous than ever, but he died soon afterward, and was succeeded by his son, Charles the First, on the 6th of April, 1625.

King Charles was a thorough disciple of his father in the science of what James was pleased to call kingcraft, the prime elements of which, as he exhibited it, were lying and deception. He was also as bigoted as his father in his belief in the doctrine of the divine right of kings to govern the people absolutely, and the sacredness of the royal prerogative or the enjoyment of special privileges not accorded to the people. He was only twenty-five years of age when he ascended the throne; and he was a pliant tool in the hands of the Duke of Buckingham, his father's base court favorite, who assisted in bringing to England as the queen of the young king, a Roman Catholic French princess, sister of the monarch of France. Three months after he became king, Charles received the princess at Dover and married her at Canterbury; but they did not enter London for some time because of the ravages of an epidemic there, by which over thirty-five thousand persons perished.

The queen brought with her a retinue of priests and other Roman Catholic attendants. The Protestant sentiment of a majority of the English people was alarmed. This fact, combined with the character of the king, which was uniformly marked by insincerity, deception, falsehood and treachery - the fruits of the favorite's training - made him feared, hated and despised by the honest portion of his friends, as well as his foes, and brought swift trouble upon himself and his country. There were causes which nourished opposition to monarchy, and cherished discontents. These soon led to a civil war, the beheading of the king, and the abolition of monarchy in England for a season. Such was the sovereign with whom the American colonists had to deal for many years, while England was in a state of transition from absolutism or the unbridled rule of the monarch, to constitutional liberty or the enjoyment of rights guaranteed to the people by a constitution respected by the sovereign because his subjects have the power to enforce it. It was a state which Charles would not comprehend; and his stupid obstinacy plunged his country into war with itself, and also with France and Spain.

Charles did not materially change the political situation of the Virginians. His appointment of Sir George Yeardly, the magistrate who had established representative government in Virginia, was a guaranty that no such change would take place. But the king, who was selfish as well as weak, sought to enlarge his private fortune out of the profits of the industry of the Virginia planters of tobacco. He gave them the monopoly of production for the market of England, saying: "It may be well said that the plantation is built wholly on smoke which will easily turn into air, if either English tobacco be permitted to be planted or Spanish be imported." At the same time, he forbade the tobacco-growers selling their products to any persons excepting such as the king had appointed his agents. Among these agents was Sir John Harvey, who had been one of the governor's council, and who has been represented as a rapacious, unscrupulous, avaricious and cruel royalist.

These arrangements did not disturb the Virginians, and the colony prospered until Harvey was

made governor in 1629, two years after the death of Yearly. In 1628, not less than a thousand English people emigrated to Virginia. But the advent of Harvey in 1630 was the beginning of confusion. He was represented by his political foes as an enemy of the people, and he made himself unpopular because he advocated and promoted a system of land grants which would tend to place the soil of the province into the possession of a few landed aristocracy - and so be injurious to the prosperity of the colony. In various ways he offended the Republicans. Violent disputes arose, and after a war of words for several years, the House of Burgesses deposed Harvey and sent commissioners to England with an impeachment. The governor went with the commissioners. The king refused to hear any complaints against his agent, and sent him back clothed with power to rule the state independently of the people.

Harvey was succeeded in 1639 by Sir Francis Wyatt, whose administration was an uneventful one. It ended in February, 1642, when Sir William Berkeley, brother of Lord Berkeley (one of the earliest English proprietors of New Jersey), arrived at Jamestown with the commission of chief magistrate of Virginia. He was a fine specimen of a young English courtier, only thirty-two years of age. Handsome in person, educated at Oxford, polished by extensive travel on the continent and possessing exquisite taste in dress, he was one of the most elegant of the cavaliers of his time. Some salutary measures which he adopted at the beginning of his administration for the benefit of the people made him popular in Virginia; and his natural suavity of manners, and the generous hospitality dispensed at his mansion at Green Spring, not far from Jamestown, sustained that popularity for many years. He was a staunch loyalist, but not a bigoted one and so prudent was the method of his adhesion to the cause of the king during the civil war from 1641 to 1649, that a greater part of the Virginians were in sympathy with him. There was a party for the Parliament, in Virginia, but it was not sufficiently strong to show any serious opposition to royal rule. The colonists were warmly attached to the Church of England, yet there were many Puritans there, for toleration had been the rule - Puritans had even been invited to come, with their ministers, when the peculiar character of the revolution, then going on in England, brought religious sects into political prominence. The Puritans in England were identified with the Republicans in their struggle with royalty. Governor Berkeley was of the cavalier class, and despised the non-conformists. He perceived that a great majority of the inhabitants of Virginia were warmly attached to the Church of England, and he conceived that to tolerate Puritanism in Virginia was to nurture a Republican party there. So he decreed that no Puritan minister should preach or teach publicly, except in accordance with the constitution of the Church of England. This was soon followed by the banishment of nonconformists from the colony. It was a calamity but a heavier one soon fell upon the Virginians.

Ever since the massacre by the Indians in 1622, there had remained a deadly hostility between the two races. In 1643, the Virginia Assembly decreed that no terms of peace should be entertained with the Indians. Opechancanough was yet living and past ninety years of age. He had been on the Pamunkey, nursing his wrath for twenty years. Prudence only had restrained his nature, and now he was too old and feeble to make war, on his feet. But his malice was as keen and his will as strong as they had ever been in the days of his prime.

When, at length, Thomas Holfe, the son of Pocahontas, and then nearly thirty years of age, came from England by consent of the Virginia Assembly to visit his uncle, the aged emperor, and Cleopatra the sister of his mother, Opechancanough heard from his lips about the war between the English factions. The old emperor concluded that the time for him to strike a vengeful blow had arrived. He sent runners throughout his empire, and very soon a confederacy was formed over an area many hundred square miles in extent for the extermination of the Europeans. A day was fixed for the execution of the scheme. The confederates were to begin at the frontiers and, sweep the country to the sea. Opechancanough was carried at the head of his warriors, on a litter, when early in April, 1644, the savages began their horrid work. In the space of two days they slew more than three hundred of the settlers, sparing none who fell in their way. So they almost depopulated the region of the Pamunkey and York rivers. Governor Berkeley met the murderers with an armed force, and drove them back with great slaughter. Their old monarch was taken prisoner, and carried in triumph to Jamestown. He was so much exhausted that he could not raise his eyelids, and in that forlorn condition he was mortally wounded by a bullet from the gun of an English soldier who guarded him, and who was impelled by the remembrance of the bereavements he had suffered at the hands of the Indians, and of the agency of the old chief in the matter. The people out of curiosity gathered around the dying emperor. Just before he expired, hearing the hum of a multitude, he asked one of his attendants to raise his eyelids. When he observed the crowd, he raised himself from the ground, and in a haughty tone commanded an officer near him to summon the governor before him. When the magistrate came, the old monarch said, as fiery indignation gave strength to his voice "Had it been my fortune to have taken Sir William Berkeley prisoner, I would not meanly have exposed him as a show to my people." He then stretched himself upon the earth and died.

With Opechancanough expired the Powhatan confederacy. After ceding large tracts of land to the Virginians, the chiefs acknowledged allegiance to the authorities of the province, and so passed away the political life of that once powerful empire. The colonists then had peace and prosperity. In 1648, there were twenty thousand Europeans in Virginia. "The cottages were filled with children, as the ports with ships and emigrants." The people were loyal to Charles because he left them in the enjoyment of liberty. They felt none of the oppressions, nor were they distracted by the disputes which afflicted their kindred at home. They exercised the freedom of an independent government; and when the king was beheaded, they opened wide their hospitable arms to the cavaliers who fled in horror from England. Many of these fugitives were of the gentry, nobility and clergy They were valuable additions to the refined society of Virginia, and strengthened the royal cause in that province. When the king was slain, the Virginians acknowledged his exiled son as their sovereign; and Sir William Berkeley conducted the affairs of the colony as governor, under a commission sent to him by that prince, from Breda, in Flanders. Virginia was the last country belonging to England that submitted to the government of the rulers of the commonwealth which succeeded the monarchy.

The Republican Parliament was offended by this persistent attachment to royalty, and in the early spring of 1652, sent Sir George Ayscue with a powerful fleet to reduce the Virginians to submission. It bore commissioners of the Parliament, who were clothed with power to exercise

conciliatory or harsh measures - to compromise, or to proclaim freedom to the slaves and to put arms in their hands to make slaves of their masters. Berkeley met the commissioners with firmness. They were astonished at the boldness of the Virginians, and deemed it more prudent to compromise than to coerce. They made satisfactory arrangements, by which the political freedom of the colonists was guaranteed. Berkeley disdained to make any stipulation for himself with those whom he regarded as usurpers, and he withdrew to his plantation at Green Spring, where he lived in retirement as a private person. The Virginians then elected Richard Bennet, governor. When news of the preparation of an armament for the subjugation of the colony reached Virginia, Berkeley and the cavalier party resolved not to submit, and they sent a messenger to Breda to invite Prince Charles to come over and be their king. He was preparing to come, with his mother and some others of his family, when affairs took a turn in England which foreshadowed a speedy restoration of the monarchy there. That event occurred in 1660, when the prince ascended the throne of his father, as Charles the Second, at the age of thirty years. The monarch did not forget the loyalty of the Virginians. He caused the arms of that province to be quartered with those of England, Scotland and Ireland, as an independent member of his empire. From this circumstance the title of the Old Dominion was given to Virginia. Coins, with these quarterings, were struck as late as 1773.

Chapter XXV

Berkeley an Oppressor - Republicanism in Virginia - Royal Favorites Enriched - Condition of the Virginians - War with the Indians - Berkeley's Bad Conduct - Bacon's Rebellion - Berkeley's Cruelties - A Breach of Privilege - A Profligate Governor - Virginians Impoverished and Degraded by Misrule - Political Troubles in England - White Slaves in Virginia - Growth of Republicanism There - The Revolution of 1688.

THE Virginians soon felt the deep significance of the injunction "Put not your trust in princes." When Matthews died (1660), whom Cromwell had appointed Governor of Virginia, the people elected Berkeley. He refused to serve, excepting under royal appointment and he went to England to congratulate Charles on his accession to the throne, where he was graciously received by the sovereign. The king spoke very kindly of the Virginians, because of their loyalty, and praised them as "the best of his distant children." These manifestations of love were the velvet coverings of the iron hand which soon afterwards signed those decrees of a pliant Parliament which deeply oppressed the Virginians by restrictions upon their commerce, their political franchises and their religious liberty.

Charles gave Berkeley a new commission, and he returned to Virginia prepared to execute his master's will in full. At an election of members for a new House of Burgesses, the candidates of the cavaliers and land-owners were chosen, and Berkeley had as pliant an assembly of royalists as his king possessed in the Parliament. Navigation laws, oppressive to the commerce of the colony, were passed, and Berkeley executed them. Marriage laws, the freedom of elections and almost every other franchise possessed by the people were modified, abridged or abolished. The Church of England was made supreme, and persecution with its fiery broom attempted to sweep, Baptists, Friends and other Puritans out of Virginia. When Owen, the bold Quaker preacher, stood with his head covered with his hat before the court at whose bar he had been summoned, and said meekly but firmly, "Tender consciences obey the laws of God however they suffer," the angry reply of the court, in the spirit of the age, was "There is no toleration for wicked consciences." Berkeley enforced the laws and Friends and Puritans sought peace and a refuge in the wilds of upper North Carolina, where they formed settlements.

Less tolerant and just than when he was younger and weaker, Berkeley, in the later years of his administration, drifted, in thought and action, with the cavaliers, who hated everything that marked the character of the Puritans. They despised the popular education and consequent elevation of the "common people of New England" and Berkeley wrote, some years after the restoration of monarchy, I thank God there are no free schools nor printing in Virginia, and I hope we shall not have them these hundred years. For learning has brought heresy and disobedience and sects into the world, and printing has divulged them, and libels against the best government; God keep us from both!

Stimulated by oppression, republicanism grew vigorously in Virginia. The men of toil, and righteous ones of the aristocracy, soon formed a powerful republican party. Their strength was

increased by the rank injustice of the king, who seems not to have had a clear perception of right and wrong. He gave to profligate favorites large tracts of land in Virginia, some of them under cultivation and in 1673, he actually gave to Lord Culpepper, a cunning and covetous member of the Commission for Trade and Plantations, and the Earl of Arlington, a heartless spendthrift, all the dominion of land and water, called "Virginia," for the term of thirty-one years.

This act excited the alarm of the more thoughtful men of the aristocratic assembly, and a committee was appointed to carry a remonstrance to the king. Its mission was unfruitful. The republicans were inflamed with just indignation, and rebellious murmurs were heard everywhere. The toiling people were made to regard the aristocracy as their natural enemies. The latter had the power to promote the welfare of the people at large, but omitted to do so. Everything of a public character was neglected. There were no roads or bridges in Virginia. In boats and along bridle-paths the people were compelled to travel, and to ford or swim the streams. There were no schools. Every planter was compelled to be his own mechanic. Most of the houses of the toilers were mean log huts with unglazed windows, Villages nowhere existed, for the inhabitants were scattered over a wide domain. Even the capital of the colony consisted only of a church, state house and eighteen dwellings at the time we are considering, and the Assembly had, until lately, met in the hall of an alehouse.

Meanwhile, the large land-owners were living in luxury in fine mansions in sight of some beautiful rivers. They were surrounded by slaves or indentured servants, and were engaged in a sort of patriarchal life. At the same time Governor Berkeley was clamoring for an increase of salary, while in his stables and his fields he had seventy horses; and large flocks of sheep whitened the broad acres of the Green Spring plantation. The "common people" saw clearly that the tendency of circumstances in Virginia was toward a rich landed aristocracy and an impoverished peasantry, and they longed for a pretext and an opportunity to assert their natural rights. That pretext and opportunity soon appeared.

In the summer of 1675, the Indians, in despair, invaded Virginia from the north. When they were sweeping through Maryland, John Washington, the great-grandfather of our Beloved Patriot, met them with a force of Virginians. A fierce border war ensued. Governor Berkeley, who hid the monopoly of the beaver trade with the Indians, and was willing to be just, treated them leniently. When he heard that six of their chiefs who came to treat for peace had been treacherously murdered by Englishmen, he exclaimed with warmth "Had they killed all of my nearest relations, yet if they had come to treat of peace they ought to have gone in peace."

Fired by this treachery, the savages swept over the country between the Rappahannock and the James rivers, strewing their pathway with death and desolation. They ceased not to kill until their wrath was appeased by the slaughter of at least ten Englishmen for each of their chiefs slain. Insecurity was everywhere felt, and dread filled every cabin. The apparent supineness of the governor in the presence of the great peril, aroused the people to vigorous action. Led by the young and wealthy Nathaniel Bacon, a planter and lawyer on the James, who was fluent in speech and bold in action, and who was very popular, they petitioned the governor for leave to arm and

protect themselves. The governor had reason to suspect Bacon of ambitious rather than patriotic motives, for he had been concerned in a partial insurrection the previous year, suffered imprisonment and had been generously pardoned by the executive. So Berkeley refused their petition.

The impetuous Bacon took fire at this refusal. He knew the hidden cause. He at once proclaimed that he was ready to lead the people against the dusky invaders, without permission, if another white person should be murdered. Very soon the news came that some on his own plantation, near Richmond, had been slain. The people gathered under the shadows of a great tulip tree to consult. Bacon was among them. He mounted a stump and with impassioned eloquence stirred their hearts as if with electric fire. He denounced the governor as neglectful or imbecile, and advised his hearers to take up arms in their own defense.

The excited colonists followed Bacon's advice. The multitude were soon embodied in military form, and chose Bacon to be their general. He asked the governor to give him a commission in confirmation of the expressed will of the people. Berkeley refused, and Bacon marched against the Indians. He had not yet crossed the York River, when the governor, yielding to the bad advice of an aristocratic faction in the Assembly, proclaimed him to be a rebel and ordered his followers to disperse. A few weak-kneed Peters obeyed, but a large portion clung to Bacon's standard. He led the expedition forward. At the same time the lower settlements arose in insurrection, and demanded the immediate dissolution of the aristocratic Assembly.

Bacon drove the Indians back toward the Rappahannock. A new Assembly was chosen, and he was elected to a seat in the House of Burgesses, from Henrico county.

The new Assembly represented popular opinion in Virginia, and in their legislation they proceeded upon the principles of freedom, justice and humanity, and the governor and his fellow cavaliers were compelled to yield at all points. The Assembly voted to give the required commission to Bacon, but Berkeley refused to sign it. Some of the members were disposed to support him in the refusal. Bacon, fearing treachery, retired to the Middle Plantation (now Williamsburg), where he was soon surrounded by about five hundred followers who proclaimed him commander-in-chief of the Virginia forces. With these he marched to Jamestown and demanded his commission. The governor, regarding the movement as rebellious, again refused to sign it. In an angry moment the old cavalier went out and confronted the insurgents. Baring his bosom to their weapons, he cried out "Shoot, shoot it is a fair mark!" Bacon said respectfully: "Not a hair of your head shall be hurt we have come for our commissions to save our lives from the Indians."

The passion of the governor soon yielded to his judgment or his fears, and he not only signed the commission but joined his council in commending Bacon to the king as a zealous, loyal, and patriotic citizen. That was done on the 4th of July, 1676, just one hundred years to a day before the representatives of English-American colonies signed the famous document written by a Virginia rebel, "which declared these colonies to be free and independent States."

On receiving his commission; Bacon marched against the savages beyond the York River. Berkeley appears to have learned lessons of faithlessness from his immoral king, in his old age, for as soon as Bacon had departed, the governor went over the York into Gloucester county, called a convention of the inhabitants, and proposed to proclaim Bacon a traitor. The convention, though loyal, spurned the proposition, when the proud and obstinate baron issued such a proclamation in spite of their remonstrances. When the news of this perfidy reached Bacon, in his camp on the Pamunkey River, he said: "It vexes me to the heart, that while I am hunting the wolves and tigers that destroy our lands, I should, myself, be pursued as a savage. Shall persons wholly devoted to their king and country-men hazarding their lives against the public enemy deserve the appellation of rebels and traitors? The whole country is witness to our peaceable behavior. But those in authority, how have they obtained their estates? Have they not devoured the common treasury? What arts, what sciences, what learning have they promoted? I appeal to the king and Parliament, where the cause of the people will be heard impartially."

Bacon felt compelled, by the action of the governor, to lead in a revolution. He invited the Virginians to meet in convention at the Middle Plantation, to devise means for saving the colony from the grasp of tyranny. The best men in the colony hastened to the gathering. From noon until midnight on a warm August day, that convention debated and deliberated, Bacon's eloquence and logic led them to vigorous action, and the whole assemblage took an oath to support their leader in subduing the Indians and preventing civil war.

In the strength of these popular pledges, Bacon proceeded against the savages. The governor, alarmed by the demonstration at the Middle Plantation, fled, with some of his council, to the eastern shore of the Chesapeake, where, by promises of booty, he tried to raise an army among the inhabitants and the seamen of English ships in the ports. This movement demanded prompt action on the part of Bacon. With this leader was the brave William Drummond, who had been the first governor of North Carolina. He was accompanied by his wife Sarah, who was as brave as he. She did much to inspire the Virginians - civilians and soldiers - with courage to go on in revolution; and she was denounced as a "notorious and wicked rebel." When her husband proposed to declare Berkeley's flight from Jamestown to be an abdication of government, and the appointment of another in his place, and it was suggested that a power would then come from England that would ruin the republicans of the colony, Sarah Drummond, who knew that the realm was then distracted by factions, snatched up a small stick from the ground, and exclaimed: "I fear the power of England no more than a broken straw." "The child that is unborn," she said, "shall have cause to rejoice for the good that will come by the rising of the county."

Drummond's proposition was agreed to. Government in the colony was declared to be abdicated by Berkeley, and that he was fomenting civil war; and Bacon and four of his colleagues issued writs for a representative convention of the people. Meanwhile Berkeley had gathered a motley host of followers on the eastern shore, many of them allured by hopes of plunder. He had proclaimed freedom to the slaves of rebels who should join his standard. The English vessels on that coast were placed at his service, and some Indians joined him. With this army under the command of Major Beverly, in five ships and ten sloops, the governor sailed for Jamestown, and

landed there early in September. After offering thanksgiving for his safe arrival, he again proclaimed Nathaniel Bacon a traitor.

The republican leader was taken by surprise. He had but a few followers in arms; but the news spread swiftly through the forests and over the plantations, and very soon Bacon was at the head of brave Virginians marching toward their capital. On their way, they seized as hostages or pledges of honor on the part of their husbands the wives of royalists who were with Berkeley.

On a moonlit evening the republicans appeared before Jamestown, and cast up an entrenchment. In vain the governor urged his troops to go out and attack them. His men were not made of stuff for soldiers. Only the seamen showed pluck, and they were too few to do much. At length the royalists stole away in their ships by night and compelled the indignant governor to follow them. Then Bacon entered Jamestown - the only village in all Virginia - and assumed the reins of civil power. He was startled by a rumor that the royalists of the upper counties were coming down upon him. In a council of war it was resolved to burn the capital, that no shelter might remain for an enemy. At twilight the torch was applied, and the blaze of the conflagration was seen by the royalists on the ships, far down the James River. Drummond set fire to his own house - one of the best in the village - as a sacrifice to freedom. So perished the first town founded in America by Englishmen. It was never rebuilt. No vestige of it remains but the ruins of the church tower and a few monuments in the graveyard near it.

Bacon now hastened to meet the royalists from the north. These were not disposed to fight, and in a body they deserted their leader and joined the patriots. The royalists of Gloucester yielded their allegiance to Bacon, and he resolved to cross the Chesapeake and drive the cavaliers and their adherents out of Virginia. But a deadlier foe than these now attacked the republican leader. The malaria from the marshes around Jamestown poisoned his blood, and he died of a malignant fever on the 11th of October, 1676. There was no man to receive his mantle of authority and influence, and his departure paralyzed the cause he had espoused. His followers made but a feeble resistance thereafter, and before the first of November Governor Berkeley returned to the Middle Plantation and resumed the functions of government. Nathaniel Bacon failed, and he is embalmed in history as a rebel. Had he succeeded, he would have been immortalized as a patriot.

The vexations and fatigues which Berkeley had endured in his contest with the republicans soured his haughty temper and made him very miserable. He signalized his return to power by acts of wanton cruelty. His king had proclaimed Bacon to be a traitor, and sent an armament under Sir John Berry to assist in crushing the rebellion in Virginia. These were the first royal troops sent to America to suppress the aspirations of the people for freedom. The incident was repeated a hundred years later when Howe, Clinton, Cornwallis and Burgoyne were here, like Sir John Berry, leading British troops to suppress a more formidable and successful uprising of Americans in favor of the rights of man.

Feeling strong, Berkeley, with strange stony-heartedness, pursued the accomplices of Bacon

with malignant severity, until twenty-two of them were hanged. Even King Charles was disgusted with his cruelty, and said "The old fool has taken more lives in that naked country than I have taken for the murder of my father." The first martyr was Thomas Hansford, a gallant young native of Virginia. When he was brought before Berkeley, he boldly avowed his attachment to the republican cause and when he was sentenced to be hanged, he said: "I ask no favor but that I may be shot like a soldier and not hanged like a dog." The governor replied: "You die, not as a soldier, but as a rebel." When he came to the gallows, he said "Take notice, I die a loyal subject and a lover of my country."

When Edmund Cheesman was arraigned before the governor, and he was asked why he engaged in Bacon's wicked scheme, before he could answer, his young wife stepped forward and said: "My provocations made my husband join in the cause for which Bacon contended but for me, he had never done what he has done. Since what is done," she said, as she fell upon her knees in an attitude of supplication, with her head bowed and covered with her hands, "was done by my means, I am most guilty let me bear the punishment; let me be hanged, but let my husband be pardoned." The governor angrily cried out: "Away with you!" and added a brutal insinuation against her virtue. The poor young wife fainted, and her husband was led to the gallows.

So fearful, at first, was the cruel old baron that some of his intended victims might escape through a verdict of acquittal by a jury that men were taken from the tribunal of a court-martial directly to the gallows without the forms of civil law. When the brave Drummond, who had been captured, was brought before him, the governor with wicked satire made a low bow and exultingly cried: "You are very welcome; I am more glad to see you than any man in Virginia; you shall be hanged in half an hour." "I expect no mercy from you," Drummond replied. "I have followed the lead of my conscience, and done what I might to free my countrymen from oppression." He was condemned at one o'clock, and was hanged at four o'clock. By a decree, his brave wife Sarah was denounced as a traitor and banished, with her children, to the wilderness, there to subsist by the charity of sympathizing friends. And after these judicial murders had been publicly condemned by the king as contrary to his commands and offensive to his clemency, Berkeley continued to fine, imprison and confiscate the property of all those who, in any way, were accomplices of Bacon, until he was recalled in the spring of 1677, and went to England with the returning fleet of Sir John Berry. So glad were the colonists at the departure of the governor that they fired great guns and lighted bonfires. In England his cruelties were severely censured and Sir William Berkeley died of grief and mortified pride before he was permitted to stand before his king. Circumstances had transformed a wise, prudent and benevolent magistrate in the days of his young manhood, into an unwise and cruel oppressor in his old age.

With the troops under Sir John Berry came Colonel Jeffreys, appointed to recall Berkeley and succeed him as governor. With him were associated Sir John and Colonel Moryson as commissioners to inquire into and report the causes of "Bacon's Rebellion." They found the Virginia Assembly pretty thoroughly winnowed of its aristocratic elements, and in sympathy with the people. The Burgesses would yield nothing repugnant to liberty because of the presence of troops quartered in Virginia and when Jeffreys and his associates demanded that all the books and

journals of the Assembly should be submitted to their inspection, they hesitated. Those papers were seized and when the Assembly demanded reparation for the insult, and Jeffreys appealed to the Great Seal of England in defence of the act, the Burgesses firmly replied to him that such a breach of privilege could not be commanded under the Great Seal, because they could not find that any king of England had ever done so in former times. When the king was informed of this reply, with foolish arrogance worthy of his grandfather, he commanded the governor to signify his majesty's indignation at language so seditious, and to give the leaders marks of the royal displeasure. The Burgesses were quite indifferent to the royal frowns or to the royal favors.

Soon after Berkeley's departure from Virginia, the king appointed Lord Culpepper, one of his favorites to whom he had leased the province for the term of a generation, governor of the domain for life, with a salary double in amount that received by the late magistrate, because he was a peer. It now became a proprietary colony. Culpepper went there reluctantly, in 1680, with instructions to bury all animosities growing out of Bacon's rebellion. But the profligate governor began his administration by did franchising all of the willing followers of Bacon. He despoiled the colonists of privilege after privilege, and exercised measures which impoverished them. By a proclamation forbidding, under severest penalties, all disrespectful words concerning the governor and his administration, he closed the royal ear against all complaints of his tyranny and having accumulated, by a system of pillage, a considerable sum of money, he returned to England to spend it in dissipation.

Culpepper returned to Virginia in 1682. His profligacy and rapacity so disgusted the people and fostered discontents, that, unable to endure him longer, they broke out into insurrection. His false reports of the matter induced the king to issue an order for the hanging of several of the most influential leaders but at length the true state of the case was laid before Charles, and he recalled the grant made to Culpepper and Arlington, and constituted Virginia a royal province again. Lord Howard of Effingham was sent over as governor in Culpepper's place. His greed was excessive, and was not controlled by moral principles. He was instructed by the king not to allow a printing-press to be set up in Virginia, and he was left free to sway the judiciary for his own benefit. With him was sent a frigate to cruise on the coast and enforce the navigation laws. His rapacity was so shameless in the methods of its gratification, that the colonists were on the point of rising in a general insurrection, when news came of the death of King Charles and the accession to the throne of his brother James, Duke of York. The Virginians rejoiced, for they felt that any change must better their condition - it could not well be made worse.

Virginia was so impoverished and really degraded by misrule, that voluntary emigration to its shores had almost ceased at the time of the accession of James, in 1685. Another and strong tide of emigration now began to flow thitherward.

Charles the Second had a son born out of wedlock, whom he had created Duke of Monmouth. He had participated in a movement for making himself the successor of his father instead of the Duke of York, and had fled to Holland. On the accession of James, this young man engaged with others to carry out the project. He sailed from Holland with eighty men, and landed on the west

of England, where he was joined by about six thousand partisans, many of them men of good families and education. Monmouth was defeated, captured and beheaded, and his partisans were most severely treated. Sir George Jeffreys was then Lord Chief Justice of England. He was sent into the insurgent district, where he held what are known in history as the Bloody Assizes. The partisans of Monmouth were brought before him by scores. He seemed to delight in convicting and punishing them. The king wrote: "Lord Chief Justice is making his campaign in the west. He has already condemned several hundreds - some of whom are already executed, more are to be, and the others sent to the plantations." He caused three hundred and twenty to be hanged or beheaded, and more than eight hundred to be sold as slaves in the West Indies or Virginia. Many of them were given to court favorites that they might sell them on speculation or extort money for the pardon of those who had any to give.

In this nefarious business Effingham engaged. So, also, were some of his friends; and many men of culture, as well as good mechanics, were sent to Virginia to be sold as slaves, and so added good social materials to the population. "Take all care," wrote the malignant monarch to Effingham, by the hand of Sunderland, "that they continue to serve for ten years at least, and that they be not permitted in any manner to redeem themselves by money or otherwise, until that term be fully expired. Prepare a bill for the Assembly of our colony, with such clauses as shall be requisite for this purpose." This malice was not countenanced by the Assembly. The Burgesses showed, on all occasions, a manly spirit of resistance to wrong; and when a new government in England pardoned these exiles in December, 1689, the Virginians received them with open arms as brethren and citizens.

A new Assembly convened in 1688. "It was more turbulent," the governor and council said, "than any which had preceded." They paid very little attention to the unlawful requirements of the chief magistrates, and boldly discussed the rights of citizens. To check this stimulant to republicanism, the governor and council determined to dissolve the Assembly. The people resented the attempt to interfere with the privileges of their representatives, and flew to arms. They were on the verge of open insurrection, when the news came over the sea that King James had been driven from the throne, and it was occupied by his daughter Mary and her husband William of Orange.

The revolution in England which placed William and Mary on the throne had such an important bearing upon the colonial history of our country, that a brief outline of its principal events is necessary for a clear understanding of that bearing. That revolution had been gathering head ever since soon after James's accession to the throne, it became evident that he contemplated the overthrow of the constitutional system of England, and the restoration of the Roman Catholic religion and polity there as they existed at the accession of Henry the Eighth. By a series of crimes and blunders, the king, in less than three years, had arrayed all of his subjects against him excepting the Roman Catholics and a few pliant dissenters. The foreign policy of the government was made subservient to France, then ruled by Louis the Fourteenth, a kinsman of James.

In the summer of 1688, a crisis occurred. The king had ordered a declaration of indulgence to

be read in all the churches. The order shocked the Protestant sentiment of England, and met with strenuous opposition. The Archbishop of Canterbury and six bishops were sent to the Tower on a charge of libel, because they ventured to petition the king against the order. This outrage shook English society to its foundations, with the most intense excitement. The prelates were acquitted, yet the excitement continued and in obedience to what was undoubtedly the common wish of Protestant England, some of the leading peers and prelates of the realm invited Prince William of Orange to invade England and dethrone the Stuart. William was the husband of Princess Mary, the eldest daughter of King James, and both were Protestants.

William accepted the invitation, and on the 5th of November, 1688, he landed at Torbay, with fifteen thousand troops. The friends of James all deserted him, even his daughter Anne, the wife of Prince George of Denmark. James fled to France, and William called a convention of the notables of England to settle the momentous questions of the future monarchy. In February, 1689, William and Mary were proclaimed joint monarchs of England, and their effigies, or profiles of their faces, were placed together on the coins of England. To this the couplet refers in speaking of lovers cooing and billing, Like William and Mary on a shilling."

The detested and detestable Stuart dynasty now disappeared forever. Higher political principles were diffused through English society. A declaration of the rights and liberties of the subject was made by the British Parliament at the accession of the new sovereigns and from that time the people of the realm had a more direct and controlling participation in the administration of the public affairs of the realm, than even in the time of the Commonwealth and Cromwell. The salutary influence of that great change in the English government and policy upon the destinies of the English-American colonies was remarkable. From the period of that revolution, to the beginning of the French and Indian War at the middle of the eighteenth century, the history of Virginia is the story of the steady, quiet progress of an industrious people, who were ready in the fullness of time to join with other colonies in the establishment of a great republic.

Chapter XXVI

Executive Government of New Netherland - Troubles with Indians - Dutch India Companies - Admiral Heyn and His Mother - A New Scheme of Colonization - Governor Van Twiller - Intercourse with Virginia - De Vries in Virginia and at New Amsterdam - Van Twiller's Folly - Plain Talk by a Parson and Sheriff - Governor Kieft and His Administration - Covetousness of the Patroons - Monopoly Rebuked - Farmers in New Netherland - New England Intruders - Troubles with the Indians - First Popular Assembly - Massacre of Indians at Hobolten - Retaliation.

WHILE the English were laying the foundations of a flourishing commonwealth in Virginia on the broad basis of republicanism, the Dutch were busy fashioning a state upon the still broader foundations of justice, liberty, equality and fraternity, with its capital on the site of the city of New York.

We have seen how' refugees from persecution in France, and native Hollanders, first made settlements on Manhattan Island and elsewhere, and so established the colony of New Netherland, and founded a city which they called New Amsterdam, with Peter Minuit as director-general or governor. Minuit was an energetic man from Wesel, in Rhenish Prussia, where he had been a deacon in the Walloon or French Refugee Church, and had good family connections. He was assisted, we have observed in Chapter XVII of the present volume, by a council appointed by the Dutch West India Company. Also by a secretary who was the bookkeeper of the Company, and a sheriff who was also the manager of the revenues of the province. These several officers composed the executive government of New Netherland its laws derived their life from Holland, and were subservient to the supposed interests of the Company. The first commissary or chief secretary was Isaac de Rasieres, already mentioned as a correspondent with the Pilgrim and Puritan authorities in New England.

The intercourse between the Dutch and Indians was friendly for some time. The Hollanders had extended their traffic as far north as the upper waters of the Hudson, and built a military work on the site of Albany which they called Fort Orange. Eight families had settled there and begun to cultivate the land, when the Mohawk Indians on one side of the river and the Mohegans on the other, both friendly with the Dutch, quarreled and went to war. The commander of the fort foolishly joined the Mohegans in an expedition against the Mohawks in violation of the treaty made at Tawasentha. They were met by the fierce Iroquois, and in a battle with them, the Dutch commander and three of his men were slain, with many of the Mohegans. The settlers at Fort Orange were terrified, and were about to flee to Manhattan in their boats, when Barentsten, a very popular trader, arrived, and received a deputation of Mohawks, who came to justify their deed. "We have done nothing against the white people," they said; "why did they meddle with us? Had it been otherwise, this would not have happened from us." The position was considered unsafe, and the eight families, with every woman in the garrison, were removed to New Amsterdam. That was in the year 1626.

Now followed the correspondence and personal intercourse between the Dutch on Manhattan

and the Puritans in New England mentioned in Chapter XIX of the present volume. During that time, and until 1628, wars between the Indians on the upper Hudson caused Fort Orange to remain only a military and trading post, for settlers would not venture much beyond the bounds of Manhattan Island. But while the extension of settlements in New Netherland was thus checked by the hostilities of two savage nations, and the general prosperity of the colony was somewhat depressed, the Dutch West India Company were reaping a rich harvest of wealth and honors from the circumstances of war between Christian nations - Holland, Spain and Portugal. Its battle-ships depredated fiercely and successfully upon the floating commerce of those kingdoms of the Peninsula. The fleets of the two India companies were then the right arm of Dutch power and controlled the state.

Peter Petersen Heyn, who had risen from the position of a peasant boy to that of a distinguished naval commander, captured for the Company, in 1629, the Spanish Silver Fleet while on its way from Yucatan with the spoils of the mines of Mexico and Peru. He put about five million dollars of treasure into their coffers. The joy of the people of Holland was unbounded when the news reached Amsterdam. The reception of the victor there was princely in its display. He was conducted into the Assembly Chamber of the States-General at the Hague, and there received the thanks of the nation publicly. He asked for no share of the booty he had won; and when the commission of Admiral was offered him, he refused it, saying: "It is too great a dignity for one of so mean birth and unpolished manners to possess." It was forced upon him, and he went forth to win other victories. The next year, while fighting two Dunkirk pirates, with his ship between them, he was killed on the deck of his vessel. His body was conveyed in regal pomp to the old church at Delft, wherein the Pilgrim fathers had worshipped on the shores of Holland; and he was buried by the side of Prince William of Orange. His grateful government erected over his remains under the great aisle a superb marble monument. When the States-General sent a letter of condolence to his peasant mother by the hand of a high officer, she said: "Aye, I thought that would be the end of him. He was always a vagabond but I did my best to correct him. He has got no more than he deserved."

Compared with other sources of wealth, the profits derived from New Netherland now seemed insignificant to the Company, and they devised new schemes for increasing the value of the province. Nothing seemed wiser than an increase in the population so they adopted the plan of making separate and independent colonies on the Hudson and Delaware rivers, in the form of manorial estates not more than sixteen miles in length if lying on one side of a river, or eight miles if on both sides, as we have observed on page 267. They were to be fashioned after then existing manors in Holland and England. In order to enlist private capital in this undertaking, the College of XIX proposed to give a charter which should confer those patroon privileges and exemptions mentioned on the page above referred to. This proposition was approved by the States-General in 1630; and so the feudal system displayed by the manorial estates in Holland and England was transferred to America.

Governor Minuit returned to Amsterdam in 1632, leaving the province in a state of increasing prosperity. The fur trade was enlarging. Comfortable homes and commodious warehouses were

seen clustered around Fort Amsterdam, and gardens were blooming around many dwellings. He was succeeded the following year by Walter Van Twiller, a narrow-minded and inexperienced clerk in the Company's warehouse at Amsterdam, who had married the niece of the rich pearl-merchant Killian Van Rensselaer, one of the directors. Van Twiller seems to have had very little fitness for the position of governor of the colony, excepting the alacrity with which he would be likely to serve the interests of his wife's rich kinsman, who had become a patroon and whose estate lay on each side of the upper Hudson, at the site of Albany and its surroundings. He had been employed by the patroon in shipping cattle to his colony, and was pretty well versed in the mysteries of traffic. But he was entirely ignorant of public affairs, and had not a single quality of a statesman. He was one of those sleek, rotund, bullet-headed Dutchmen who had ease of mind and body; dull of intellect, yet shrewd and cunning; courageous when there was no danger; always undecided and wavering, and was a capital butt for the jokes of the wiser men of New Amsterdam. Irving has left us a spirited caricature of his person, as a model of majesty and lordly grandeur. The chronicler says:

"He was exactly five feet six inches in height, and six feet five inches in circumference. His head was a perfect sphere, and of such stupendous dimensions that dame Nature, with all her sex's ingenuity, would have been puzzled to construct a neck capable of supporting it wherefore she wisely declined the attempt, and settled it firmly on the top of his backbone just between his shoulders. His legs were very short, but sturdy in proportion to the weight they had to sustain so that, when erect, he had not a little the appearance of a beer-barrel on skids. His face, that infallible index of the mind, presented a vast expanse unfurrowed by any of those lines and angles which disfigure the human countenance with what is termed expression. Two small grey eyes twinkled feebly in the midst, like two stars of lesser magnitude in a hazy firmament and his full-fed cheeks, which seemed to have taken toll of everything that went into his mouth, were curiously mottled and streaked with dusky red, like a Spitzenberg apple. His habits were as regular as his person. He daily took his four stated meals, appropriating exactly an hour to each he smoked and doubted eight hours, and he slept the remaining twelve of the four-and-twenty."

Van Twiller's administration lasted about four years, and the colony flourished in spite of him. Just before his advent, a pleasant intercourse was opened with Virginia by Captain de Vries, one of the patroons, who had an estate on the South or Delaware River, where he and others attempted to establish a whale fishery. It did not succeed but De Vries made valuable explorations up the river and formed salutary relations with the natives. He finally sailed for Virginia for supplies, rightfully supposing that he would find corn more abundant there than at New Amsterdam. He was anxious, too, to be the first Hollander from New Netherland to enter the James River. As his vessel neared the shore at Jamestown, and displayed the flag of Holland, Sir John Harvey, then Governor of Virginia, came down to the beach with some halberdiers, and in a friendly tone demanded where he was from. "From the South Bay in New Netherlands," said Captain De Vries. The governor invited him to his house, presented him with a glass of Venice sack, and then taking an English chart, pointed out South Bay as named Delaware in honor of Lord De La Warr (a former governor of Virginia), who, some years before, had been driven into that bay. Finding it full of shoals and supposing it to be unnavigable, the English, Harvey said,

had not looked after it since. "Yet it is our king's land," he continued, "and not New Netherland."

De Vries then gave the governor a glowing account of the beauty of the Delaware Bay and river, only a hundred miles north from Jamestown, and a history of what the Dutch had been doing there. Harvey was astonished. He had heard that the Dutch had built a fort upon Hudson's River, as the English call it but, being uncertain whether there was a Delaware Bay or river, had sent a small vessel, with several seamen, the previous autumn to search for them. These men had not returned, and he supposed they had - gone to the bottom of the sea in a storm. De Vries told him that he had seen Indians with English jackets on, and had no doubt his seamen had been murdered by them.

No dispute arose about the territory. "There are lands enough," said the knight we shall be friends and good neighbors with each other. "You will have no trouble from us Englishmen, if only those of New England do not approach too near you, and dwell at a distance from you." So began a pleasant intercourse between New Netherland and Virginia. Sir John's half-formed warning was prophetic, for from New England came encroachments and annoyances to the Dutch.

De Vries sailed for the Delaware with an ample supply of provisions and some goats as a present from Sir John to the governor of New Netherland. He found his affairs on the Delaware far from prosperous so he abandoned the country to the Indians and sailed into the harbor of New Amsterdam, where lay the ship which had just brought over Governor Van Twiller. It was well for the Company that a man of pluck like De Vries was at New Amsterdam at that time, for a former commissary at Fort Orange, Jacob Elkens, came a few days after De Vries's arrival, in the English ship William, with the intention of going up the Hudson to trade with the Indians. Elkens knew Van Twiller at Amsterdam, and counted on his impotence. When the governor demanded his papers, he refused, saying: "The country belongs to England, for it was discovered by an Englishman. I command an English ship and will go where I please." Van Twiller ordered the Orange flag to be run up over Fort Amsterdam, and a salute of three guns to be fired in honor of Prince Maurice. Elkens displayed the British flag on the William, and fired a salute of three guns in honor of King Charles. "I will go up the river if it costs me my life," said Elkens, and weighing anchor he boldly sailed up the Hudson.

This audacious act aroused the wrath of Van Twiller. He opened a cask of wine at the gate of the fort, assembled the people there, drank a full glass himself and called upon those who loved him and their prince to follow his example and assist in protecting him from the violence which the Englishman had committed. The people drank his wine but laughed in his face, for the William was out of sight. De Vries dined with the governor the same day, and told him plainly that he had played the fool. He advised Van Twiller to send an expedition after the intruder, which the stupid governor did, and very soon Elkens was sent to sea with an injunction not to attempt any further interference with the Dutch on the Hudson.

The province yet lacked a prime element of permanent prosperity. There were no independent

farmers in New Netherland cultivating their own land. The wealthy monopolists owned the land the tiller might own the house he lived in - no more. A great incentive to industry was wanting. Large tracts of land, accessible and fertile, were left uncultivated. There were continued disputes between the grasping patroons and the agents of the Company concerning the monopoly of the fur-trade, which each was seeking to secure. The governor had lost the respect of all parties, and was simply a clog to progress. Parson Bogardus, who came over with him from Holland, called him a child of the devil to his face and he also told him, on one occasion, that if he did not behave himself he would give him such a "shake from the pulpit the next Sabbath as would make him tremble like a bowl of jelly. Lubbertus Van Dincklagen, his sheriff, and one of the most learned men in the colony, spoke contemptuously of him to his face, when the governor, unfortunately for himself, summoned courage sufficient to resent it, and sent the offender to Holland in disgrace, without paying him three years' salary which was due him. Dincklagen was expert with his tongue and pen, and he made such representations of the character of Van Twiller in a memorial to the States-General of Holland, that he was finally recalled. It was a sad interruption of Van Twiller's sweet dream of peace. He had bought Nutten and other islands near Manhattan, with the expectation of vegetating in riches and dying there. He has left no memorial of his name upon anything. There is a simple reminder of him in the present Nutten Island, lying nearest the Battery in New York Bay, which is known as Governor's Island.

In 1637, Van Twiller was succeeded by William Kieft, whose portrait had been hanged on a gallows at Rochelle at one time. De Vries recorded him among the great rogues. Spiteful, rapacious, energetic; fond of quarrels and never happy excepting when in trouble with some one; unscrupulous in the use of means to promote his own interest, and a petty tyrant, he was, nevertheless, a better man for the Company than Van Twiller. He was an agitator, and agitation is healthier than stagnation. Kieft's administration was stormy, and therefore a delightful one for him. He had regarded Minuit as a model governor, and Minuit, for a long time, was the bane of Kieft's official peace and quiet. The next governor had hardly become seated in the executive chair, when tidings reached him that Minuit had led a colony of Swedes to the Delaware. Then news came that the impertinent Swedes, having built a house between two trees, claimed the whole country west of the Delaware from its falls at Trenton to Cape Henlopen and as far inland as they pleased. Kieft stormed at first, and then issued a proclamation, as we have observed, protesting against this invasion of the territory of New Netherland.

Kieft began his administration by concentrating all executive power in his own hands; and he and his council had such dignity, in their own estimation, that it became a high crime to appeal from their decision. While shaking his official fist at the Swedes and threatening war, he was not unmindful of the wants of the growing capital of the colony. He found public affairs in a wretched condition, and needing the strong hand of an autocrat to bring order out of confusion. Abuses everywhere abounded, and he set about reforming them with a vigor that very soon almost stripped the citizen of privileges. He caused Fort Amsterdam to be repaired, and new warehouses to be erected. By example and command he made fruit-trees to bud and blossom in gardens where brambles had flourished. Police ordinances were framed and thoroughly enforced. Religion arid morality were fostered for a time, and ordained ministers conducted public worship.

A spacious stone church was built within the fort and it was a gala day in New Amsterdam when the Connecticut architect hung the Spanish bells captured at Porto Rico in the little tower, and the governor gave a supper to the builders and the city magistrates. It was a proud day for Parson Bogardus when he ascended the new pulpit and preached in the presence of Englishmen from Puritan New England and Cavalier Virginia. When, after long absence, De Vries returned to Manhattan, he saw much to praise in the management of the new governor. These are some of the brighter tints in the picture of Kieft's career.

A change for the better was wrought by the States-General in 1638. The Company had pursued the unwise policy of peopling the province with its own dependents. The States-General and some of the wise directors saw that this was a capital error. A proposition was made to the Company to place the control of New Netherland in the care of the States-General, making it a colony of Holland instead of the possession of a commercial monopoly. It would have been a salutary measure for the colony, but the Company were not disposed to surrender their control. Meanwhile the grasping patroons had asked the States-General to enlarge their privileges and exemptions, by allowing them to monopolize more territory; have a longer time to settle colonists enjoy free trade throughout and around New Netherland be invested with greater feudal powers so as to be independent of the Company in their control of the government of their respective manors; have a vote in the council of the governor and to be supplied with convicts from Holland as servile laborers, and with negro slaves. They actually asked that all "private persons" and poor emigrants should be forbidden to purchase lands from the Indians, and should be required to settle themselves within the manors and under the jurisdiction of the great manorial lords.

This scheme for monopolizing all the lands of the province by a few wealthy men, and making the "common people" mere serfs on the manorial estates, was so offensive to the States-General that they were disposed to abridge the privileges enjoyed by the patroons. They compelled the Company to throw open the internal trade of the province to free competition for all inhabitants of Holland, under restrictions and the governor of New Netherland was instructed to accommodate every emigrant with as much land as he and his family might properly cultivate, such grantee paying a quit-rent to the Company of one-tenth of all produce.

This more liberal policy stimulated emigration from Holland and gave a powerful impulse to the prosperity of the colony. Private enterprise and industry were left free for development and expansion. Emigrants pressed into Amsterdam to seek opportunities to go to New Netherland. The Company, enamored of the new policy, wisely offered a free passage and other inducements to respectable farmers. A good class of citizens soon sought homes in New Netherland - men of culture and fortune. Among them came De Vries, with emigrants, and planted a colony on Staten Island. Strangers came from New England and Virginia, for there was freedom of conscience in the Dutch dominions. The only obligation required from strangers was an oath of fidelity and allegiance to their High Mightinesses the States-General of Holland.

In view of the increasing demand for homesteads, Governor Kieft purchased from the Indians nearly the whole of the present queens county on Long Island, and the lower part of Westchester

county. Meanwhile the New Englanders had become as troublesome in their territorial encroachments, as the Swedes on the Delaware. Like busy ants they were spreading over the fertile country westward of the Housatonic River. At the mouth of that stream they had planted the flourishing village of Stratford, and they had made settlements at Norwalk and Greenwich. It being evident that the New Englanders intended to push their settlements to the Hudson River, Kieft, in 1640, purchased of the Indians all the islands near Norwalk and the domain westward, which comprised nearly the whole of Westchester county, and raised thereon, at Cow Bay, the arms of the States-General. For awhile the New Englanders disregarded Indian title-deeds and Dutch proclamations and filibusters from Connecticut cut down the arms of Holland and mocked the officials at New Amsterdam. But they soon learned that Kieft was a more energetic man than Van Twiller, who had excited their contempt. The new governor soon put a stop to these encroachments, and compelled the settlers on the newly-purchased domain to take an oath of allegiance to the States-General.

Had Kieft's policy and conduct been as wise and just as it was firm and energetic, his administration might have been marked by peace and great prosperity. But he pursued a policy toward the Indians which inflamed whole tribes with resentment against the Dutch. His partiality for the Mohawks, with whom the Dutch came in immediate contact at Fort Orange, excited the jealousy of the River Indians. Their anger was also kindled by the bad conduct of dishonest traders, who sold them rum and cheated them in traffic while they were intoxicated. Kieft's avarice having obtained the mastery of his justice, he winked at these offenses and shared in the plunder. He also exacted tribute of furs, corn and wampum from the tribes around Manhattan but when they came with the costly offerings and cast them at the feet of the oppressor, they turned away with a bitter curse against the Hollanders. Kieft saw that a cloud of vengeance was gathering, and his fears awakened his cruelty. With the instinct of a bad nature, he sought to further injure those whom he had wronged. Some swine had been stolen by white people from De Vries's plantation on Staten Island. The governor charged the innocent Raritans of New Jersey with the crime and sent an armed force to chastise them, with a belief that a show of power would disarm the vengeance of the savages. Several Indians were killed. The event was the fore shadowing of the fate of others and all the neighboring tribes were aroused, and prepared for war. The River Indians refused to pay tribute any longer. The Raritans murdered Hollanders whenever they met them in the forests of New Jersey, and the innocent settlement on Staten Island was ruined by them. The Raritans were outlawed, and a bounty was offered for the head of every member of the tribe.

Fifteen or twenty years before, some of Minit's men had murdered an Indian belonging to a tribe seated beyond the Harlem River. His nephew, then a boy, who saw the outrage and made a vow of vengeance, had now grown to be a lusty man. He proceeded to execute his vow by murdering an unoffending Dutchman in his wheelwright shop high upon Manhattan Island. While the mechanic was stooping over his chest of tools, the young Indian seized an axe and almost severed his head from his body. With his scalp and the plunder of his dwelling, the savage returned in triumph to his tribe. Kieft demanded the murderer, but his chief would not give him up, saying he had been revenged according to the customs of his race.

The governor determined to chastise that tribe as he had the Raritans. He called upon the people to shoulder their muskets for the fray. They saw the danger to which the rashness of Kieft as leading them, and refused. They had been witnesses of his rapacity and greed, and they now charged him with seeking war that he might "make a wrong reckoning with the Company." They also reproached him with a selfish cowardice. "It is all well for you," they said, "who have not slept out of the fort a single night since you came, to endanger our lives and our home in undefended places."

This bold attitude of the people transformed the autocrat. He invited all the heads of families in New Amsterdam to meet him in convention to consult upon public affairs. They assembled at Fort Amsterdam, and promptly chose twelve select men to act as their representatives. So appeared the first popular assembly, and so was chosen the first representative congress for political purposes, in the seeds of a representative democracy, in New Netherland. So were planted the year 1641, almost on the very spot where, a century and a half later, our Republic, founded upon similar principles, was inaugurated, when Washington took the oath of office as first President of the United States.

De Vries was chosen president of the Twelve. To that body Kieft submitted the question whether the murderer of the wheelwright ought to be demanded of his chief, and whether, in case of the chief's refusal, the Dutch ought to make war upon his tribe and burn the village wherein he dwelt. The Twelve counselled peace, and proceeded to consider the propriety of establishing in New Netherland a government similar to that of the Fatherland. The governor was alarmed by this proposed blow at his absolute rule in the colony, and he cunningly offered a compromise. He agreed to make popular concessions if the Twelve would authorize him to make war on the offending tribe at a proper time. They foolishly trusted his honor and agreed to his proposition. Then the wily governor dissolved them, saying he had no further use for them, and forbade them a popular assemblage there after.

Kieft sent an expedition against the offending tribe early in the spring of 1642. His thirst for blood was disappointed by a treaty. It was soon gratified, however. The River Indians were tributary to the Mohawks, and in midwinter, 1643, a large party of these Iroquois came down to collect, by force of arms, tribute which had not been paid. The native dwellers along the lower Hudson, five hundred in number, fled before the invaders. They took refuge with the Hackensacks at Hoboken, and craved the protection of the Dutch. At the same time many of the offending Westchester tribe and others fled to Manhattan and took refuge with the Hollanders. The humane De Vries proposed to make this an occasion for establishing a permanent peace with the savages, but the wicked governor and some leading citizens, who pretended to speak for the people, overruled his wisdom and mercy, and it was made the occasion for treacherously spilling innocent blood.

On a cold night late in February, 164 the fugitives at Hoboken, and those at "Corlaer's Hook," Manhattan, were slumbering in fancied security. Without provocation - without the shadow of an excuse, Kieft sent eighty Hollanders to murder those at Hoboken, and a less number to slay those

at Corlaer's Hook. Forty of those at the Hook were massacred, while the Hollanders, who had stealthily crossed the river among floating ice, were making the snows at Hoboken crimson with the blood of confiding Indians, and lighting up the heavens with the blaze neither age nor sex. "Warrior and squaw, sachem and child, mother and babe," says Brodhead, were alike massacred. "Daybreak scarcely ended the furious slaughter. Mangled victims, seeing safety in the thickets, were driven into the river; and parents rushing to save their children, whom the soldiery had thrown into the stream, were driven back into the waters and drowned before the eyes of their unrelenting murderers." Almost a hundred of the dusky people perished there.

De Vries watched the butchery by the light of the burning wigwams from the ramparts of Fort Amsterdam. He told the blood-thirsty and cowardly governor, who was careful to remain within the walls of the fortress, that he had now commenced the ruin of the colony. Kieft ridiculed the clemency of De Vries and when the soldiers returned to the fort next morning, with thirty prisoners and the heads of several Indians upon pikes, the governor shook their blood-smearred hands with delight, praised them for their bravery, and made each of them present.

This treachery aroused the fiery hatred of the savages far and near, and a fierce war was kindled. The mutual animosities of tribes disappeared, and zeal for a common cause everywhere prevailed. Farms, hamlets, and villages were swept away by the broom of devastation. The white people were butchered wherever they were found by the incensed Indians. The Long Island tribes, hitherto friendly, joined their kin red in race, and, for awhile, the very existence of the Dutch settlements was in jeopardy. For two years the war continued, and the colony was on the verge of ruin.

Kieft was frightened by the fury of the tempest which his wickedness and folly had raised, and he humbly asked the people to choose a few men, again, to act as his counsellors. Eight were chosen. The colonists had lost all confidence in the governor, and relied wholly upon these eight citizens to relieve them from the fearful web of difficulties in which they were involved. The Council of Eight possessed no legal executive power, and their plans for a pacification of the Indians were often frustrated by the faithless Kieft. Disorder everywhere prevailed, and there appeared no hope of relief so long as Kieft was governor. In obedience to the wishes of the people, the Eight sent an energetic and respectful letter to the States General, setting forth the critical condition of the province, and asking them to recall Kieft. Their prayer was granted; and there was much rejoicing throughout New Netherland when the despised governor sailed for Europe in the spring of 1647. The vessel in which Kieft departed was richly laden, and bore much of his ill-gotten wealth. It was wrecked on the coast of Wales, and there the governor and his treasure perished.

Chapter XXVII

The Government of New Netherland - Peter Stuyvesant Appointed Governor - Reception of Stuyvesant - He Defines His Policy by Words and Deeds - A Representative Government - Stuyvesant's Vigorous Administration - Settles Disputes with Connecticut - Spirit of Freedom Combatted by Stuyvesant - The Dutch Sigh for the Freedom of the English - Revolutionary Proceedings - Popular Representatives - Stuyvesant's Pluck - The Swedes Subdued - Troubles with the Indians - New Netherland Surrendered to the English - The English Rule - The Dutch Re-possess and Re-surrender the Province.

THE College of XIX changed the mode of government in New Netherland in the spring of 1645. All power for the management of the public concerns of the colony was vested in a Supreme Council, consisting of the director- general or governor, a lieutenant-governor, and fiscal or treasurer. At that time Peter Stuyvesant, a brave Dutch soldier, who had served gallantly in the West Indies and lost a leg in an attack upon the Portuguese island of St. Martin, was at Amsterdam. He had been governor of Curacoa, in which capacity he had shown great vigor and wisdom. The loss of his leg compelled him to return to Holland for surgical aid, and the College appointed him to succeed Kieft as governor of New Netherland. He was then forty-four years of age; strong in physical constitution fond of official show admiring the arbitrary nature of military rule a thorough disciplinarian, and a stern, inflexible, just and honest man. Owing to disagreements concerning some of the details of policy in the proposed management of New Netherland, Stuyvesant did not arrive at Manhattan until late in May, 1647. Meanwhile the inhabitants, who had been informed early of his appointment, openly showed their dislike of Governor Kieft. Dominie Bogardus, whom the governor had charged with drunkenness and sedition, denounced Kieft and some of his official companions from the pulpit as men who thought of nothing but to plunder the property of others, to dismiss, to banish, to transport to Holland. To avoid these severe censures, they absented themselves from church, and the governor encouraged all sorts of noisy amusements near the place of public worship on Sundays. Drums were beaten and cannon were fired in the fort in which the church was situated, while the people were worshipping; and the communicants were insulted. The quarrel ended only when Kieft and Bogardus left for Holland in the same ship and were lost on the coast of Wales.

Stuyvesant came with the commission of director-general over New Netherland and the adjoining places, and also over the islands of Curacoa, Buenaire, Aruba, and their dependencies. He was accompanied by Lubbertus Van Dincklagen, who had caused the recall of Kieft, as vice.-director or lieutenant-governor. They landed on a fine morning in the presence of all the people, who came out with guns and received them with shouts. So vehement was their welcome that nearly all the breath and powder of the city was exhausted. Stuyvesant marched to the fort in great pomp, displaying a silver-mounted wooden leg of fine workmanship. After keeping the principal inhabitants who went to welcome him waiting for several hours bareheaded, while he remained covered, as if he were the "Czar of Muscovy," he told the people that "he should govern them as a father his children, for the advantage of the chartered West India Company, and these burghers and this land." He assured them that justice should rule at the same time, he asserted the

exclusive privileges of the directorship, and frowned upon every expression of republican sentiment. He declared it to be treason to petition against one's magistrates, whether there be cause or not and he defended Kieft's conduct in rejecting the interference of the Twelve saying: "If any one during my administration shall appeal, I will make him a foot shorter, and send the pieces to Holland, and let him appeal in that way." These sentiments made the people suspect that the new governor would be an inflexible despot instead of an indulgent father.

Stuyvesant was despotic, yet honesty and wisdom marked all his acts. He set about needed reforms with great vigor. The morals of the people, the sale of liquors to the Indians, the support of religion and the regulation of trade, commanded his attention; and it was not long before he infused much of his own energy into the community, and enterprise took the place of sluggishness. His foreign policy was as decided, and its execution was energetic. He sent a protest southward to the offending governor of the Swedes, and an invitation eastward to commissioners of New England to meet him for the adjustment of mutual rights. His kindness toward the Indians soon won their confidence and friendship and so affectionate was their bearing toward him, that the foolish story went abroad that he was forming an alliance with the savages to exterminate the English.

The grand principle announced by the founders of our Republic, that taxation without representation is tyranny, had prevailed in Holland for two centuries. The principle was favorable to the growth of republicanism in New Netherland, for Stuyvesant was compelled to respect it. He found the finances of the colony in such a low state that taxation was a necessity. He dared not tax the people without their consent, for fear of offending the States-General so he called a convention of citizens, and directed them to choose eighteen of their best men, of whom he might select nine as representatives of the tax-payers, who should form a co-ordinate branch of the local government.

Stuyvesant was careful to hedge around this germ of representative government as closely as possible, with restrictions. The first Nine were to select their successors, so that the people should not be choosers after that and the governor was careful to hold nearly all the power in his own hands. But the Nine were far more potent than the Twelve, under Kieft. They nourished the prolific seed of democracy which burst into vigorous life in the time of Jacob Leisler, fifty years afterward.

By prudent and adroit management, Stuyvesant soon swept away annoyances in the shape of territorial claims. When the Plymouth Company, at the time of its dissolution, mentioned in the XVIIIth Chapter of the present volume, assigned their American domain to twelve persons, they conveyed to Lord Stirling, the proprietor of Nova Scotia, a part of New England and an island adjacent called Long Island. Stirling had tried to take possession of Long Island, but failed. At his death, in 1647, his widow sent a Scotchman to assert the claim, and act as governor. He proclaimed himself as such, at Hempstead. Stuyvesant had him arrested, and put on board a ship bound for Holland. She touched at an English port, where the "governor" escaped, and no further trouble with the family of Lord Stirling ensued.

In 1650, Stuyvesant went to Hartford, and, by treaty, settled all disputes with the New Englanders which had annoyed his predecessors. Then he turned his attention to the suppression of the expanding power and influence of the Swedes on the Delaware. The accession of a new queen to the throne of Sweden made it necessary to make a satisfactory adjustment of the long-pending dispute about the territory. Stuyvesant was instructed to act firmly but discreetly. Accompanied by his suite of officers, he went to Fort Nassau, on the New Jersey side of the Delaware, whence he sent to Printz, the governor of New Sweden, an abstract of the title of the Dutch to the domain, and called a council of the Indian chiefs in the neighborhood. These chiefs declared the Swedes to be usurpers, and by solemn treaty gave all the land to the Dutch. Then Stuyvesant crossed over, and near the site of New Castle in Delaware he built a military work, which he called Fort Cassimer. Governor Printz protested in vain. The two magistrates held friendly personal intercourse, and they mutually promised to keep neighborly friendship and correspondence together. That was in the year 1651.

An important concession was made to the inhabitants of New Amsterdam the following year. There was continual antagonism between Stuyvesant and the Nine. The governor tried to repress the spirit of popular freedom; the Nine fostered it. They wished to have a municipal government for their growing capital, and made direct application to the States General for the privilege. It was granted. To the people of New Amsterdam was allowed a government like the free cities of Holland, the officers to be appointed by the governor. Under the new arrangement, New Amsterdam (afterward New York) was organized as a city, early in 1653. The soul of Stuyvesant was troubled by this imprudent entrusting of "power with the people."

Stuyvesant had scarcely recovered from his chagrin, when a new danger appeared. For several years English families had come to New Netherland from the East, to escape the intolerance of the authorities of New England, excepting in Rhode Island, and to enjoy liberty of conscience in church and state. They had been encouraged by the Dutch. Land was freely granted to them, and an English secretary for the colony had been appointed. They intermarried with the Dutch, and readily embraced the republican doctrines of the Hollanders. These formed strong allies of the friends of the Nine, and bore a conspicuous part in the democratic movements which gave Stuyvesant so much trouble during the latter years of his administration.

Republicanism, like any other truth, has remarkable vitality. Persecution promotes its growth. The more Stuyvesant attempted to stifle it, the more widely and vigorously it spread. His methods of rule were so arbitrary that all classes of citizens became discontented. He made his own will the supreme law. His councillors had to be his obedient servants or the subjects of his animosity. The powerful patroons of Rensselaerwyck and the poorest laborer were alike regarded as his subjects, and were required to submit to his tyrannous rule. He was an honest despot - it was his nature to be so - and opposition to his commands as governor he regarded as rank rebellion. The Dutch sighed for the freedom enjoyed in Holland, and the English settlers determined to exercise the liberty which English subjects then enjoyed under the rule of Cromwell. Stuyvesant saw the tidal wave of popular feeling rising, but like Canute he sat still, firm in his integrity and convictions of his righteousness, until he was compelled to yield or perish.

That popular feeling had expression when, late in the autumn of 1653, a convention of nineteen delegates, who represented eight villages or communities, assembled at the town-hall, in New Amsterdam, ostensibly to take measures to secure themselves against the depredations of savages and pirates. The governor tried to control their action, but they paid very little attention to his wishes and none to his commands. When they adjourned, they gave a parting collation, to which Stuyvesant was invited. Of course he would not sanction their proceedings by his presence; and the delegates told him bluntly that there would be another convention soon, and that he might do as he pleased and prevent it if he could.

The ire of the governor was fiercely kindled by the revolutionary movement in his capital. He stormed and threatened, but prudently yielded to the demands of the people that he should issue a call for another convention, and so give legal sanction for the election of delegates thereto. These met in New Amsterdam on the 10th of December, 1653. Of the eight districts represented, four were Dutch and four were English. Of the nineteen delegates, ten were of Dutch and nine were of English nativity. As this was the first real representative assembly in the great State of New York in its infancy - now an empire containing about 7 1/2 million souls - it seems proper to give here the names of the delegates, and the districts they represented. They were as follows:

From the capital (New Amsterdam), Van Hattem, Kregier, and Van de Grist; from Breucklen (Brooklyn), Lubbertsen, Van der Breck, and Beeckman; from Flushing, Hicks and Flake; from Newtown, Coe and Hazard; from Heemstede (Hempstead), Washburne and Somers; from Amersfoort, (Flatlands), Wolfertsen, Strycker, and Swartwout; from Midwout (Flatbush), Elbertsen and Spicer; and from Gravesend, Baxter and Hubbard. Baxter was the English secretary of the colony, and led the English delegates.

The object of the Convention was to form and adopt a remonstrance against the tyrannous rule of the governor. It was drawn by Baxter. After expressions of loyalty to the States-General, it proceeded with a statement under six heads, of the grievances endured by the colonists. It was a severe indictment of Stuyvesant for maladministration or bad management of public affairs. The paper was signed by all the delegates and sent to the governor, with a demand for a categorical answer to each of its heads.

Stuyvesant met this severe document with his usual pluck. He denied the right of some of the delegates to seats in the Convention. He denounced the whole thing as the wicked work of the English, and doubted whether George Baxter, the author, understood what he was about. He wanted to know if there was no one among the Dutch in New Netherland sagacious and expert enough to draw up a remonstrance to the director and council, and severely reprimanded the city government of New Amsterdam for seizing "this dangerous opportunity for conspiring with the English [with whom Holland was then at war, who were ever hatching mischief but never performing their promises, and who might to-morrow ally themselves with the North," meaning Sweden and Denmark.

The Convention was not to be silenced by bluster or threats. They told the governor by the

mouth of Beeckman, of Brooklyn, that if he refused to consider the several points of the remonstrance, they would appeal to the States-General. At this threat the governor took fire, and, seizing his cane, ordered Beeckman to leave his presence. The plucky ambassador folded his arms and silently defied the magistrate. When Stuyvesant's wrath had subsided, he politely begged the representative to excuse his sudden ebullition of passion and receive assurances of his personal regard. But he was not so complaisant with the Convention as a body. He ordered them to disperse on pain of his "high displeasure." He said, "We derive our authority from God and the Company, not from a few ignorant subjects and we, alone, can call the inhabitants together." The Convention executed their threat by sending an advocate to Holland, with papers, to ask the reforms which their enumerated grievances demanded.

In the midst of these domestic troubles, the tranquillity of Stuyvesant's foreign relations was disturbed. Governor Printz had returned to Sweden, and in his place was John Risingh, a more warlike magistrate, who came to the Delaware with some soldiers under the bold Swen Schute. They soon appeared before Fort Cassimer and demanded its surrender. "I have no powder; what can I do?" said Bikker, the commander, to the Dutch residents, who fled to the fort for protection. Bikker went out an hour afterward, leaving the gate of the fort wide open, and shook hands with Schute and his men, welcoming them as friends. The Swedes fired two shots over the fort in token of its capture, and then blotting out its Dutch garrison and its name, called it Fort Trinity. The surrender occurred on Trinity Sunday, 1654.

When news of this event reached Stuyvesant, he was enraged and perplexed. He was expecting an attack from the English. They did not come, and the governor prepared to wipe out the stain on Belgic prowess by that infamous surrender. After a day of fasting and prayer, and after a sermon on the first Sunday in September, the following year (1655), seven vessels, carrying more than six hundred soldiers, sailed from New Amsterdam for the Delaware, under the immediate command of Stuyvesant. His flagship was The Balance. Some of his civil officers, and the pastor of the church, were with him. They landed on the beach between Fort Cassimer and Fort Christina near Wilmington. An ensign with a drum was sent to demand the surrender of the former. Schute complied the next day, and in the presence of Stuyvesant and his suite, he drank the health of the governor in a glass of Rhenish wine. So ended the bloodless expedition against Fort Cassimer; and before the end of the month, the conquest of New Sweden was accomplished. Like Alfred of England, Stuyvesant wisely made citizens of the conquered, and they became loyal friends of the Dutch.

When Stuyvesant returned to Manhattan, he found the wildest confusion there. Van Dyck, a former civil officer, detected a squaw stealing peaches from his garden, and killed her. The fury of her tribe was kindled. The long peace with the savages for ten years was suddenly broken. Before day-break one morning almost two thousand of the River Indians appeared before New Amsterdam in sixty canoes, landed, distributed themselves through the town, and under pretense of looking for Northern Indians, they broke into several dwellings in search of Van Dyck. A council of the inhabitants was immediately held at the fort, and the sachems of the invaders were summoned before them. The Indian leaders agreed to leave the city and pass over to Nutten (now

The Governor's) Island before sunset. They broke their promise, and in the evening they shot Van Dyck and menaced others. The people flew to arms and drove the savages to their canoes. The Indians crossed the Hudson, and ravaged New Jersey and Staten Island. Within three days a hundred inhabitants were killed, one hundred and fifty were made captives, and the estates of three hundred were utterly desolated by the dusky foe. Stuyvesant returned at the height of the excitement, and soon brought order out of confusion. Yet distant settlements were broken up, the inhabitants, in fear, flying to Manhattan for safety. To prevent a like calamity in the future, the governor issued a proclamation ordering "all who lived in secluded places in the country to gather themselves into villages after the fashion of our New England neighbors."

Excepting difficulties between the governor and the citizens, growing out of his arbitrary rule, New Netherland prospered in quiet for almost ten years after the Indian invasions, when a crisis in its political affairs approached. The people were generally industrious, and happy homes abounded. If, then, there were many uncultured minds but affectionate hearts, and life was enjoyed in a dreamy, quiet blissfulness, unknown in these bustling days. The city people arose at dawn, dined at eleven o'clock, and went to bed at sunset in the summer. Fashionable parties began at three o'clock in the afternoon in winter and ended at six, so that all the members of a family might be ready for evening devotions and bed at seven. Very little attention was paid to political questions by the commonality or the mass of the people; but there were many wide-awake men and women who were restive under the sharp administration of Stuyvesant. Some declared that they would be willing to endure English rule for the sake of enjoying English liberty. They very soon had an opportunity to try both.

Charles the Second assigned to his brother James, Duke of York, the whole territory of New Netherland, with Long Island and a part of Connecticut. Charles had no more right to that domain than the Prince of Darkness had to the "kingdoms of the world which he offered to the Redeemer if he would worship the Evil One." But the brutal argument that might makes right justified the royal brothers, in their own estimation, in sending ships, men and cannon, the "last argument of kings," to take possession of and hold the territory. Four ships-of-war, bearing four hundred and fifty soldiers commanded by Colonel Richard Nicolls, a court favorite, arrived before New Amsterdam at near the close of August, 1664. Stuyvesant had been warned of their approach, and tried to strengthen the fort; but money, men, and will were wanting. English influence and the governor's temper had alienated the people, and they were indifferent. Some of them regarded the invaders as welcome friends. Stuyvesant began to make concessions to the popular wishes. It was too late; and New Amsterdam became an easy prey to English conquerors - freebooters in the eye of justice.

Revolutionary movements had taken place among the English on Long Island, early in this year, which the governor could not suppress, and the province was rent by internal discord for several months. A war with the Indians above the Hudson highlands had also given the governor much trouble, but his energy and wisdom had brought it to a close. The anthems of a thanksgiving day had died away, and the governor, assured of peace, had gone to Fort Orange (Albany), when news reached him of the coming English armament. He hastened back to his

capital, and on Saturday, the 30th day of August, Nicolls sent to the governor a formal summons to surrender the fort and city. He also sent a proclamation to the citizens, promising perfect security of person and property to all who should quietly submit to English rule.

Stuyvesant assembled his council and the burghers or magistrates, at the fort, to consider public affairs. They favored submission without resistance. The governor, true to his superiors and to his own convictions of duty, would not listen to such a proposition, nor allow the inhabitants to see the proclamation. The Sabbath passed without any answer to the summons. It was a day of great excitement and anxiety in New Amsterdam, and the people became impatient. On Monday the magistrates explained to them the situation of affairs, and they demanded a sight of the proclamation. It was refused; and they were on the verge of open insurrection, when a new turn in events took place.

Governor Winthrop, of Connecticut, with whom Stuyvesant was on friendly terms, had joined the English squadron. Nicolls sent him to Stuyvesant as an ambassador, with a letter in which was repeated the demand for a surrender. The two governors met at the gate of the fort. When Stuyvesant read the letter, he promptly refused to comply. Closing the gate, he retired to the council chamber and laid the letter before his cabinet and the magistrates. They said, "Read the letter to the people and so get their mind." The governor stoutly refused. The council and magistrates as stoutly insisted that he should do so, when the enraged governor, who had fairly earned the title of Peter the Headstrong, unable to control his passion, tore the letter into pieces. The people at work on the palisades, hearing of this, hastened to the State-House, where a large number of citizens were soon gathered. They sent a deputation to the fort to demand the letter. Stuyvesant stormed. The deputies were inflexible, and a fair copy of the letter was made from the pieces, taken to the State-House and read to the inhabitants. At that time the population of New Amsterdam did not exceed fifteen hundred souls. There were not more than two hundred men, excepting the little garrison, capable of bearing arms.

The impatient Nicolls sent a message to the silent governor, saying: "I shall come for your answer to-morrow with ships and soldiers," and anchored two war-vessels between the fort and the Governor's Island. Stuyvesant's proud will would not bend to circumstances, and from the ramparts of the fort he saw their preparation for attack, unmoved. And when men, women and children, and even his beloved son, Balthazar, entreated him to surrender that the lives and property of the citizens might be spared, he replied:

"I had much rather be carried out dead." At length, when the magistrates, the clergy and many of the principal citizens entreated him, the proud old governor, who had a heart as big as an ox and a head that would have set adamant to scorn, consented to capitulate. He had held out for a week. On Monday morning, the 8th of September, 1664, he led his troops from the fort to a ship on which they were embarked for Holland, and an hour afterward the red cross of St. George, as the flag of England (whose most conspicuous figure is a red cross) is sometimes poetically called, was floating over Fort Amsterdam, the name of which was changed to Fort James, in compliment to the duke.

The remainder of New Netherland soon passed into the possession of the English, and the city and province were named New York, also in compliment to the duke. Colonel Nicolls, whom the duke had appointed his deputy-governor, was so proclaimed by the magistrates of the city and all officers within the domain of New Netherland were required to take an oath of allegiance to the British crown.

In the curious fort the new governor made his abode. It must have appeared ludicrous as a fortification, to the eyes of an experienced European soldier like Nicolls. It contained besides the governor's house and barracks, a steep gambrel-roofed church with a high tower, a wind-mill, gallows, pillory, whipping-post, prison, and tall flag-staff. There was, generally, a cheerful submission to the conquerors on the part of the inhabitants, and profound quiet reigned in New York after the turmoil of the surrender.

So passed into the domain of perfected history the Dutch dominion in America, after an existence of half a century. By that unrighteous seizure of a territory which had been discovered and settled by the Dutch, England became the mistress of all the domain stretching along the coast of the Atlantic Ocean from Florida to Acadia, and westward across the entire continent. But upon New Netherland the Dutch, in that brief space of time, had made so deep an impression of their institutions, their social and religious habits, their modes of thought and peculiarities of character, that, like the Greeks when overcome by the brute force of the Romans, they remained unconquered in the loftier aspect of the case. The best characteristics of the Dutch of New Netherland are now, after the lapse of more than two centuries, marked features in the society of New York.

In 1665, Stuyvesant went to Holland to report to his superiors. They wished to shift the responsibility of the disaster from their shoulders to that of their last director. They declared that the governor had not done his duty, and asked the States-General to disapprove of the "scandalous surrender" of New Netherland. Stuyvesant made a similar counter-charge and begged the States-General to come to a speedy decision of his case, that he might return to America for his family. The High Mightinesses, as the representatives of Holland were called, required him to answer the charges of the West India Company. He sent to New York for sworn testimony, and at the end of six months he made an able report, its allegations sustained by unimpeachable witnesses. Among other affidavits was that of Van Ruyven, the then agent of the Company at New York and former secretary of the province, in which it was distinctly charged that the disaster was owing to the neglect of the Company. The latter made a petulant rejoinder, when circumstances put an end to the dispute. War between England and Holland, then raging, was ended by the peace concluded at Breda in 1667, when the latter relinquished to the former its claim to New Netherland. This finished the controversy between Stuyvesant and the West India Company.

Stuyvesant now departed for New York by way of England, where he obtained from King Charles the concession of the privilege for three Dutch vessels to have free commerce with New York for the space of seven years. Then he sailed for America, with the determination of

spending the remainder of his life in New York. He was cordially welcomed by his old friends; and he was kindly received by his political enemies, who had learned by experience that he was not a worse governor than the duke had sent them. Stuyvesant retired to his bowerie or farm on the East River, and in the quiet of domestic life he enjoyed the respect of his fellow-citizens. There he died in 1682, at the age of eighty years and under the venerable St. Mark's Church, in the city of New York, his remains repose. With all his faults magnified by prejudice, Peter Stuyvesant stands out conspicuous in our annals as a grand historic character.

The dreams of freedom under English rule were never realized. The inhabitants of New York soon found that a change of masters did not increase their prosperity or happiness. Fresh names and laws, they found, says Brodhead, did not secure fresh liberties. Amsterdam was changed to York, and Orange to Albany. But these changes only commemorated the titles of a conqueror. It was nearly twenty years before that conqueror allowed, for a brief period, to the people of New York, even that partial degree of representative government which they had enjoyed when the three-colored ensign of Holland was hauled down from the flag-staff of Fort Amsterdam. New Netherland exchanged Stuyvesant, and the West India Company, and a republican sovereignty, for Nicolls, and a royal proprietor, and a hereditary king. The province was not represented in Parliament, nor could the voice of its people reach the Chapel of St. Stephen at Westminster as readily as it had reached the Chambers of the Binnenhof at the Hague."

Nicolls ruled wisely, and Francis Lovelace, his successor in 1667, ruled mildly. The latter was a quiet man, unfitted to encounter great storms, yet he showed considerable energy in dealing with the hostile Indians and French on the northern frontier of New York during his administration. He held friendly intercourse with the people of New England; and in the summer of 1672, when a hostile squadron of Dutch vessels of war appeared before his capital, he was on a friendly visit to Governor Winthrop, of Connecticut. There was war, again, between England and Holland, at that time, and the Dutch inhabitants of New York had shown signs of discontent because of the abridgment of their political privileges, and a heavy increase in their taxes, without their consent. Personally they liked Lovelace, but they were bound to consider him as the representative of a petty tyrant. When, in menacing attitude, they demanded more liberty and less taxation, the governor, in a passion, unwisely declared that they should "have liberty for no thought but how to pay their taxes." This was resented, and when the Dutch squadron came, nearly all the Hollanders regarded their countrymen in the ships as liberators. When Colonel Manning, who commanded the fort, called for volunteers, few came, and these not as friends but as enemies, for they spiked the cannon in front of the State-House.

Manning sent an express for Lovelace, and seemed to do what he might to defend the fort. When the ships came up and fired their broadsides upon it, he returned their fire and shot the Dutch flagship "through and through." Then six hundred Holland soldiers landed on the bank of the Hudson above the town, where they were joined by four hundred Dutch citizens in arms, who encouraged them to storm the fort. They were marching down Broadway for the purpose, when they were met by a messenger from Manning with a proposition to surrender the fort, if his troops might be allowed to march out with the honors of war. The proposition was accepted. The

English garrison marched out with their colors flying and drums beating, and laid down their arms. The Dutch soldiers marched in, followed by the English troops, who were made prisoners of war and confined in the church.

On that hot summer day, the 9th of August, 1672, the flag of the Dutch republic waved over recovered Fort Amsterdam, and the name of the city of New York was changed to that of New Orange, in compliment to William Prince of Orange, the stadtholder or chief magistrate of Holland. The rest of the province soon submitted to the conquerors, and British sovereignty over it was extinguished. Stuyvesant, a quiet but exultant spectator of these momentous events, was avenged. The Dutch had taken New York!

Chapter XXVIII

New Netherland Restored to the British - Andros and the Duke of York - Governor Dongan and the First General Assembly in New York - James II and the Colonies - A New Heir to the Throne - Jacob Leisler and His career - Republicanism in New York - Governor Fletcher and His Discomfiture at Hartford - Indians Invade New York - Governor Bellamont - Captain Kidd, His Associates and Career - Governor Hyde and His Administration - Other Governors of New York - Political Parties - Freedom of the Press Vindicated - Negro Plot.

THE swift conquest of New York by the Dutch was speedily supplemented by the submission of the settlers on the Delaware within the domain of New Netherland. The other English colonists were amazed by the unlooked-for event, and some of them prepared for war. Connecticut foolishly talked of an offensive war others prepared to stand on the defensive. Anthony Colve, the governor of re-conquered New Amsterdam, was wide-awake. He kept his eye on the movements of the savages and Frenchmen on the North; watched every hostile indication in the East, and sent proclamations and commissions to towns on Long Island and in Westchester to compel hesitating boroughs to take the oath of allegiance to Prince William of Orange. He had strengthened his fortifications; and upon the fort and around the city of New Orange he had planted one hundred and ninety cannon. But all anxiety was ended by a treaty of peace between the Dutch and English, made at London early in 1674, by which New Netherland was restored to the British crown. Some doubts arising about the validity of the duke's title after these changes, the king gave him a new grant of territory in June, 1674, within the boundary of which was included all the domain west of the Connecticut River, to the eastern shores of the Delaware also Long Island and a territory in Maine. King Charles had commissioned Major Edmund Andros to receive the surrender of the province from the Dutch governor. He was now appointed governor of New York. The surrender took place, in a formal manner, at Fort James, in October.

Andros, who was destined to play an important part in American affairs' was then thirty-seven years of age. He had been brought up in the royal household, and accompanied the exiled family to Holland, where he began his military career. As major of Prince Rupert's regiment of dragoons, he performed gallant service, and being a favorite of the king and the duke, a good Dutch and French scholar, a thorough royalist and an obedient servant of his superiors, he was well fitted to perform the part which his masters appointed him to play. His private character was without blemish, and the evil things spoken of him relate to his public career. The duke's instructions favored the constitution of the province of New York, and Andros enforced them with ever-increasing vigor. In his zeal he even exceeded his instructions and in a short time he acquired the just title of "tyrant." The duke, his master, was a strange compound of wickedness and goodness; slow to perceive right from wrong and seldom seeing the truth in its purity. Bancroft says of him - "A libertine without love, a devotee without spirituality, an advocate of toleration without a sense of the natural right to freedom of conscience, - in him the muscular force prevailed over the intellectual. He was not blood-thirsty but to a narrow mind fear seems the most powerful instrument of government, and he propped his throne with the block and the

gallows. He floated between the sensuality of indulgence and the sensuality of superstition, hazarding heaven for an ugly mistress, and, to the great delight of abbots and nuns, winning it back again by pricking his flesh with sharp points of iron, and eating no meat on Saturdays." Of the two brothers, the Duke of Buckingham said well, that "Charles would not, and James could not see." The fact that he was the destined successor of Charles on the throne of England - a king whose irregularities of life were rapidly hurrying him to the grave - made James an object of intense interest to the Protestants of the realm, and the subject of intrigues to prevent him ascending to the seat of his brother.

With all their political disabilities under Andros, the people of New York were prosperous and therefore comparatively happy. Luxury had not corrupted their tastes, and wants were few. A man worth three thousand dollars was rich, the possessor of five thousand dollars was opulent. There was an almost dead level of equality in society. Beggars were unknown.

Ministers were few, but religions many and out of matters of faith grew many controversies. There seemed little reason for the twenty thousand inhabitants of the domain to be unhappy but the divine instinct of freedom, which demanded a free exercise of the rights of self-government, made many of them discontented and in some places mutinous.

It was then a stormy time in England. Theological disputes culminated in bloodshed and universal disorder, and thousands were sent to America, and other thousands fled to the colonies. Of the former, women were often burnt in the cheek, and men marked by cutting off their ears. These fugitives, many of them people of good families and education, inoculated all the provinces with healthful republican aspirations.

At about this time the duke's daughter Mary married her cousin Prince William of Orange. These nuptials were distasteful to the duke, who was becoming more and more a confirmed Roman Catholic; for William was recognized as the leader of the Protestants of Europe. "I predict," said the French ambassador in London to James, "that such a son-in-law will inevitably be your ruin." The prediction was soon fulfilled, as we shall observe presently. The nuptials of those cousins led to very important events in the history of England and America.

The career of Andros outside of New York was more striking - more dramatic - than within that domain. This career we shall have occasion to notice hereafter. It is sufficient to say here, that after an administration of about nine years, he was succeeded in 1683 by Thomas Dongan, a mild mannered and enlightened Irishman of the Roman Catholic faith, who reached New York in August. Andros had ruled with vigor, keeping peace with the powerful Iroquois Confederacy curbing religious enthusiasts; frowning upon every sign of republicanism, and asserting with great tenacity the powers of the duke within the chartered limits of his territory. Meanwhile the duke had listened to the appeals of the inhabitants of New York and heeded the judicious advice of William Penn, to give the people liberty; and Dongan was clothed with authority to call an assembly of representatives of the people. Dongan's sympathies were with the popular desires, and performing the duty with alacrity, he saw a Legislative Assembly in session in Fort James at

New York, on the 17th of October, 1683 - about thirty years after the Dutch, in the same city, made a demand for a popular convention. It is a memorable day in the history of the State of New York. Then was established the first General Assembly of the Province of New York, composed of seventeen representatives, who sat three weeks, and passed fourteen acts, all of which were assented to by the governor and his council. The first of these was entitled "The Charter of Liberties and Privileges, granted by his Royal Highness, to the inhabitants of New York and its Dependencies." It declared that supreme legislative power should forever be and reside in the governor, council and people, met in general assembly; that every freeholder and freeman should be allowed to vote for representatives without restraint that no freeman should suffer but by judgment of his peers that all trials should be by a jury of twelve men that no tax should be assessed, on any pretense whatever, but by the consent of the Assembly; that no seaman or soldier should be quartered on the inhabitants against their will that no martial-law should exist; and that no person, professing faith in God, by Jesus Christ, should, at any time, be any wise disquieted or questioned for any difference of opinion. Not a feature of the intolerance and bigotry of New England charters appeared in this first Charter of Liberties for the province of New York.

The hopes raised by the ratification of this Charter of Liberties were doomed to early disappointment. When, at the beginning of 1685, James ascended the throne, on the death of Charles, he refused to confirm as king what he had solemnly promised as duke. He immediately began to demolish the fair fabric of civil and religious liberty which had been reared in New York. A direct tax was ordered; the printing press - the right arm of knowledge and of freedom - was forbidden a place in the colony; and as he had determined to establish the Roman Catholic faith as the state religion throughout his realm, the provincial offices were filled by adherents of the Italian Church. The liberal-minded Dongan lamented these proceedings; and when the stud king instructed the governor to introduce French priests among the Five Nations, Dongan resisted the measure as dangerous to the English power on the continent. Fortunately the Iroquois Confederacy remained firm in their friendship for the English, in after years, and stood as a powerful barrier against the French, when the latter twice attempted to reach the white settlements at Albany.

The clear-headed and right-minded Dongan stood by the people and the interests of England with a firmness that finally offended the monarch. He knew that James had a great love for the French, and when he saw the advantages which he gave them in America by unwise acts, he could not but regard the sovereign's conduct as treason to his country. For his faithfulness, he was rewarded with the gratitude of the people of New York, and with dismissal from the office of governor by the king. In the spring of 1688, he received a letter from James, ordering him to surrender the government into the hands of Andros, who had a vice-regal commission to rule New York and all New England.

The viceroy journeyed from Boston to New York early in August, where he was received by Colonel Bayard's regiment of foot and horse, and wad entertained by the loyal aristocracy. In the midst of the rejoicings, the news came that the queen, the second wife of James, had been blessed

with a son, who became heir to the throne. The event was celebrated the same evening by bonfires in the streets and a feast at the City Hall. At the latter, Mayor Van Cortlandt became so hilarious, that he made a burnt sacrifice to his loyalty of his hat and periwig, waving the burning victims over the banquet table on the point of his straight sword.

The Dutch inhabitants of New York, as well as the Protestant republicans, were disappointed by the royal birth, for they had looked forward with hope for the accession of Mary, the wife of their own Prince of Orange, to the throne of England. This event intensified the general discontent because of the consolidation of New York with New England and the abridgment of their rights, and the people were on the verge of open rebellion when a revolution in England changed the whole aspect of affairs there and in America, and satisfied the aspirations of the Dutch at New York by seating William and Mary on the throne. The general result of that revolution has been recorded at near the close of the XXVth chapter of the present volume.

The effect of the accession of William and Mary, in New England, will be noticed hereafter. Andros and his political associates were seized at Boston, and sent to England. This act was followed in New York by the seizure of Fort James. In this movement Jacob Leisler, an influential merchant and commander of militia, took a leading part. He was a German colonist, a Presbyterian in church-fellowship, an enthusiastic admirer of William of Orange, but with democratic tendencies. About five hundred men in arms rallied around him at the fort, whence he issued this declaration: "As soon as the bearer of orders from the Prince of Orange shall have let us see his power, then, without delay, we do intend to obey, not the orders only, but also the bearer thereof."

Leisler refused to proclaim the accession of William and Mary, until he should be officially certified of the fact. At his request, delegates from a few towns assembled in convention, formed a Committee of Safety of ten, and proceeded to organize a provisional government. They commissioned Leisler commander of the province, when Nicholson, whose time-serving policy had alienated from himself the confidence of the people, fearing the populace, fled on board a vessel and sailed for London. This flight gave Leisler and his adherents an unexpected advantage. The people consented that he should act as governor in the absence of regularly constituted authority. The aristocracy were offended because an insolent foreigner and plebeian was in the high seat of power. They bitterly opposed him, but he managed public affairs so well that his enemies were compelled to praise him. Van Cortlandt, Bayard and other leaders of the aristocracy retired to Albany, where a convention of the people acknowledged allegiance to William and Mary, defied the power of Leisler, and denounced him as a treasonable usurper. Their influence in the province was great, and the communities on the Hudson generally disapproved of the mutinous proceedings in New York.

When, late in the year (1689), royal letters were received addressed to the governor, or, in his absence, to such as, for the time being, take care for preserving the public peace and administering the law in New York, Leisler considered that his own authority had received the royal sanction. He now, with clouded judgment and inconsiderate rashness, determined to bring into obedience

the aristocratic party, whose focus of strength was at Albany under the lead of Peter Schuyler, the mayor of that city. He sent his son-in-law, Jacob Milborne, with a few troops to enforce that obedience. He was resisted by argument and physical force until the awful destruction of Schenectady by the Indians in February, 1690, spread universal alarm and pointed to the necessity for uniting for the common defence. The authority of Leisler was acknowledged, for the people of the north sorely needed his help.

Another year passed by. Meanwhile the ears of the monarchs had been filled with reports of Leisler's usurpation and disloyalty, and they appointed Henry Sloughter governor of New York, who sent forward his lieutenant, Ingoldsby, to take possession of the province. When that officer arrived early in 1691, he haughtily demanded of Leisler the surrender of the fort. He did not deign to show his credentials, and Leisler properly refused compliance with his demands, at the same time treating Ingoldsby, and the few soldiers whom he brought with him, with respect. The aristocratic party were enraged by Leisler's refusal, and for several weeks the city was fearfully excited by the violence of factions. And when, in March, Governor Sloughter arrived, and Leisler sent him a letter loyally tendering to him the fort and province, that functionary, under the influence of the aristocratic leaders, answered it by sending an officer to arrest the "usurper" and Milborne, and six of the inferior "insurgents," on a charge of high treason. They were taken to prison, and when they were arraigned, the two principal offenders, denying the authority of the court, refused to plead, and appealed to the king. They were condemned, and sentenced to death (as were, also, the other six) but Sloughter, who, in his sober moments, was just and honest, refused to sign the death-warrant until he should hear from the king. The implacable enemies of the "usurper," determined on causing his destruction, invited the governor to a dinner party on Staten Island on a bright day in May. One of them carried to the banquet a legally drawn death-warrant, and when the governor had been made stupid by liquor, he was induced to sign the fatal paper. It was sent to the city that evening, and on the following morning Leisler and Milborne were summoned to prepare for execution. Leisler sent for his wife, Alice, and their older children, and after a sorrowful parting with them, he and his son-in-law were led to the gallows in a drenching rain. They confessed their errors of judgment, but denied all intentional wrongdoing. The blamelessness of their lives confirmed their declarations of innocence. Before Sloughter was permitted to recover from his debauch, they were hanged. It was a foul murder. The governor was tortured with remorse for his act, and died of delirium tremens three months afterward.

Leisler's appeal to the king was not sent. His son repeated it. The result was the return to the families of Leisler and Milborne of their confiscated estates, and before four years had passed, the British Parliament declared them innocent of treason, by reversing the attainder. Their death created a deep feeling of sympathy for the cause of popular sovereignty, of which they were representatives and proto-martyrs. From that hour republicanism had a very vigorous growth in the province of New York, and gave future royal governors a great deal of trouble.

Benjamin Fletcher succeeded Sloughter as governor of New York. He was a man of violent passions, weak judgment, greedy, dishonest and cowardly, and as dissolute as his predecessor.

How he came to be intrusted with the governorship at all, and especially with the large powers of commander of the militia of Connecticut, New York and New Jersey with which he was invested, is a problem not easily solved. He soon disgusted all parties and the recklessness of his administration caused more decided resistance to imperial power than ever before. Among his acts of petty tyranny, which displayed his folly and weakness, was his visit to Hartford, with Colonel Bayard and others, late in the autumn of 1693, to assert his disputed military authority there, by ordering out the Connecticut militia at a season when parades had ceased. The charter of the colony denied Fletcher's jurisdiction, and the Assembly, then in session, promptly gave utterance to that denial on this occasion. "I will not set my foot out of this colony, till I have seen his majesty's commission obeyed," said Fletcher to the governor of Connecticut. The latter yielded so much as to allow Captain Wadsworth to call out the train-bands of Hartford.

When the troops were assembled, Fletcher stepped forward to take the command, and ordered Bayard to read his excellency's commission. At that moment Captain Wadsworth ordered the drums to be beaten. "Silence!" angrily cried the petulant governor, and Bayard began to read again. "Drum! drum! I say," shouted Wadsworth; and the sonorous roll drowned the voice of Bayard. Fletcher, in a rage, stamped his foot and cried "Silence!" and threatened the captain with punishment for insubordination. Whereupon Wadsworth stepped boldly in front of the governor and said, while his hand rested on the handle of his sword: "If my drummers are interrupted again, I'll make the sunlight shine through you. We deny and defy your authority." The cowardly governor sullenly folded up his commission, pocketed it and the affront, and with his retinue returned to New York in a very angry mood. He complained to the king. The matter was compromised by making Fletcher commander of the Connecticut militia only in time of war.

During the whole of Fletcher's administration of seven years, party rancor, kindled by the death of Leisler, burned intensely, and, at one time, menaced the province with civil war. At the same time it was threatened with a destructive invasion by the French and Indians from Canada, under the guidance of the venerable Count Frontenac, the energetic governor of that province. These foes were then traversing the wilderness in northern New York, seeking for a passage through the country of the Five Nations to the English settlements below. Fortunately the governor listened to the wise advice of Mayor Schuyler, of Albany, who had a marvelous influence over the Iroquois Confederacy and under his leadership, about three hundred English and as many Mohawk warriors beat back the foe to the St. Lawrence. They so desolated the French settlements in the vicinity of Lake Champlain, slaying about three hundred French and Indians at the north end of the lake, that Frontenac was glad to remain quiet at Montreal.

Although the New York Assembly was filled with the bitter enemies of Leisler, they, as boldly as he, asserted the supremacy of the people, and would suffer no encroachments on colonial rights and privileges. They rebuked the interference of the governor in legislation, by insisting upon amendments to bills, and drew from him, on one occasion, the reproachful words which tell of their independence and firmness: "There never was an amendment desired by the Council Board, but what was rejected. It is a sign of a stubborn ill-temper." With that "stubborn ill-temper" of the Assembly, Fletcher was almost continually in conflict; and when, in 1698, he was superseded

by the Earl of Bellamont, he seemed as glad to leave the province as the people were to get rid of him.

Bellamont was an honest and energetic Irish peer. He had been on the Committee of Parliament appointed to make inquiry concerning the trial and death of Leisler, and was well acquainted with the questions which divided the factions. He rebuked the little aristocratic oligarchy who had hovered around Fletcher; and his wise and liberal course strengthened the republican cause. It opened the way to just legislation, and the ascendancy of liberal men in the Assembly. That body, in the year 1700, on receiving a letter from the king, asking them to indemnify the family of Leisler from a gracious sense of the father's services and sufferings, confirmed the verdict of Parliament in favor of the innocence of the martyr by granting the request.

Bellamont labored earnestly to reform existing abuses in the management of public affairs. It was a sharp commentary on the character of his predecessor, when he uttered the promise I will pocket none of the public money myself nor shall there be any embezzlement by others' much confidence had the Assembly in his integrity, that they voted a revenue for six years and placed it at the disposition of the governor. Notwithstanding his character was above reproach, it passed under a cloud because of his unfortunate connection with the famous pirate, Captain William Kidd. The story may be briefly told:

English commerce suffered greatly from the depredations of pirates and French privateers. The English government could not suppress the evil. A company was formed to do that work. It was composed of several English noblemen and the king, and Robert Livingston, the first Lord of the Manor, and Governor Bellamont, in America. They fitted out a galley called the Adventure, as a privateer. Livingston, then in England, recommended Captain Kidd, of New York, to be her commander, and he was duly commissioned as such by the king. In the Adventure, Kidd did noble service in protecting the commerce in American waters from the sea-robbers. He recruited from time to time, until his crew numbered one hundred and fifty men. Then he resolved to measure strength with the pirates of the Indian Ocean. Arming his men with pistols, cutlasses and pikes, and the Adventure with a swivel gun at her stem and stern, he sailed for Madagascar, where he turned pirate. He respected no flag, no nationality, no circumstance; but swept the seas for booty alone, roving over the vast expanse of ocean from Farther India westward to the coasts of South America. Thence he sailed up among the West India Islands and along the shores of North America, to the vicinity of his home and on Gardiner's Island, eastward of Long Island, he buried much treasure, consisting of gold, silver, and precious stones.

The piracies of Kidd were long known in England before the Company noticed them. At length the matter became so scandalous that they felt it necessary to vindicate their character. The belief was general that the king, the earl, the lord of the manor, and their associates had shared the plunder with Kidd, and the odium of complicity in piracy rested heavily upon them. They needed a scape-goat, and Kidd was made the victim. He appeared openly in the streets of Boston, unsuspecting of real danger, for he had his king's commission in his pocket, and

Bellamont was his business partner. But the governor, expressing horror at his crimes, ordered his arrest, and very soon the pirate appeared before the earl a prisoner in irons.

Kidd now saw that he was to be sacrificed, and he sought to win the earl's favor and aid, by telling Bellamont where he had hidden the treasure. In immovable firmness at that critical moment lay the governor's safety; and he turned a deaf ear to the prayers of the prisoner with bowed head, and the entreaties of his wife who begged for mercy, human and divine, for her erring husband. There was a struggle between the pride and fear and the better nature of Bellamont. The former triumphed. Kidd was sent to England and tried for murder and piracy. Convicted of the former, he was hanged. So the penalty of the sins of omission, at least, of the monarch and nobles and rich civilians, were borne by the commoner on the scaffold. The earl received the buried treasure, and at his coffers its history ends in impenetrable mystery.

The king and the earl died soon after Kidd perished, and Sir Edward Hyde, uncle of Queen Anne, who was then monarch of England, became governor of New York. He was a libertine and a knave, who cursed the province with misrule for about seven years. He was a bigot, too, and persecuted all denominations of Christians outside of the Church of England. He embezzled the public money, involved himself heavily in debt, and on all occasions was the persistent enemy of popular freedom. "I know no right which you have as an assembly," he said to the representatives of the people, "but such as the queen is pleased to allow you." That was in 1705, the year when that Assembly won the first substantial victory for democracy over absolutism or despotic rule. They obtained from the queen permission to make specific appropriations of incidental grants of money, and to appoint their own treasurer to take charge of extraordinary supplies. That was a bold and important step in the direction of popular independence and sovereignty.

So the very vices of the governor disciplined the people to resistance of oppression, and secured to them the recognition of rights which might have been postponed for many years. The governor, who was weak-minded, mean-spirited and vacillating, was so overpowered by the indomitable will of the people - a hardy, mixed race - that he meekly submitted to reproof, and in his poverty of soul and purse humbly thanked the Assembly for simple justice. In 1708, the queen, yielding to the wishes of the people, recalled him. When he left the chair of state his creditors cast him into prison, where he remained until the death of his father made him Lord Cornbury. Then he was released by the unjust law of England yet in force, which will not permit a peer of the realm, and consequently a member of the House of Lords, to be arrested for debt.

Lord Lovelace was Hyde's successor. With his brief administration began those contests between democracy and absolutism in the province of New York which ended only with the victory of the former at the close of the old War for Independence. Already the political friends of Leisler had achieved a signal triumph over his enemies. Colonel Bayard and others, who had published libels on the royal lieutenant-governor (Nanfan) before Hyde's arrival, had been arrested by that energetic officer and tried for and convicted of treason under a law which these men had made in 1691 to meet Leisler's case. Bayard was sentenced to be "hanged, drawn and quartered," but was reprieved until the pleasure of the monarch should be known. When Hyde arrived, soon

afterward, he reversed the attainder, and the 366 offender was set at liberty. The power of the self-constituted aristocracy was broken, and their controlling influence disappeared. When Lovelace came, and the crown demanded a permanent revenue without appropriation, the legislature of New York, in the exercise of popular sovereignty or rule of the people, and taking the ground that "taxation without representation is tyranny," would raise only an annual revenue for specific purposes. From that time, until 1732, the royal representatives, unable to resist the will of the people, as expressed by the Assembly, allowed democratic principles to grow, flourish, and bear fruit.

From Lovelace to Cosby, there were three governors - Robert Hunter, William Burnet and John Montgomery - and three acting governors. The first was a literary man, fond of good cheer, but unfitted by temperament to be governor of New York at that crisis. He brought with him three thousand German Lutherans from the Palatinate of the Rhine, who had been driven from their homes by the persecution of Louis the Fourteenth. These settled in different parts of the province of New York, and in Pennsylvania. They were chiefly the ancestors of the German population of the latter State.

Hunter and his council, under instructions, insisted that the popular Assembly, like themselves, existed only by the mere grace of the crown. The Assembly as vehemently insisted that "they possessed an inherent right to legislate, that was derived not from any commission or grant from the crown, but from the free choice and election of the people who ought not, nor justly can be, divested of their property without their consent." The governor could not assent to this doctrine. The Assembly were inflexible; and Hunter's administration was marked by violent political contests between the chief magistrate and the representatives of the people. "I have spent three years," he wrote at one time, in such torture and vexation that nothing in life can make amends for it." He loved his ease, and sighed for quiet. Failing health compelled him to return to England in 1719, when he left the government in the hands of Peter Schuyler, the oldest member of the council. That accomplished gentleman completely restored the friendship between the English and the Five Nations, which had been disturbed.

Hunter was succeeded by William Burnet, son of the celebrated Bishop Burnet. For awhile he was very popular, but at length he incurred the displeasure of a powerful party of merchants who controlled the Assembly, and his position was made so very uncomfortable that he was transferred to the government of Massachusetts. It was during his administration, that William Bradford, in the autumn of 1725, established the first public newspaper in New York. He had set up the first printing house in the province, in 1693, when Fletcher was governor. His paper was entitled "The New York Weekly Gazette." John Montgomery succeeded Burnet in 1728. Death closed his uneventful administration, in the summer of 1731, when Rip Van Dam, the senior member of the council, took charge of public affairs until the arrival of William Cosby as governor, in 1732.

Cosby was avaricious and arbitrary by nature, and opportunity made him exercise his passions almost without stint. His first act was to demand of Van Dam an equal share of that councillor's salary received by him while acting as governor. "Give me half the perquisites of your office from

the time of your appointment until your arrival," said Van Dam, "and I will agree to your proposition." This fair proposal was rejected, and Van Dam refused compliance with the governor's requisition. Cosby sued him in the Supreme Court. A majority of the judges were the governor's personal friends, and gave judgment against Van Dam. Chief-Justice Morris decided against the governor. The latter removed the chief justice without consulting his council, and put James De Lancey in his place.

The sympathies of the people were with Van Dam, and the governor's high handed proceedings aroused their indignation to an intense pitch. They induced John Peter Zenger, who had been an apprentice and business partner with Bradford, to establish a newspaper to be the organ of the democratic party. He did so in November, 1733, calling it the "New York Weekly Journal," with Van Dam behind him as financial supporter. Bradford's paper was then controlled by the government.

The "Journal" made vigorous warfare upon the governor and his political friends. It kept up a continual fire of squibs, lampoons and satires, and finally charged them with violating the rights of the people, the assumption of tyrannical power, and the perversion of their official stations for selfish purposes.

The officials endured these attacks for a year. In the autumn of 1734, the governor and council ordered Zenger's papers, containing his offensive articles, to be burned publicly by the common hangman, and he was arrested and thrown into prison on a charge of libelling the government. The Grand Jury refused to find a bill of indictment for this offence, but he was held by another process, and was kept in jail until early in the next August, when he was brought to trial in the City Hall, New York. The case excited intense interest throughout the whole country, for it involved the great question of liberty of speech and of the press.

Meanwhile an association called the "Sons of Liberty" had worked diligently for Zenger. The venerable Andrew Hamilton, of Philadelphia, then eighty years of age and the foremost lawyer in the country, was engaged as the prisoner's counsel. On the hot morning when the trial commenced, the court-room was densely crowded. Chief-Justice De Lancey presided. A jury was empaneled. The prisoner pleaded "Not Guilty," but boldly admitted the publication of the alleged libel, and offered full proof of its justification. The attorney-general had just risen to oppose the introduction of such proof when the venerable Hamilton unexpectedly entered the room, his long white hair flowing over his shoulders, instead of being queued in the fashion of the day. The excited audience, most of them in sympathy with the prisoner, arose to their feet, and in spite of the voice and frowns of the chief-justice, waved their hats and shouted loud huzzahs. When silence prevailed, the attorney-general took the ground that facts in justification of an alleged libel were not admissible in evidence. The court sustained him.

When Hamilton arose, a murmur of applause ran through the crowd. In a few eloquent sentences he scattered to the winds the sophistries which supported the pernicious doctrine that "the greater the truth the greater is the libel." He declared that the jury were themselves judges of

the facts and the law that they were competent to judge of the guilt or innocence of the accused, and reminded them that they were the sworn protectors of the rights, liberties and privileges of their fellow-citizens, which, in this instance, had been violated by a most outrageous and vindictive series of persecutions. He conjured them to remember that it was for them to interpose between the tyrannical and arbitrary violators of the law and their intended victim, and to assert, by their verdict, in the fullest manner, the freedom of speech and of the press, and the supremacy of the people over their wanton and powerful oppressors.

Notwithstanding the charge of the chief-justice was wholly adverse to the doctrines of the great advocate, the jury, after brief deliberation, returned a unanimous verdict of "Not Guilty." Then a shout of triumph went up from the multitude, and Hamilton was borne out of the court-room upon the shoulders of the people to a grand entertainment which had been prepared for him. On the following day a public dinner was given him by the citizens. At the close of September following, the corporation of the city of New York presented to Mr. Hamilton the Freedom of the City and their thanks, in a gold box weighing five-and-a-half ounces, made for the occasion. In this document they cordially thanked him for his "learned and generous defence of the rights of mankind, and the liberty of the press," and for his signal service which "he cheerfully undertook, under great indisposition of body, and generously performed, refusing any fee or reward."

This triumph of the popular cause - this vindication of the freedom of the press - this evidence of the determination of the people to protect their champions, and this success of an organization in its infancy which appeared in power thirty years later under the same name of "Sons of Liberty," was a sure prophecy of that political independence of the colonies which was so speedily fulfilled. Yet the stupid governor, staggered by the blow, could not understand the meaning of the prophecy; and only his death, a few months after the trial, put an end to his vindictive proceedings.

From the arrival of Cosby until the beginning of the French and Indian war at the middle of the century, the history of the province of New York is composed chiefly of the records of party strife. Only one episode in that history demands special attention here. It is known in our annals as the Negro Plot as unsubstantial in fact as was the "Salem Witchcraft." Several incendiary fires had occurred in quick succession in the city of New York, in 1741. The idea suddenly took possession of the minds of the inhabitants that it was the work of negroes, who had conspired to burn and plunder the city, murder the white inhabitants and set up a government under a man of their own color. A fearful panic ensued. Suspected negroes of both sexes, and some white men and women, were arrested and tried and before the excitement was over, four white people were hanged, and eleven negroes were burned. Eighteen of the latter were hanged, and fifty were sent to the West Indies and sold as slaves. On the site of the present City Hall, three negroes were burnt at the stake at one time. Two of them were men and one was a woman. All who suffered at that time were, undoubtedly, innocent victims of terror created by imaginary danger.

Chapter XXIX

Governor Bradford - The First Public Thanksgiving in New England - Friendship with the Indians - Canonicus and His Challenge - Weston's Colony and Its Career - Social Changes - Enterprise of the Pilgrims - Religious Matters - Colony at Cape Ann - Endicott at Salem - His Austerity - Massachusetts Bay Colony - Governor Winthrop and the Indians - Republican and Representative Governments Established - Intercourse with Other Colonies - Persecution in England and Intolerance in Massachusetts - Preparation to Resist Tyranny.

WILLIAM BRADFORD, the first historian of Massachusetts, was the official successor of John Carver, the earliest governor of the Plymouth colony. He entered upon his duties as chief-magistrate a few weeks before the States-General of Holland chartered the Dutch West India Company, under whose auspices the province of New Netherland, as we have observed, was first settled by Europeans.

Bradford was a native of Ansterfield, Yorkshire, in the north of England, where he was born in the year 1588. His pecuniary circumstances were easy, when he followed persecuted Puritans to Holland and became fully identified with them in exile. From early life he had been accustomed to their teachings and at the age of seventeen years, he attempted to fly to the Netherlands, with some others, whither their harassed brethren had gone. Betrayed, he was seized and imprisoned at Boston, in Lincolnshire, for awhile, but finally escaped and joined the fugitives at Amsterdam, where he learned the silk weaver's art and pursued it. On receiving his patrimony, he entered into unsuccessful commercial operations, and lost a greater portion of it. When the establishment of a free colony in America was projected at Leyden, he was one of the most zealous promoters of the measure; and he and his young wife were among the earliest emigrants to that land of promise. Before a site was selected for a settlement, and while the May-Flower was yet riding at anchor in Cape Cod Bay, Mrs. Bradford fell into the sea and was drowned. That was the first death among the Pilgrims after their arrival on the coast of America. Shrewd, wise, active, humane and generous, Bradford was very popular; and he was in the chair of state almost continually from 1621 until his death in 1657, a period of thirty-six years.

We have observed toward the close of Chapter XVI of the first volume, that the Pilgrims at Plymouth rejoiced in an abundance of food in the autumn of 1621, the first year of their settlement. Thereby their hearts were filled with gratitude, and after the fruits of their labors had all been gathered, the governor sent out huntsmen to bring in supplies for a general and common thanksgiving. That was the first celebration of the great New England festival of Thanksgiving, now annually held in almost every State and Territory of the Union in the month of November. Great quantities of wild turkeys and deer were gathered at Plymouth, and for three days the Pilgrims indulged in rejoicing, firing of guns and feasting - entertaining, at the same time, King Massasoit and ninety of his dusky followers, who contributed five deer to the banquets. Seven substantial houses had been built during the summer; the inhabitants were in good health; a few emigrants from England had come in a second ship, and there were happy homes in the wilderness the ensuing winter. Among the new comers was the Rev. Robert Cushman, one of the founders

of the colony, who, in December, 1621, preached the first sermon in New England.

Governor Bradford's chief anxiety, at first, was for the establishment of friendly relations between the English and the Indians. That was already secured with Massasoit and his people but Canonicus, the haughty chief of the Narragansets, living on Canonicut Island opposite the site of Newport, was loth to be friendly at first. To show his contempt for and defiance of the English, he sent a messenger to Governor Bradford with a bundle of arrows in a rattlesnake's skin. That was at the dead of winter, 1622. It was a challenge to engage in war in the spring. Like the venomous serpent that wore the skin, the symbols of hostility gave warning before striking - a virtue seldom exercised by the Indians. Bradford acted wisely on the occasion. He accepted the challenge to fight the multitude of savages, by sending the significant quiver back, filled with gunpowder and shot. "What can these things be?" inquired the ignorant and curious savage mind, as they were carried from village to village in superstitious awe as objects of evil omen. They had heard of the great guns at the seaside, and they dared not keep the mysterious symbols of the governor's anger, but sent them back to Plymouth in token of peace. The pride, if not the hatred, of Canonicus was subdued, and he and other chiefs humbly begged the English for friendship. But the alarmed colony spent the remainder of the winter and spring in fear, for Canonicus could send five thousand warriors to the field, it was said. The English, with much labor, built the fort mentioned in Chap. XVI of the first volume, which served, also, for a meeting-house. And when tidings came of the massacre by the Indians in Virginia, in April (see Chap. XXIV, Vol. I), every man worked diligently. Their houses were all barricaded, and "watch and ward were constantly kept."

Not long after this, the first war between the English and savages broke out. Weston, a wealthy and dissatisfied member of the Plymouth Company, sent over a colony of sixty unmarried men to plant a settlement on his own account, somewhere on the shores of Massachusetts Bay. He boasted of the superior strength of such a settlement by bachelors to that of Plymouth, which was "weakened by women and children." They were mostly idle and disorderly young men like those who went early to Virginia. Many of them were very dissolute. After living several weeks upon the scanty means of the Plymouth families, they went to the site of Weymouth, where they began a settlement. Idle and wasteful, they were soon compelled to confront gaunt Famine; and beggary and starvation were the alternatives presented to them. They exasperated the Indians by plundering their corn-fields and other sources of supplies. The savages, failing to discriminate between the righteous and the unrighteous, or fearing the vengeance of the other white people if they should destroy the young men at Weymouth, formed a plot for the extermination of all the English in their land. The peril was great, and was discovered only a few days before the fatal blow was to be struck. Massasoit, who had been nursed into health after a deadly sickness, by the brave hands of Edward Winslow, revealed the plot to his benefactor. The Plymouth people immediately sent Captain Standish, with a few soldiers, to protect the offending Englishmen, and in a contest that ensued an Indian chief and several of his followers were killed. The victor carried the chief's head upon a pole, in triumph, into Plymouth, and placed it on the palisades of the fort. When the good Robinson, at Leyden, heard of this, he wrote: "O, how happy a thing it would have been, had you converted some, before you killed any." If they were not "converted," the

savages were very much frightened, and sued for peace. So the settlement of strong unmarried men was saved by the Plymouth people, who were "weakened by many women and children." The childless Lord Bacon, in one of his essays, says "Certainly the best works and of greatest merit for the public have proceeded from the unmarried or childless men." Weston's experience was the reverse. His colony, too weak to endure, was broken up within a year after it was planted, and the most worthless of its members, happily for the Plymouth people, returned to England.

We have observed (Chapter XVI, Vol. I) that the Pilgrims and London merchants and others, formed a partnership in making the settlement of the Plymouth colony. The speculation, as such, was a failure. Ill-feeling arose between the two classes of proprietors. The merchants and others wished to dissolve the league, whose prescribed term of existence was seven years. It continued to the end of that time, when the colonists purchased the interest of their partners in England. Then the community system, or the common sharing of labor and its products, was abandoned, and the whole property was divided among the inhabitants. New incentives to industry were thereby created; and very soon the blessings of plenty drawn from the unfruitful soil of New England, rewarded labor there. The cultivators of the soil became free-holders, and general prosperity was soon manifested.

The restless enterprise of the children of the Pilgrims of our day marked the Fathers. While their number was few and their strength feeble, they stretched forth their hands to grasp other landed possessions. At an early day they acquired rights of domain on Cape Anne and on the borders of the Kennebec. Nothing but the interfering spasms of the dying Plymouth Company, of whom the veteran Gorges was the latest survivor, prevented their extending the jurisdiction of Plymouth over all New England. His efforts to sustain the claims and existence of the Company, and his ambitious aspirations in his old age as governor-general of New England and lord proprietor of Maine, have been already considered in the XVIIIth chapter of the first volume.

The colony had been spared the affliction of a governor sent by Gorges, and from the beginning had enjoyed self-government without the royal sanction. That government was simple. At first the only officers were a governor and one assistant magistrate. In 1624, five assistants were chosen and in 1630, when the colony numbered about five hundred souls, seven assistants were chosen by the whole people. This pure democracy existed at Plymouth until 1639, a period of nineteen years, when a representative government was established and a pastor was chosen as a spiritual guide.

From the beginning the Pilgrims had cause for uneasiness concerning religious matters. They greatly desired to have their pastor, Mr. Robinson, come over from Leyden, but the greed of their speculating partners in England prevented his transportation to America. He was regarded as the head of the English Non-conformists or Puritans, though away in Holland. To please the Crown and the Church of England, for purposes of gain, these partners persistently opposed his emigration to America in any English vessel, and he never saw his beloved church that was planted in the wilderness. Meanwhile efforts were made, through the deception of false pretenses, to bring the Pilgrims under the control of the Church of England, but failed. A hypocrite named

Lyford was sent there to preach, and he and a confederate (John Oldham) conspired to overthrow both the political and religious system at Plymouth. Their wickedness was discovered, and on being arraigned before Governor Bradford, Lyford "burst into tears and confessed that he was afraid that he was a reprobate." His confederate was banished, but Lyford was pardoned on making loud professions of penitence. They were insincere and being caught in seditious tricks again, he was deposed from the ministry and banished from Plymouth.

The Pilgrims regarded Mr. Robinson as their pastor until his death in 1625. Religious services at Plymouth had been conducted, from the beginning, by Elder Brewster, in the form of prayer and exhortation, and were kept up until a regular pastor was provided. Some of their exercises were conducted in a democratic manner. On Sunday afternoons, a question would be propounded by the elder, to which all had a right to speak. In the exercise of private judgment these religious meetings sometimes became the arena of intemperate debates and after a pastor was called, it was difficult to retain one there, because of the restiveness of the people under even moderate discipline.

The independent colony of Weston failed, but another was attempted at Cape Ann, where Gloucester now stands, by the Rev. John White, rector of Trinity Church, Dorchester, England, and several influential persons whom he persuaded to join him. They expected to found there a flourishing fishing colony, but the enterprise failed and was abandoned. White was not disheartened. He infused his own spirit into other powerful citizens, whose names afterward appeared conspicuous in the annals of New England. They formed a Company in 1628, and purchased a tract of land extending from three miles north of the Merrimac River to three miles south of the Charles River, and westward to the South Sea or Pacific Ocean.

In the summer of that year, the Company sent John Endicott, one of their number (including his wife and children), with emigrants, to settle on the domain. Endicott was commissioned governor or general manager of the colony; and then he began his long and eventful career in New England. He was then forty years of age; possessed of an imperious and unyielding will was a most rigid Puritan in thought and manner; benevolent though austere, and was intolerant of all dissenting opinions.

Endicott conducted the little colony to Naumkeag, where some of White's men from Cape Ann were seated. After settling some disputes about the right of occupation and control, he named the place Salem, the Hebrew word for "peaceful." There he soon displayed his stern opposition to all "vain amusements," by causing a May-pole to be cut down, which the Dorchester people had set up. He lectured them on the folly of amusements, and warned them to "look there should be better walking."

Several persons of wealth and influence in Boston, Lincolnshire, and elsewhere, joined the company early in 1629, and in March a royal charter was granted creating them a corporation under the name of "The Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay, in New England." The administration of public affairs was intrusted to a governor, deputy, and eighteen assistants or

magistrates, who were to be elected annually by the stockholders of the Company. A general assembly of the freemen of the colony was to be held at least four times a year to legislate for the colony. The Icing claimed no jurisdiction, for he regarded the whole affair as a trading operation, and not as the founding of an empire. He could not comprehend the moral and religious movements going on around him, and was lavish of privileges which he could not easily recall. The charter conferred upon the colonists of Massachusetts Bay all the rights of English subjects without exacting many corresponding duties and it was afterward used as a text for many powerful discourses against the usurpations of royalty.

The Company were careful to make "plentiful provision of godly ministers for the colony," and in the summer after Endicott's departure, three of these - Skelton, Higginson and Bright - were sent to Salem, with about two hundred additional settlers. Soon after their arrival a church was organized by the choice of Samuel Skelton as pastor, and Francis Higginson as teacher or assistant. They were ordained by a simple ceremonial. Mr. Higginson and three or four of the gravest men laid their hands on Mr. Skelton's head, while he knelt, and then prayed. Mr. Higginson was consecrated by Mr. Skelton in the same way. Mr. Higginson then drew up a confession of faith and plan of church government, and an invitation was sent to the Plymouth people to be present at a formal organization of the society. On a warm day, the 6th of August, the people were gathered in the shade of great elms at Salem, when the two ministers preached, and thirty persons signed the covenant and associated themselves as a church. Governor Bradford and others, who came from Plymouth by sea, did not reach Salem until the ceremony was ended, when they "came into the assembly and gave them the right hand of fellowship." So was founded the first church in New England. They claimed that they were not Separatists - that is, separated from the Church of England - but a better part of it, discarding its corruptions and trying to reform it. Yet in all outward things they 'are Separatists. Endicott and his friends punished two brothers named Browne for worshipping in accordance with the prescriptions and rituals of the Book of Common Prayer, the governor declaring the liturgy and ceremonials to be sinful corruptions of the worship of God. The offenders persisted and Endicott sent them back over the ocean, telling them that New England was no place for such as they. The Company did not disclaim the act, but simply asked Endicott to be discreet, for fear of offending the home government.

This high-handed act unreprieved, established the fact that the authorities of Massachusetts might, at their discretion, exclude all persons from the colony who did not conform to the pattern of morals and religion prescribed by the governor and ministers. This was the beginning of that blind intolerance of the Puritans of Massachusetts, which appears as a dark stain upon the annals of New England. We must judge those early settlers leniently by the standard of ethics which prevailed in civilized society at that time.

Toward the close of the summer of 1629, an important measure was adopted by the Company, which gave a mighty impulse to emigration to Massachusetts. It was the transferring of the government of the colony from the Company to the people there, and so establishing a democracy like that at Plymouth. That was done on the 29th of August. The old officers in the colony

resigned, and John Winthrop, one of the many wealthy and influential heads of families who had determined to emigrate to Massachusetts in the event of such a change in its political affairs, was chosen governor. John Humphrey, brother-in-law to the Earl of Lincoln, was chosen deputy-governor, but, on the eve of embarkation, his place was filled by Thomas Dudley, a veteran soldier and then the manager of the estates of the earl. Eighteen assistants were also chosen.

Winthrop was then forty-two years of age. He was a native of Groton, Suffolk county, where he had considerable landed property. A lawyer by profession, he had moved in the higher circles of society among eminent men in church and state, by which means he became learned in statesmanship and polished in manners. "Dudley had served as a soldier under Henry the Fourth of France thirty years before and was old enough," Palfrey says, "to have lent a shrill voice to the huzzahs at the defeat of the Armada. Of the assistants, Johnson, Saltonstall, Eaton, Bradstreet and Vassall were the most conspicuous. Isaac Johnson was the richest of the emigrants, and son-in-law of the Earl of Lincoln. Sir Robert Saltonstall, of Halifax, Yorkshire, was an opulent supporter of the enterprise. Theophilus Eaton was an eminent merchant of London, and a polished courtier who had been the earliest minister of Charles the First, in Denmark. Simon Bradstreet was the son of a Puritan minister in Lincolnshire and college graduate, and William Vassall was an opulent West India merchant."

Winthrop and his companions, consisting of about three hundred families sailed from Yarmouth in the spring of 1630. The governor was in the *Arabella*, a ship carrying twenty-eight guns, and so named in compliment to Arabella Johnson, wife of one of the assistants. Before leaving the port, the governor, in behalf of his company, sent an address, drawn by the Rev. Mr. White, to the rest of the brethren in and of the Church of England, saying that "they esteemed it a favor to call that church their "dear mother;" that they wished her prosperity, and that they left her and their native land with much sadness of heart and many tears." They declared that they went to establish an independent church, but not a separate one.

The *Arabella* arrived at Salem in June. They found there neither a church nor town. A rather stately house, in which the governor lived, and a few hovels, constituted the shelter of the settlers, among corn-fields. Death had been busy, during the previous winter and spring, with the older settlers, and many of the survivors were weak and sick. Provisions were scarce. Disease attacked the new comers, and before the close of autumn, of a thousand emigrants who had arrived that year, two hundred were in their graves. The charming Arabella Johnson - the "queen" of the colony who came from a home of luxury, died within a month after her arrival; and grief for her loss consigned her husband to the grave a few weeks afterward.

Winthrop sought a more attractive place than Salem for the seating of his colony. Endicott's people had built some huts at Charlestown, whither some of Winthrop's people went. Others seated themselves at Dorchester, Roxbury, Watertown, and Cambridge. It was proposed to found the capital of the colony at Charlestown, and there the first court of the assistants was held late in August. But an epidemic disease, caused, it was supposed, by unwholesome water at

Charlestown, induced the governor and magistrates, and others of the settlers, to remove to the peninsula of Shawmut, the site of Boston, where they found an abundance of pure spring water. There they built cottages and founded the capital of New England. The peninsula was composed of three considerable hills, and was called Tri-mountain for some time. The capital was named Boston, in commemoration of the native place of some of the emigrants from Lincolnshire. At the close of 1630, a large number of new emigrants had arrived, and the settlement on Shawmut was greatly increased. During the season, seventeen ships had brought almost fifteen hundred emigrants from England.

From the beginning the people were jealous of the power of the magistrates and ministers. They well knew the tendency toward tyranny of men exercising unrestrained control, and they thought it wise to assert popular rights - the rights of the people - at the outset. At a general court of the magistrates or assistants, in May, 1631, it was agreed that thenceforth all the officers of the government should be chosen annually by the freemen of the colony. These consisted of only men who were members in good standing of some church. This was an attempt to establish a sort of religious aristocracy for the control of the state, for, of the whole population, only one hundred and eighteen persons were qualified to be freemen, according to the prescription. This intimate relation between church and state gave rise to many disorders, and it was dissolved in 1665.

There was another change in 1634, when a representative government was established, the second in America. There were now eight distinct settlements in Massachusetts, and the growth of the colony was more rapid and sturdy than that of Plymouth. Winthrop, whom the people reelected, ruled wisely. Like Bradford, he courted the friendship of the surrounding Indians, and chiefs and sachems dined at his table. There might have been seen a sagamore from the Mohegans on the distant Hudson River to tell him of the beautiful Connecticut Valley, and invite him to send settlers there. There, also, might have been seen the son of the aged Canonius; his nephew Miantonomoh, the brilliant young chief of the Narragansets, and the representatives of the Nipmucs and Wampanoags with Massasoit, the good chief of the latter nation. Winthrop also cultivated friendly relations with the neighboring settlements and distant colonies. He journeyed on foot from Shawmut to Plymouth, to exchange courtesies with Governor Bradford; and he sent messengers to New Netherland to have a friendly talk there with the authorities about the occupation of a part of the Connecticut Valley. His policy was peace and good fellowship. A ship, trafficking with corn, that came from Virginia, met a friendly greeting when she sailed into Boston harbor.

For awhile after the arrival of Winthrop and his company, the flow of emigration to Massachusetts almost ceased. Men wished to see the experiment there fully tried before venturing. The intolerance of the authorities in church and state, in Massachusetts, was another cause for hesitation. The narrow views of civil and religious freedom entertained by those authorities and practically enforced, did not suit the more liberal-minded of the English Non-conformists, who were disposed to emigrate. There were too many shades of opinion among them to expect harmony before such an inexorable censor as they would meet in the

half-ecclesiastical or church government of Massachusetts. But political and religious events in England soon gave an amazing impetus to emigration to America. Laud, the primate or head of the church, in England, who hated Puritans intensely, was then carrying forward persecution with a high hand. He was an implacable inquisitor, and sent men to prison without mercy, because they did not conform to his requirements in their method of worshipping Almighty God. At the same time there was a violent struggle for power between the monarch and the people. The king had, in effect, abolished the Parliament, and was ruling England at the bidding of his uncontrolled will. Civil war was evidently brewing in the hearts and minds of the people, and those who loved quiet and foresaw the coming storm fled to America to avoid its consequences.

During the year 1635, full three thousand new settlers went to Massachusetts, among whom were men of wealth, influence, and distinction. Among these were the fiery Hugh Peters, an eloquent Puritan preacher, and Henry Vane, an enthusiastic young man twenty-five years of age, who took a conspicuous part in the affairs of the colony. Meanwhile the harsh proceedings of Endicott and others toward those who did not conform to their rigid discipline, and the intemperate zeal which characterized the authorities in Massachusetts, in their opposition to the church and crown, aroused the jealousy and resentment of both. These feelings were intensified by the intimations of the enemies of the colonists, that they named not at new discipline, but sovereignty, and action was taken to bring them into subjection. Much had been made of the fact that Endicott had caused a part of the red-cross of St. George to be cut out of the English flag at Salem, and that many of the citizens refused to follow it before it was so mutilated. These things were cited as evidence of disloyalty to the crown. On the contrary, it was loyalty to bigotry. Endicott regarded the cross in the flag as a relic of Anti-Christ, because the Pope had given it to the King of England as an ensign of victory. The whole aspect of the act was theological, not political but the royalists chose to interpret it otherwise, and it was one of the reasons for tyrannical action toward the colony, when orders were issued to the authorities of Massachusetts to produce their charter before the Privy Council in England. This was followed, in the spring of 1634, by the appointment of an arbitrary special commission for the colonies, with Laud, the primate, at their head. He and his associates received full power over the American colonies to organize new governments and dictate laws to regulate public worship, and to inflict punishments and revoke charters.

When the news of these proceedings reached New England, with a rumor that a governor-general or Viceroy was on his way, the authorities of Massachusetts took the boldest measures. Fortifications were ordered, and three thousand dollars - then a large sum for the poor colonists - were raised to pay for them and it was resolved not to receive a governor appointed by the crown. They determined to resist as long as possible. It was at that juncture that the great emigration just spoken of took place.

Chapter XXX

WHEN the fiery Hugh Peters and the gentler Henry Vane arrived at Boston in 1635, the colony was somewhat excited by theological disputes. The new-comers engaged in the controversy, and it soon took the form of a bitter quarrel. Peters was a rigid Puritan preacher just from a six years exile in Holland, and he was made pastor of the church vacated by Roger Williams when he was banished, whose doctrines the new preacher denounced, and whose adherents he expelled from the congregation.

Vane was only twenty-three years of age. He was a son of one of the king's high officers of state, and a young man of purest morals. Forsaking the preferments which awaited him at court, he fled to New England to enjoy the freedom of simple worship among those whose cause he had espoused. In after years Milton praised him for his goodness, and Clarendon regarded him as equal to Hampden in statesmanship.

The colonists regarded the advent of Vane as a token of the speedy emigration to Massachusetts of leading men of the realm. They received him with open arms, and in the delirium of their joy they seemed to forget their veterans, and elected him governor of the colony. With broad and generous views, he defended the tenets of Mr. Williams and Mrs. Hutchinson in the controversy - the leading points of which have been defined in the XXth Chapter of the first volume. This gave intensity to the partisan feeling, both in politics and theology, and a strong opposition to Vane was organized. After a tempestuous year Vane was defeated at the next annual election, when he returned to England.

Soon after Vane's departure Mrs. Hutchinson was banished, and she settled in Rhode Island. There she became a widow. Dreading the persecutions of bigots which menaced her, she left New England and took up her abode within the domain of New Netherland, among the sons of the forest. Her cabin was near the present village of New Rochelle, in Westchester county, and with her dwelt all her family, in peace, until the wickedness of Governor Kieft excited the wrath of the Indians. With blind fury they swept through the forest destroying every white settler and settlement. Mrs. Hutchinson did not escape. She and all her family, excepting a granddaughter, fair and curly-haired, eight years of age, were murdered. Her house and barns were burned; her cattle were butchered, and her grandchild was carried away captive. The young warrior who spared her life took her tenderly in his arms and soothed her with caresses, while an attendant bore upon a pole the scalps of some of her kinsfolk. When, four years afterward, little Anna Collins was delivered to the Dutch governor at New Amsterdam to be sent to her friends at Boston in accordance with the terms of a treaty, she had forgotten her own language and was unwilling to leave her Indian friends.

The good results of the war with the Pequods promised future security to the New England colonists against dangers from the wrath of the savages. The power of the English manifested in that war made the Indians peacefully inclined for a whole generation of time. Emigration, stimulated by persecution, began to flow into New England in a copious stream. The exodus of

Puritans from British shores, and the amazing development of a republican state in America, soon excited the jealousy and the fears of the church and the government. They put forth their strength to stay the tide, as we have observed, in vain. Other causes effected what royal decrees and armed men could not do. Troubles in England which threatened the overthrow of the monarchy and the hierarchy or church establishment withdrew the attention of both from the distant colonies; and when the civil war that ensued promised better times for the lovers of freedom at home, emigration to America almost ceased.

Meanwhile the ties of interest and common sympathy united the struggling colonists in New England. They were natives of the same country, and were the social and political products of persecution alike exposed to the weapons of hostile Indians and the greed for territory and power of the French and Dutch on their eastern and western borders. They were equally menaced with punishment by the parent government for non-conformity in matters of state and religion. They were, in fact, one people, bound by interwoven interests. Therefore when the civil war in Old England broke out in 1641, and the New England colonists, numbering more than twenty thousand, with fifty villages, almost forty churches, and their commerce expanding and manufactures of cotton from Barbados making them independent of the mother country so far, the aspect of the present and future made them seriously contemplate the establishment of a new nation. No tie of gratitude exacted their allegiance to the British. On the contrary, their happiness in freedom was the result of neglect and oppression, rather than of care and protection. In 1643, the British Parliament acknowledged that "the plantations in New England had, by the blessing of the Almighty, had good and prosperous success without any public charge to the parent state."

A confederation of New England colonies for mutual defence had been proposed by Connecticut immediately after the war with the Pequods. When the crown threatened to deprive Massachusetts of her charter, in 1638, the other colonies counselled resistance, and the people of the Bay threatened secession from the British realm. Now, relieved of the pressure of royal rule under royal displeasure, the inhabitants of New England resolved to unite in a political league. In May, 1643, deputies from the colonies of Plymouth, Connecticut and New Haven met those of Massachusetts in Boston. They very soon agreed upon twelve articles of Confederation, and constituted a confederacy under the title of "The United Colonies of New England." That written agreement was signed on the 20th of August following. Rhode Island and the settlements in New Hampshire and Maine asked to be admitted to the Union, but were denied, chiefly, as Winthrop said, because they ran a different course from us, both in their ministry and civil administration. They would not bend to the dictates of Massachusetts in matters which concerned the conscience. Whereupon, as we have observed, Rhode Island, which refused the required allegiance to Plymouth, took immediate and successful steps to procure an independent charter. See Chapter XX, Vol. I.

The New England Confederacy - the harbinger of the United States of America - was simply a league of independent provinces, as were our thirteen States under the "Articles of Confederation," as we shall observe hereafter, each jealously guarding its own privileges and rights against any encroachments of the "general government." That central body was really no

government at all. It was composed of a Board of Commissioners consisting of two church members from each colony, who were to meet annually or oftener if required. Their duty was to consider circumstances and recommend measures for the general good. They had no executive nor independent legislative powers, their recommendations becoming laws only after the separate colonies had acted upon and approved them. The doctrine of State supremacy was controlling.

That famous league, of which Massachusetts assumed the control because of its greater population and its being a perfect republic, remained in existence more than forty years, during which period the government of England was hanged three times. Unlike the Virginians, the New Englanders sympathized with the English republicans, and found in Oliver Cromwell, the ruler of England next to the beheaded Charles the First, a sincere friend and protector. The colony of Massachusetts, in particular, prospered. A profitable commerce between that colony and the West India Islands was created. That trade brought bullion, or uncoined gold and silver, into the colony, which led, in 1652, to the exercise of an act of sovereignty on the part of the authorities of Massachusetts by the establishment of a mint. It was authorized by the General Assembly, in 1651, and the following year silver coins of the denominations of three-pence, six-pence, and twelvepence, or shilling, were struck. This was the first coinage within the territory of the United States.

The Puritan of Massachusetts, at this time, was the straightest of his sect - an unflinching egotist who regarded himself as eminently his "brother's keeper," whose constant business was to save his fellow-men from sin and error; sitting in judgment upon their belief and actions with the authority of a God-chosen high-priest. His laws, found on the statute-books of the colony or divulged in the records of court proceedings, exhibit the salient points in his stern and inflexible character as a self-constituted censor, and a conservator of the moral and spiritual destiny of his fellow-mortals. He imposed a fine upon every woman who should cut her hair like that of a man. He forbade all gaming for amusement or gain, and would not allow cards or dice to be introduced into the colony. He fined families whose young women did not spin as much flax or wool daily as the selectmen had required of them. He would not allow a Jesuit or Roman Catholic priest to live in the colony. He forbade all persons "to run or even walk except reverently to and from church" on Sunday; and he doomed a burglar, because he committed his crime on that sacred day, to have one of his ears cut off. He commanded John Wedgewood to "be put in the stocks for being in the company of drunkards Thomas Petit, for suspicion of slander, idleness and stubbornness, "he caused to be "severely whipped;" Captain Lovell he admonished to "take heed of light carriage;" Josias Plaistowe, for stealing four baskets of corn from the Indians, was ordered by him to return to them eight baskets, to be fined five pounds, and thereafter to "be called by the name of Josias, and not Mr. Plaistowe, as formerly. He directed his grand jurors to admonish those who wore apparel too costly for their income, and if they did not heed the warning to fine them; and in 1646, he placed on the statute-book of Massachusetts a law which imposed the penalty of flogging for kissing a woman in the street, even in the way of honest salute.

Almost a hundred years after that law was passed, its penalty was inflicted upon the commander of a British man-of-war. She arrived at Boston after a long cruise. As her

commander was going toward his home in that city, he met his wife in the street hastening to greet him, when he gave her an affectionate kiss. A stern old magistrate in a cocked-hat and powdered hair in a queue, who was "learned in the law," seeing the act, caused his immediate arrest. The next morning, after due trial, the captain was convicted and the punishment of flogging was administered in a very mild way, but in a public place, causing much merriment. When the victim was about to sail on another cruise, he invited that magistrate and others whom, he understood, had approved of his punishment, to a complimentary dinner on board of his vessel, as a token of his forgiveness and submission. They accepted it, and when they were all merry with good cheer, and were on deck ready to depart, he ordered his boatswain and mate to give the magistrates a sound flogging. Each officer was armed with a knotted cat-o'-nine-tails, and they drove the astonished guests pell-mell over the side of the vessel into the boat waiting to receive them. The captain sailed away, and the law was soon afterward repealed. Governor Winthrop tempered these laws with merciful mildness in their execution. On one occasion it was reported to him that a man had been stealing from his store of winter's firewood, and he was urged to punish him. "I will soon put a stop to that bad practice," said the governor sternly. He sent for the offender. "You have a large family," he said to the offending culprit, "and I have a large magazine of wood; come as often as you please, and take as much of it as you need to make your dwelling comfortable." Then turning to his accusers, he said: "Now I defy him to steal any more of my firewood."

The bigotry and austerity of the Puritans in Massachusetts were vehemently condemned at the time of their iron rule in New England, and have been ever since. But there are peculiar considerations in their case, which the eye of justice cannot overlook. Their theology and their ideas of church government were founded upon the deepest heart-convictions of a people not broadly educated. They had encountered and subdued a savage wilderness for the purpose of planting therein a church and a commonwealth fashioned in all their parts after a narrow but cherished pattern. They felt that the domain which they had conquered with so much peril and toil was their own, and that they had as good a right to regulate its internal affairs according to their own notions, and exclude all obnoxious persons, as had a householder the affairs of his family and the avoidance of an unwelcome visitor. They had boldly proclaimed the right to the exercise of private judgment in matters of conscience, and so they tacitly invited the persecuted of all lands to come to them. Therefore, unsettled persons, libertines in unrestrained opinions, came to Massachusetts from abroad to disseminate their peculiar views. In that dissemination the Puritans saw clear prophecies of a disorganization of their church. They took the alarm early, and with a mistaken policy they resisted such encroachments upon their domain and into their society with fiery penal laws implacably executed. But it was only in respect to religion that the Puritan laws were specially harsh as compared with the general jurisprudence or science of law of that day. "God forbid," said Governor Dudley in his old age, our love for the truth should be grown so cold that we should tolerate errors - "I die no libertine." "Better tolerate hypocrites and tares than thorns and briars," exclaimed that famous man of God," as Norton called Parson John Cotton. "To say that men ought to have liberty of conscience is impious ignorance," said Parson Ward of Ipswich, author of "The Simple Cobbler of Agawam." "Religion admits of no eccentric notions," said Parson Norton, the colleague of Ward, biographer of Cotton, and persecutor of the

Friends or Quakers.

Friends or Quakers. The peculiarities of this sect, we have considered in Chapter XXII of the first volume. Among the earlier disciples of George Fox were many enthusiasts whose zeal led their judgment. They were absolute fanatics, and sometimes became lunatics in their religious views and actions, and were utterly unlike the sober, mild-mannered members of that society to-day. They ran into the wildest extravagances in the exercise of the liberty of speech openly reviling magistrates and ministers with intemperate language overriding the rights of all others in maintaining their own, and scorning all respect for human laws. They made the most exalted pretensions to the exclusive possession of the gifts of the Holy Spirit and the power of persuasion with which they were endowed. Some, in the pride of their egotism, went to Rome to convert the Pope; others went to the East to convince the Grand Turk and his people of their errors; and some came to America to proselyte the Puritans in New England, the Roman Catholics in Maryland, and the Cavaliers and Churchmen in Virginia. Some of them behaved so wildly and disorderly in Boston that they suffered intensely from the indignation of the magistrates and clergy there and they so disgusted the tolerant Roger Williams, that he tried to root them out of Rhode Island.

The first of the sect who appeared conspicuous in New England were Mary Fisher and Anna Austin, who arrived at Boston in the summer of 1656, when John Endicott was governor. There was then no special law against them, but under a general act against heretics, they were arrested their persons were examined to find marks of witchcraft, with which they were suspected; their trunks were searched, and their books were burned publicly by the common hangman. These innocent and well-behaved women were so treated because of the stories of the disorderly acts of some of the sect in England who had come over the sea. After keeping them in prison several weeks, the authorities of Massachusetts sent them back to England. Mary Fisher afterward visited the Sultan of Turkey, passing everywhere unharmed because his people revered a crazy person, for such they took her to be.

This harsh treatment of the first comers fired the zeal of the more enthusiastic of the sect in England. They sought martyrdom as an honor. They flocked to New England and fearfully vexed the souls of the Puritan magistrates and ministers. One woman came all the way from London to warn the authorities against persecutions. Others came for the purpose of reviling and denouncing - vehemently scolding - the powers in church and state. They would rail at magistrates and ministers from windows, as these functionaries passed by. They mocked the institutions of the country and some fanatical young women appeared without clothing in the churches and in the streets, as emblems of the unclothed souls of the people, while others, with loud voices, proclaimed that the wrath of the Almighty was about to fall like destructive lightning upon Boston and Salem. Horrified by their blasphemies and indecencies, the authorities of Massachusetts passed some very cruel laws. At first they forbade all persons harboring "Quakers," imposing severe penalties for each offence. Then they imposed mild punishments upon the Friends themselves. These statutes were ineffectual; and finally, driven by resentment and mistaken judgment, they passed laws which authorized the cropping of the ears, boring of the tongues with

hot irons, and hanging on a gibbet, of offending Quakers. Yet these terrible laws did not keep them away. They were fined, imprisoned, whipped and hanged during the administration of the rigid Endicott, who was implacable. On a bright October day in 1659, two young men named William Robinson and Marmaduke Stevenson, with Mary Dyer, wife of the secretary of state of Rhode Island, were led from the Boston jail, with ropes around their necks, and guarded by soldiers, to be hanged on Boston Common. Mary walked between her companions hand in hand to the gallows, where, in the presence of Governor Endicott, the two young men were executed. Mary was unmoved by the spectacle. She was given into the care of her son who came from Rhode Island to plead for her life, and went away with him. But she returned the next spring, defied the laws, and was executed on Boston Common.

The severity of these laws caused a revulsion in public sentiment. The Friends stoutly maintained their course with decency, and were regarded by the more thoughtful as real martyrs for conscience sake. The people, at length, demanded a repeal of the bloody enactments, and by that repeal, in 1661, the Friends achieved a triumph. The fanaticism of both parties subsided. A more Christian spirit prevailed and the attention of the more sober-minded Friends was turned to the task of converting the Indians. They nobly assisted the Apostle Eliot and others in propagating the gospel among the pagans of the forests for whom that Apostle had labored for years. He had established a Christian church among them at Natic, and at the time of the repeal of the cruel laws, there were no less than ten villages of converted Indians in Massachusetts.

The reign of republicanism in England, under Oliver Cromwell and his son, was short. King Charles the First, after contending with the people for the royal prerogative and the throne for several years, was beheaded on a cold winter's morning in January, 1649, in front of his own palace of White hall. Royalty was then abolished. Late in May, 1660, the son of King Charles, who had been proclaimed monarch of England under the title of Charles the Second, rode into London on horseback between his brothers the Dukes of York and Gloucester, and took up his abode in the palace of Whitehall, while flags waved, bells rang, cannon roared, trumpets brayed, shouts rent the air and fountains poured out costly libations of wine as tokens of the public joy. After a struggle for about twenty years between royalists and republicans, the monarchy was restored, and the English people again became subjects of the head of the Scottish house of Stuart.

The members of the House of Commons had constituted a High Court of Justice for the trial of Charles the First, and many of them, signed his death-warrant. These were hunted by the royal vengeance. Some perished on the scaffold. Among these were Hugh Peters and Henry Vane, who had figured conspicuously in New England more than twenty years before. Many fled and so escaped the fatal block. Among these were Edward Whalley and William Goffe, who went to New England and gave the first news of the restoration of monarchy. The former was a cousin of Cromwell and of Hampden, and a distinguished cavalry officer. He had been intrusted with the custody of the royal prisoner, and was one of the signers of his death-warrant. Cromwell appointed him one of the major-generals who assisted in the government of the commonwealth, and was one of his most active lieutenants. Goffe, a son of a Puritan clergyman, was Whalley's

son-in-law, a colonel of infantry and member of the High Court who signed the death-warrant of the king. He, also, was one of Cromwell's ten major-generals.

Orders speedily followed the fugitives to New England for their arrest, and officers came from Old England for the same purpose. The "regicides," or king-killers, as they were called, were, after awhile, closely hunted, but the authorities and people of New England effectually concealed them from their enemies for years. When danger lowered, they fled from Boston to New Haven, and for a long time occupied a cave not far from that place. Finally they made their abode in the remote town of Hadley, where they were joined by Colonel Dixwell, another "regicide," who finally settled in New Haven. In Hadley, Whalley died. Goffe survived him until after King Phillips war, which we shall notice presently; but from the time when they took up their abode there, in disguise, they disappeared from public view. During that period, so terrible to New England settlers, Hadley was surrounded by hostile Indians. The people were in the meeting-house observing a fast day. They were armed, as usual, and sallied out to drive off the savages. At that moment a tall, venerable personage, with a white, flowing beard, clad in a white robe and carrying a glittering sword, suddenly appeared among the people, took the lead of the armed men, caused them to observe strict military discipline, and led them to victory. The people believed the stranger (who as suddenly disappeared) to be an angel sent by the Lord for their deliverance. The angel was General Goffe, who was stout in body and valiant in spirit. It is related that soon after his arrival in Boston, a fencing-master erected a stage on the Common, on which he walked several days, defying any man to fight him with swords. Goffe accepted the challenge. He wrapped a huge cheese in a linen cloth as a shield, and arming himself with a mop filled with muddy water from the gutter, he appeared on the platform. The fencing-master made a thrust at him, which Goffe received in the cheese in which he held the sword until he had smeared his antagonist with mud. The enraged fencing-master caught up a broad-sword, when Goffe exclaimed: "Stop, sir; hitherto, you see, I have only played with you, and not attempted to harm you but if you come at me now with the broad-sword, know that I will certainly take your life." The alarmed fencing-master cried out, as he dropped his sword, "Who can you be? You must be either Goffe, or Whalley, or the Devil, for there were no other men in England who could beat me."

The New England colonies, and especially that of Massachusetts, expected very little favor from the new monarch, for their republicanism was decided and conspicuous. In the course of a few months after the Restoration, the General Court of Massachusetts sent addresses to the King and Parliament, chiefly because enemies of New England evidently possessed the confidence of the monarch and his ministers. In those addresses, general loyalty was expressed, and they prayed for a "continuance of civil and religious liberties" which they had long enjoyed, and promised for the crown, in return for its protection of their freedom, the blessings of a people whose trust is in God.

The king returned a gracious answer in the form of general expressions of good-will, but his smiles were not propitious. He resolved not to show these distant political enemies of his father any favors. The stringent provisions of the navigation laws and commercial restrictions from

which Cromwell had exempted the New Englanders were now renewed and rigorously enforced. Expecting collisions with the Crown, the latter, in Massachusetts, issued a declaration of natural and chartered rights, in which they claimed the liberty to choose their own executive officers and representatives to admit freemen on their own prescribed terms; to appoint all officers and define their powers and duties; to exercise, by annually elected magistrates and deputies, any function of human government; to defend themselves by force of arms, if necessary, against every aggression, and to reject, as an infringement of their right, "any parliamentary or royal imposition prejudicial to the country and contrary to any just act of colonial legislation."

Massachusetts now sent agents to London to persuade the king of their loyalty, at the same time to secure their independence in local affairs, as a self-governing people. It was a difficult task, but John Newton and Simon Bradstreet successfully performed it. In the autumn of 1662, the king confirmed the Massachusetts charter, and granted a conditional amnesty of general pardon for all past offenses during the late civil war; at the same time the king asserted his right to interfere with the domestic concerns of the colony.

The people of Massachusetts did not concede this royal right, and in 1664, commissioners were sent over, in a royal fleet, destined to take possession of New Netherland (see page 350), commanded by Colonel Nicolls, one of the commissioners, to "settle the peace and security of the country on a solid foundation"-in other words, to rule New England as deputies of the monarch. The people of Massachusetts were greatly irritated by this measure, and spoke out freely. False stories were carried to the ears of the king respecting the rebellion of the colonies, and for awhile there was a general belief in London that Whalley and Goffe were at the head of a New England army, and that the New England Confederacy had been formed for the express purpose of casting off all dependence on the mother country and establishing a republic in America. At the same time the colonists regarded the commissioners as royal instruments of oppression who would destroy their liberties. Massachusetts boldly protested against the exercise of their authority within its domain. So did the other New England colonies excepting Rhode Island. The acts and orders of the commissioners were generally disregarded, and after producing much ill-feeling and stimulating a democratic spirit throughout New England, they departed in 1666, leaving the colonies triumphant. Massachusetts ever afterwards held a front rank in the sturdy battle for independence which was waged for more than a hundred years. Yet she had a fierce struggle, at times, with royalty abroad, royal agents in her bosom, and pale and dusky enemies on her borders. At about the time when she triumphed over the efforts of the Crown to enslave her, she was involved in a most disastrous war with Metacomet, or King Philip, a son of the then dead Massasoit. That contest is known in our history as KING PHILIP'S WAR.

Chapter XXXI

King Philip - His Patriotism - Anger of His People - He Declares War - Terrible Events of that War - Death of Philip and Fate of His Son - Death of Charles II and Accession of James II - Andros Made Governor-General - Revolution in England - Andros Driven from Boston - French Jesuits in America - The French and Indians - A Congress of Delegates in New York - Canada Invaded - The English Repulsed - New Charter for Massachusetts.

MASSASOIT, as we have observed, kept his treaty with the English inviolate so long as he lived. He died in 1661, at the age of about eighty years, leaving two sons whom the English called, respectively, Alexander and Philip. The former did not long survive his father, when Philip became chief sachem and warrior of the Wampanoags, with his royal residence on Mount Hope, not far from Bristol, Rhode Island. He was called King Philip. He resumed the covenants with the English made by his father, and observed them faithfully for a dozen years.

It had become painfully evident to Massasoit before his death that the spreading colonies would soon deprive his people of their land and nationality, and that the Indians would become vassals of the pale race. The more warlike Philip pondered these possibilities with deep bitterness of feeling, until he resolved to strike an exterminating blow against the English in defence of his country and his race. His resolution was natural and patriotic. His unaided warriors would be inadequate to the work; so, in the primeval forest at Mount Hope, surrounded by seven hundred fighting men, he planned a confederacy of the New England tribes, which might have numbered about twenty-five thousand souls. It was a difficult task, the power of so many being overshadowed by that of the English, weakening and dividing them. Before any actual conspiracy was effected, Philip found himself compelled to declare war and lift the hatchet.

At that time there were many Christian converts among the Indians, who were firmly attached to the English. The Wampanoags had always discouraged the spread of Christianity among themselves, but there were many "praying Indians" there. One of these - John Sassamon, who had been educated at Cambridge, where John Harvard had established a college - was a sort of secretary to Philip. Becoming acquainted with the plans of the sachem, he revealed them to the authorities at Plymouth. For this treachery he was murdered, and three Wampanoags, who were convicted of the crime on very slender testimony, were hanged. The anger of the tribe was fiercely kindled by the event, and they were clamorous for war. The cautious Philip hesitated, for he knew his weakness. His young warriors would not listen to reason. They taunted him with causing the wrongs which his people endured because of his unwillingness to fight. Then they pointed to the humiliation and disgrace of his people when, a few years before, their firearms were taken from them by the jealous white men. His eyes kindled with rage. He had never forgotten nor forgiven that injury. The reminder excited his fiercest wrath. Springing from his seat he snatched up a bow and quiver, a gleaming hatchet and a keen knife, and vowed that none of these weapons should sleep whilst a pale-face remained in New England. He sent his women and children to the Narragansets for protection and yielding his judgment to passion, he trampled upon solemn treaties and kindled the flames of war. Swift runners were dispatched to other tribes

to arouse them to co-operation, and he required all of his followers to curse the white man and to swear eternal hostility to his race. It was but a foolish rushing to destruction. It has been well said Frenzy prompted their rising. It was but the storm in which the ancient inhabitants of the land were to vanish away. They rose without hope, and therefore they fought without mercy. To them, as a nation, there was no to-morrow.

Philip struck the first blow at Swanzey, twenty-five miles southwest from Plymouth. It was on the 4th of July, 1675. Expecting hostilities, the people had been to the house of worship to engage in fasting and prayer. As they were returning - men, women and children - the savages fell upon them furiously, slaying and capturing many, while others fled to the surrounding settlements. The country was aroused. Armed men from Plymouth, Boston, and other places near, joined, and making a forced march toward Mount Hope, besieged the Wampanoags in a swamp several days. Philip escaped with most of his followers, and took refuge with the Nipmucs in the interior of Massachusetts, who espoused his cause. At the head of fifteen hundred warriors he pressed through the forests to the beautiful valley of the Connecticut to lay waste the settlements there.

Meanwhile the armed white men entered the country of the Narragansets, and compelled Canonchet, son of Miantonomoh, then chief sachem of that people, to make a treaty of friendship with the English. When Philip heard of this he was amazed. His stout heart almost failed. But reflecting upon the perilous nature of his enterprise and his position, and that everything depended upon vigorous action, he aroused other tribes to join him in exterminating the pale-faces by the methods of treachery, ambush, and surprise. The scourge that now appeared was terrible. Men in the fields, families in their beds at midnight, and congregations in houses of worship, were murdered. The English settlements east of the Hudson then numbered about fifty thousand souls, and, at one time, it seemed probable that few of them would escape the fury of the savages, who hung upon and enveloped the parties like a consuming fire.

The Wampanoag chief entered the Connecticut Valley at Springfield, and swept northward almost to the present line between Massachusetts and Vermont like a destructive tornado, leaving desolation in his track. Near Brookfield, a party of twenty Englishmen, while on their way, at near the middle of August, to treat with the Nipmucs, fell into an ambush and were treacherously murdered. Almost every house in Brookfield was set on fire - excepting a stone one - into which the people had gathered for safety. There they were besieged two days, when the Indians set the house on fire. Just at that moment a shower of rain came like a providence and put out the flames, and at the same time a relief party of white people, under Major Willard, arrived, and drove away the savages. Early in September a hot battle was fought at Deerfield, where seven hundred Indians were defeated by one hundred and eighty Englishmen; but a week later, prowling savages laid the town in ashes. On the same day - the Sabbath - Hadley was attacked, and, as we have seen, was saved by the bravery of Goffe the regicide.

For a moment the scourge was stayed at Hadley, but it soon swept mercilessly over other settlements. The blood of many valiant young men, under Captain Beers, flowed freely in the paths of Northfield, late in September. A few days afterward a company of young men of highest

character - "the flower of Essex" - under Captain Lathrop, were murdered by many hundred Indians on the banks of a little stream near Deerfield, which is yet known as Bloody Brook, when the savages were beaten off by others who came to the rescue. Springfield was burned, and Hadley was again assailed.

The Indians were masters of the situation, and Philip, encouraged by his successes, now resolved to attack Hatfield, the chief settlement above Springfield. He was joined by the natives there who, until then, had been friendly to the English. They showed much zeal, and at near the close of October, Philip gathered his warriors around a huge fire, when the braves engaged in the wild scalp-dance, chanting heroic songs. Upon long poles they exhibited trophies of their horrid work - the long shining tresses of women and even the bright curls of little maidens whom they had slain - as they whirled around the flames with fearful contortions of limbs and body. Then, with almost a thousand warriors, the Wampanoags fell upon the settlement. The people were prepared for the onslaught. They had palisaded their houses with heavy timber standing upright in the ground bound close together with green withes, and the upper ends sharpened. Behind these stood armed men and resolute women waiting for the approach of the Indians, and when they came they were repulsed with such slaughter that Philip left the Connecticut Valley, with his shattered forces, and fled to Rhode Island. The Narragansets, in violation of their recent treaty with the English, received him with open arms, became his allies, and, late in the year, went out upon the war-path with him.

This perfidy of Canonchet and his people was terribly punished by the English at the close of the year. Fifteen hundred armed men from Massachusetts, Plymouth and Connecticut, under Captain Josiah Winslow, marched into the Narraganset country. The Indians, three thousand strong, had gathered in their wigwams within a large fort in the bosom of a dark swamp near the present village of Kingston, Washington county, Rhode Island, with their store of winter provisions. Snow had fallen to a great depth, and the savages felt secure for the season. Suddenly, at near the end of December, Winslow and his little army appeared before the fort in the frozen swamp. They soon beat down the feeble palisades, and in the course of a few hours hundreds of men, women and children, with all the provisions, perished in the fire. About a thousand warriors were killed or wounded, and several hundreds were made prisoners. Among the latter was Canonchet, who was put to death. Philip, and a remnant of the Narragansets, escaped, and took refuge with the Nipmucs. Eighty Englishmen were killed, and one hundred and fifty were wounded. The surviving savages suffered fearfully. Hiding in a cedar swamp, with no shelter but evergreen boughs, no food but nuts and roots which they might find beneath the deep snow, many of them perished. So disappeared the dominion of the Narragansets.

Philip was not idle during the winter. He tried in vain to induce the Mohawks to join him. Some of the exasperated Indians eastward of Massachusetts flocked to his standard, and early in the spring of 1676 the work of destruction began. In the course of a few weeks, the war spread over an area of almost three hundred miles. Villages and isolated dwellings were burned, and their inmates were destroyed. Weymouth, Groton, Medford, Lancaster and Marlborough, in Massachusetts, were laid in ashes and Warwick and Providence, in Rhode Island, were given to

the flames.

A terrible scene occurred at Lancaster. Forty-two persons took shelter in the house of Mary Rowlandson. It was set on fire by the Indians. "Quickly," wrote Mrs. Rowlandson in her narrative, "it was the dolefullest day that ever mine eyes saw. Now the dreadful hour is come. Some in our house were fighting for their lives others wallowing in blood the house on fire over our heads, and the bloody heathen ready to knock us on the head if we stirred out. I took my children to go forth; but the Indians shot so thick that the bullets rattled against the house as if one had thrown a handful of stones. We had six stout dogs, but none of them would stir." A bullet went through Mrs. Rowlandson's side, and another through a child in her arms, and she was made captive, having of her family only one poor wounded babe left. Down I must sit in the snow," she continued, "with my sick child, the picture of death, in my lap. Not the least crumb of refreshing came within our mouths from Wednesday night until Saturday night, except a little cold water."

Quarrels among themselves soon weakened the power of the Indians. The Nipmucs and the Narragansets charged their misfortunes to the ambition of Philip. The alliance was dissolved. The eastern Indians hastened to their mountain fastnesses. Many who had been in arms surrendered to avoid starvation. Others marched off to Canada and joined some of the tribes there and Captain Benjamin Church, the most famous Indian fighter of his day, hunted and slew all the hostile red-men he could find. Between two and three thousand of them perished or submitted in the course of the year 1676, and the proud Narragansets, to whom other tribes had paid homage, were reduced to a hundred bowmen. Like the Pequods, they were utterly ruined.

Philip eluded his pursuers for several months, hiding in many places, with a resolution to never surrender. He had a handful of faithful followers, but he cleaved the head of one of these friends with his hatchet, because he counselled submission. At last circumstances conquered his pride and his will. He returned secretly to Mount Hope. His wife and son were soon afterward made captive, when the "last of the Wampanoags" bowed beneath this crushing misfortune, and said "Now my heart breaks I am ready to die." Captain Church was then close upon his track; and a few days afterward, a faithless Indian shot him in a swamp. Church cut off the dead king's head with his sword, and it was borne upon a pole into Plymouth while hymns of thanksgiving were sung by the people. The ghastly trophy was placed upon the palisades and the people slept that night with a sense of security which they had not felt for years.

The disposition of Philip's little son - the heir to the throne of Massasoit - was a subject of grave debate. Some of the elders proposed putting him to death. Others suggested selling him as a slave. The most profitable measure appeared to be the most merciful, and the boy was sold to be a bond-slave in Bermuda. So perished the dynasty of the good Massasoit, and so ended the famous King Philip's War. The Mohegans, who held sway in Connecticut, were firm friends of the English, and not a drop of blood was shed in that colony during the war. The other colonies had suffered dreadfully. More than six hundred men, chiefly young, had fallen in the struggle. Thirteen villages had been destroyed. A large number of women and children had been murdered

or carried into captivity. Full six hundred houses were burned, and the cost of the expenditures and the losses equalled in value half a million dollars. The war was carried on a little longer by the Eastern Indians, for they drew supplies from the French in Acadie. Finally, in 1678, hostilities were ended by a treaty.

While Massachusetts was feeling the heavy losses of her sons and treasure, the English government attempted to carry out a long-cherished desire of the king to resume the control of the colony. The Privy Council sent Edward Randolph, a greedy adventurer and faithful servant of his royal master, to collect the customs at Boston, to exercise other authority as the agent of the crown, and to spy out the strength and weakness of the people. Randolph excited the cupidity, fears and jealousy of the king and his court, by exaggerating the number of the population, wealth, power and independence of the colony; and, being rejected by the authorities of Massachusetts, his wrath gave vehemence to his assertions. The governor (Leverett) was firm in his opposition to Randolph's pretensions. "The king," he said, "can in reason do no less than let us enjoy our liberties and trade, for we have made this large plantation in the wilderness at our own charge, without any contribution from the crown." Because of this spirit of independence, the people were reproached. "You are poor," said the Earl of Anglesey, "and yet proud."

They were justly "proud." They had established a free and flourishing state, and were resolved to maintain their natural and chartered rights at all hazards. When Randolph, by royal authority, declared the charter of Massachusetts to be void, and attempted to govern, the people spurned him. Then the king resolved to make the colony a "more palpable dependence," and issued a writ of quo warranto - a command for the authorities to appear before the monarch and his council and show by what warrant they held jurisdiction in Massachusetts. It was his intention to exercise the arbitrary power of his grandfather, James the First, if necessary, by taking possession of the domain without forms of law; but a pliant High Court of Chancery decided in the king's favor. Before the monarch could effect his object he died. That was early in 1685.

Charles's brother, the Duke of York, now ascended the throne as James the Second. More tyrannical than his predecessor, he declared, without the formalities of law, the charter of Massachusetts to be void, and appointed

Joseph Dudley president of the country from Rhode Island to Nova Scotia. All England, misinformed by the rulers, approved the measure, and the tone of society there was one of contempt for the plantations. Dryden, whose muse was then subservient to the crown, wrote in a dramatic prologue:

"Since faction ebbs, and rogues go out of fashion,
Their penny scribes take care In inform the
nation, How well men thrive in this or that plantation."
How Pennsylvania's air agrees with
Quakers, And Carolina's, with Associators. Both e'en too good for madmen and for traitors.
Truth is, our land with saints is so run o'er,
And every age produces such a store,
That now there's need of two New Englands more."

Dudley was succeeded by Edmund Andros, who arrived in Boston late in 1686, bearing the commission of viceroy or governor-general of all New England. His character and purpose have already been considered in an earlier section. The rigid executor of his master's will, he soon made the rod of oppression keenly felt. He abridged the freedom of the press; interfered with marriage contracts, and frequently extorted money - levied "blackmail" - advanced the fees of all officers of government, and threatened to make the Church of England the established religion in all America. The people of Massachusetts resented his conduct, and, in compliance with the doctrine of Cromwell's motto, "resistance to tyrants is obedience to God," they were about to drive him out of the colony by force of arms, when the news came from England that James had been driven from the throne. That news reached Boston in April, 1689, with the welcome tidings that Protestant William and Mary were on that throne.

This intelligence, like an electric spark, kindled an insurrection which burst out spontaneously in Boston, and in a few hours the revolt became universal. Andros sent soldiers to arrest the venerable Simon Bradstreet, then ninety years of age, as the most obnoxious republican in the city. He was governor when the king struck down the liberties of Massachusetts by taking away its charter. The people immediately reinstated him. From the balcony of the State-House, the vigorous old man, with long white hair and beard flowing over his shoulders and breast, addressed the populace with eloquent words. They seized Andros and fifty of his most obnoxious associates, and cast them into prison. A Committee of Safety was appointed. An assembly of representatives were soon convened. That body, by unanimous vote, declared their ancient charter to be resumed. In May, William and Mary were proclaimed in the colony; and from their sovereigns the provisional government of Massachusetts received a letter sanctioning their late proceedings, and directing them to send Andros to England to answer the charges preferred against him.

Another storm of disaster was now brooding over Massachusetts. King James (who was a Roman Catholic) had fled to the court of Louis the Fourteenth, a co-religionist and kinsman, who espoused his cause. William, as Prince of Orange, was then at the head of a coalition of several powers in a Protestant league against Louis and soon after his accession, England became a member of that league and declared war against France. Hostilities between the two nations began the same year (1689) and the quarrel soon extended to their respective colonies in America. Here it became a strife chiefly for a monopoly of the fur-trade and the fisheries. The conflict then opened, and which continued more than seven years, is known in our history as KING WILLIAM'S WAR.

There was a powerful and controlling religious element in that contest, and in others which occurred between the French and English in America. In fact the power of France had been carried into the heart of the American continent more by the zeal and patience of religious enthusiasts, than by the ambition of monarchs, the wisdom of statesmen, or the greed of commoner.

Coeval with the rise of Protestantism in Germany, was the foundation of a society designed to

counteract its influence. It was established by Ignatius Loyola, a Spanish enthusiast, and was called the Society of Jesus. It is better known in later times as the Order of Jesuits. Their organization was as perfect as any which human wisdom has yet devised for a special object. They are not a society of priests, but of Roman Catholics of every degree, bound by a solemn oath to extend the sway of the Church of Rome, and to fight Protestantism wherever it may be found. Their missionaries were soon found proselyting in every quarter of the globe. They regarded as a brother every man, without respect to skin or lineage and the French Jesuits, who were the pioneers of French dominion in America, regarded every convert to Christianity among the savages an enfranchised citizen of France. Whole tribes came under their spiritual sway, and many of the votaries of commerce, who followed them into the wilds of America to traffic with the Indians, made wives of the native maidens, and so established strong social ties between the French and the savages. When, therefore, the former quarrelled with the English, they could rely upon the latter as faithful allies and this barbarian element in the contest made border wars tenfold more distressing to the English colonists, especially to those of New England. The border settlers in New York had the powerful Iroquois Confederacy, like a strong wall, between themselves and the Indians in Canada.

The eastern Indians were easily excited into hostility by those white allies. Dover, a frontier town of New Hampshire, was the first to feel the violent hands of the mongrel foe. There three hundred Indians had been treacherously doomed to slavery years before. Revenge had slumbered now it was awakened and was gratified. The venerable Major Waldron, then eighty years of age, and a local magistrate, had been a party to the treachery. On a warm evening in July, 1689, two squaws craved lodging at his house. They lay upon the floor, and in the night they unbarred the doors and let in several painted warriors. The aroused old man seized his sword and fought valiantly, until he was overpowered, when, with bitter taunts, they tortured him to death in his own hall. Then they laid his house in ashes, killed twenty of the garrison, and carried away nearly thirty persons and sold them as slaves to the French in Canada.

In August, a party came from Penobscot, after being purified by confession by Thury a Jesuit priest, and captured the garrison at Pemaquid, which Andros had established there. In February following, Governor Frontenac sent three hundred French and Indians from Montreal to destroy Albany. Through deep snows they made their way as far as Schenectady, a frontier town on the Mohawk, and at midnight burned the dwellings and murdered more than sixty of the inhabitants there. Seventeen of the slain were children. Early the next spring several eastern villages shared the same fate, and scores of women and children were carried away captives and suffered untold cruelties.

These atrocities - murders in cold blood - aroused all the colonies to a sense of danger, and on the suggestion of Massachusetts, a congress of delegates from several colonies met at New York on the first of May, 1690, to devise measures for the general security. Already the colony of Massachusetts had fitted out an expedition against Acadie, under Sir William Phipps, of Pemaquid, consisting of eight vessels with eight hundred men. He seized Port Royal, and obtained plunder sufficient to pay the expenses of the expedition. The town was again plundered

by English privateers from the West Indies, in June so retaliation went on. The Congress at New York resolved to invade Canada by land and sea, with an army that should march from the Hudson River by way of Lake Champlain to Montreal and, at the same time, a strong naval armament was to ascend the St. Lawrence and attack Quebec. The army was placed under the command of a son of Governor Winthrop, of Connecticut, the cost of the expedition being borne jointly by that colony and New York; and Milborne, son-in-law of Leisler [see Chap. XXVIII of this work], undertook to furnish the supplies. The command of the fleet, which was composed of thirty-four vessels manned by two thousand New Englanders, was given to Phipps.

The army moved from Albany early in July, at a snail's pace. At the beginning of September the bulk of them had only reached the head of Lake Champlain, where they remained, while some troops, and Indians of the Five Nations, under Colonel Peter Schuyler, pushed on toward the St. Lawrence. Old Frontenac was in Montreal when an Indian runner told him of the approach of the invaders. He called out his Indian allies. Taking a tomahawk in his hand, he danced the war-dance and chanted the war-song, in their presence, and then led them against the foe. Schuyler was repulsed, and the whole army returned to Albany. Leisler charged Winthrop with treachery, and Winthrop, in turn, charged the failure of the expedition to the inefficiency of Milborne in furnishing supplies.

Meanwhile Phipps, without charts or pilots, had crawled cautiously around Acadie and up the St. Lawrence for nine weeks, giving a swift Indian runner an opportunity to go from Pemaquid to Canada with the news of Phipps' departure, in time to allow Frontenac to reach Quebec before the arrival of the hostile fleet. The fortifications of the ancient town were strengthened; and when Phipps arrived before it, and sent a summons for its surrender, his message was treated with derision. It was then the middle of October. Hearing of the failure of the land expedition, Phipps weighed anchor and crawled cautiously back to New England before the winter storms set in. The French and Indians in Canada and Acadie were greatly elated, and the repulse was considered so important by Louis that he ordered a commemorative medal to be struck, with the legend: FRANCE VICTORIOUS IN THE NEW WORLD. These military operations exhausted the treasury of Massachusetts, and the government emitted bills of credit to the amount of about one hundred and thirty-four thousand dollars. This was the first paper-money ever issued on the American continent.

Soon after his return from the St. Lawrence, Sir William Phipps went to England to solicit aid for the colonies in their further warfare with the French and Indians, and to assist in efforts there to procure a restoration of the charter of Massachusetts which King James had annulled. Aid was refused and instead of restoring the old charter, William gave a new one, by which Massachusetts, Plymouth, Maine and Nova Scotia were united under the name of Massachusetts Bay Colony," and was made a royal province, with Phipps as governor. The baronet was a man of dull intellect, rudely educated, utterly lacking in qualities of statesmanship, headstrong, egotistical, superstitious, patriotic, and every way unfitted as a leader in civil and military affairs. He had gained distinction in his native colony only by his wealth and title, both of which were acquired by his successful raising of treasure from a Spanish ship with a diving-bell. He returned to

Massachusetts in 1692, bringing the new charter with him.

The people of Massachusetts were not only dissatisfied with the new charter, but offended by it, for it greatly abridged their liberties. Wise and enlightened statesmen and churchmen in England advised William and his Parliament not to make the liberties of the colonists less. Tillotson, the Archbishop of Canterbury, charged the king "not to take away from the people of New England any of the privileges which Charles the First had granted them." to wise advice. Others did likewise but the government refused to listen. The king reserved the right, in the new charter, to appoint the governor, his deputy and the secretary of the colony, and of repealing all the laws within three years after their passage. This robbery of their liberties alienated the affections of the people from the mother country. It was one of the series of blunders made by the crown and ministers which fostered discontent in the colonies and tended to the final dismemberment of the empire in 1776.

Yet in some respects the new charter was an improvement upon the old. While the rights of citizens were abridged in some things, they were enlarged in others. Toleration was granted to every form of the Christian religion excepting, unfortunately, the Roman Catholic and the right of suffrage - to vote - was no longer restricted to members of Congregational churches, but was made almost universal. Bigotry and intolerance were, so far, disarmed and they never afterward held controlling sway in the policy of the State.

Here let us pause a moment in our narrative of political transactions and of the horrid war then raging, to consider a strange social feature in the story of Massachusetts, known as SALEM WITCHCRAFT.

Chapter XXXII

Witchcraft - The Sad Story of "Salem Witchcraft" - Superstition and Wickedness Hand-in-Hand - Result of the Delusion - King William's War - New England's Sufferings - Capture of Pemaquid - The Baron De Castin - French and Indians Make War Together - The Exploit of Hannah Dustin and Her Companions - Treaty at Ryswick - The Pretender - Queen Anne - New England More Tolerant.

IN the seventeenth century, a belief in witches and witchcraft was almost universal. The Church of Rome, more than three hundred years ago, sanctioned punishments for the exercise of witchcraft and after that, thousands of suspected persons were burned alive, drowned or hanged. During the sixteenth century, more than one hundred thousand accused and convicted persons perished in the flames, in Germany alone. In England, enlightened men embraced the belief. The eminent Sir Matthew Hale, who flourished during the civil war, the commonwealth and the period of the restoration of monarchy, repeatedly sentenced persons to death accused of witchcraft. The Puritans brought the belief with them to America. They established laws for the punishment of witches and before 1648, four persons had suffered death for the alleged offence, in the vicinity of Boston. The ministers of the gospel there were shadowed by the delusion; and, because of their powerful social influence, they did more to foster the wild excitement and produce the distressing results of what is known in history as "Salem Witchcraft," than all others.

In 1688, a wayward daughter of John Goodwin, of Boston, about thirteen years of age, accused a servant girl of stealing some of the family linen. The servant's mother, a wild Irish woman and a Roman Catholic, vehemently rebuked the accuser as a false witness. The young girl, in revenge, pretended to be bewitched by the Irishwoman. Some others of her family followed her example. They would alternately become deaf, dumb and blind; bark like dogs and purr like cats, but none of them lost their appetites nor sleep. The Rev. Cotton Mather, a credulous and egotistical clergyman (who seems to have believed, with Hubbard, the Puritan historian, that America was originally peopled with a crew of witches "transported thither by the devil"), hastened to Goodwin's house to allay the witchery by prayer. Wonderful were the alleged effects of his supplications. The devil was controlled by them for the time. Then four other ministers of Boston and one of Salem, as superstitious as himself, joined Mather, and they spent a whole day in the house of the afflicted in fasting and prayer, the result of which was the delivery of one of the family from the power of the witch. This was sufficient proof for the minds of the ministers that there must be a witch in the case, and these deluded clergymen prosecuted the ignorant Irish woman as such. She was bewildered before the court, and spoke sometimes in her native Irish language, which nobody could understand, and which her accusers and judges construed into involuntary confession. Mather and his clerical associates had the satisfaction of seeing the poor old Irish woman hanged as a witch, "for the glory of God."

Skeptics ridiculed Mather. He defended his cause by the assertion of alleged facts. He called the afflicted daughter of Goodwin to his study, when the artful girl thoroughly deceived him. The devil would allow her to read Quaker books, the Common Prayer and Popish books, but a prayer

from the lips of Mather, or the reading of a chapter of the Bible, threw her into convulsions. The credulous parson believed all he saw and heard, and cried from his pulpit, with outstretched arms and loud voice, "Witchcraft is the most nefarious high-treason against the Majesty on High. A witch is not to be endured in heaven or on earth." Mather's discourse on the subject was scattered broadcast among the people by means of the printing press and with it went out his narrative of the events in the Goodwin family, which led to greater tragedies in the spring and summer of 1692, when an epidemic disease resembling epilepsy broke out in Danvers (then a part of Salem), and spread rapidly. The physicians could neither control nor cure it and with the sermon and statements of Mather before them, they readily ascribed the malady to the work of witches.

A niece and daughter of the parish minister at Danvers were first afflicted. Their strange and unaccountable actions frightened other young women, who soon exhibited the same symptoms, such as convulsions and spasmodic swellings in the throat, undoubtedly produced by hysterics. A belief quickly spread over Salem and throughout the province that evil spirits having ministering servants on earth had been permitted to overshadow the land with an awful visitation. Terror took possession of the minds of nearly all the people, and the dread made the malady spread widely.

Other old and ill-favored women now shared with the Irish woman in the suspicion of being witches, and several of them were publicly accused and imprisoned. "The afflicted," under the influence of the witchery, "professed to see the forms of their tormentors with their inner vision," and would forthwith accuse some individual seen. At length the afflicted and the accused became so numerous that no person was safe from suspicion and its consequences. Even those who were active in the prosecutions became objects of suspicion. A magistrate who had presided at the condemnation of several persons, becoming convinced of the wrongfulness of the proceedings and protesting against it, was himself accused and suffered much. A constable, who had arrested many and refused to arrest any more, was accused, condemned and hanged. Neither age, sex nor condition were considered. Sir William Phipps, the governor of Massachusetts, his lieutenant-governor, the near relations of the Mathers, and learned and distinguished men who had promoted the dreadful delusion by acquiescing in the proceedings against accused persons, became objects of suspicion. The governor's wife, Lady Phipps, one of the purest and best of women, was accused of being a witch. The sons of Governor Bradstreet were compelled to fly to avoid the perils of false accusations and near relatives of the Mathers were imprisoned on similar charges. Malice, revenge and rapacity often impelled persons to accuse others who were innocent and when some statement of the accused would move the court and audience in favor of the prisoner, the accuser would solemnly declare that he saw the devil standing beside the victim whispering the touching words in his or her ear. And the absurd statement would be believed by the judges on the bench. Some, terrified and with the hope of saving their lives or avoiding the horrors of imprisonment, would falsely accuse their friends and kinsfolk while others, moved by the same instinct and hopes, would falsely confess themselves to be witches.

When the magnates in church and state found themselves in danger, they thought of the golden rule, and suspected they had been acting unrighteously toward others. They cautiously expressed

their doubts of the policy and justice of further proceedings against accused persons. A citizen of Andover, who was accused, wiser and more bold than governor and clergy, immediately caused the arrest of his accuser on a charge of defamation of character, and laid his damages at five thousand dollars. The effect of this act was wonderful. The public mind was in sympathy with it. The spell was instantly broken, and witchcraft was no more heard of in Andover. The impression then made quickly spread over the province, and deluded and wicked persons hastened to make amends for their errors and crimes.

The abashed clergy were compelled to take action because of the unexpected change in public opinion. At a convention held in June, 1693, they declared that it was not inconsistent with Scripture to believe that the devil might assume the shape of a good man, and that he may so have deceived the afflicted. So his Satanic majesty as usual was conveniently made the scapegoat for the sins and follies of magistrates, clergy, and people. Many of the accusers and witnesses came forward and published solemn recantations or denials of the truth of their testimony, which had been given, they said, to save their own lives. Governor Phipps, after his wife was accused and the Andover citizen had killed the monster delusion, give orders for the release of all persons under arrest for witchcraft. The Legislature of Massachusetts appointed a day for a general fast and solemn supplication that God would pardon all the errors of his servants and people in a late tragedy raised among us by Satan and his instruments. And Judge Sewall, who had presided at many trials in Salem, stood up in his place in church on that fast day, and implored the prayers of the people that "the errors which he had committed might not be visited by the judgments of an avenging God on his country, his family, or himself." Mr. Paris, the parish minister in Danvers, in whose family the delusion had its rise, and who, throughout the "reign of terror," was one of the most earnest prosecutors of alleged witches, was compelled to resign his charge and leave the country.

These recantations, acknowledgments of error and pleadings for mercy, could not restore to the bereaved the spirits of those who had been hanged, nor make amends for the pains others had suffered. The delusion had prevailed in greatest vehemence more than six months, and it was not allayed for more than a year. During that time nineteen persons had been hanged, and one had been killed by the horrid process of pressing to death; fifty-five had been tortured or frightened into a confession of guilt; one hundred and fifty had been imprisoned, and full two hundred had been named as worthy of arrest. Amongst those hanged was the Rev. Mr. Burroughs, an exemplary clergyman, whose purity of character was conspicuous. Others, whose innocence and good name should have shielded them from harm, were coarsely assailed at the scaffold. One aged citizen, as was afterward proven, was falsely accused by a malignant enemy. While declaring his innocence to the multitudes, smoke from the executioner's pipe choked his utterances, then his accuser and his associates brutally shouted "See how the devil wraps him in smoke!" A moment afterward he was hanged.

During the prevalence of this terror, all mutual confidence was suspended, and the noblest sentiments of human nature were trampled under- foot. The nearest blood relations became each other's accusers. One man was hanged on the testimony of his wife and daughter, who impeached

him merely for the purpose of saving themselves. But this dreadful delusion was not an unmixed evil. "It is likely," wrote a contemporary, "that this frenzy contributed to work off the ill humors of the New England people - to dissipate their bigotry, and to bring them to a more free use of their reason."

The belief in witches did not end with the strange excitement. Cotton Mather and his clerical associates and others wrote in its defence. Mather's account of the delusion is unprofitable reading, because it deals in the absurd fancies of a man deluded by bigotry, superstition, and childish credulity. This may be seen in scores of sentences similar to the following:

"It is known that these wicked spectres [ghosts] did proceed so far as to steal several quantities of money from divers people, part of which individual money dropped sometimes out of the air, before sufficient spectators, into the hands of the afflicted, while the spectres were urging them to subscribe their covenant with death. Moreover poisons, to the standers-by wholly invisible, were sometimes forced upon the afflicted, which, when they have with much reluctancy swallowed, they have swollen presently, so that the common medicines for poison have been found necessary to relieve them yea, sometimes the spectres, in their troubles, have so dropped the poisons that the standers-by have smelt them and viewed them, and beheld the pillows of the miserable stained with them. Yet more, the miserable have complained bitterly of burning rags run into their forcibly distended mouths; and though nobody could see any such cloths, or indeed any fires in the chambers, yet presently the scalds were seen plainly by everybody on the mouths of the complainers, and not only the smell, but the smoke of the burning, filled the chambers.

"Once more, the miserable exclaimed extremely of branding irons, heating at the fire on the hearth to mark them now the standers-by could see no irons, yet they could see distinctly the print of them in the ashes, and smell them too, as they were carried by the not seen furies unto the poor creatures for whom they were intended; and these poor creatures were there upon so stigmatized with them that they will bear the marks of them to their dying day. Nor are these [he had related many others] a tenth part of the prodigies that fell out among the inhabitants of New England.

"Flashy people may burlesque these things, but when hundreds of the most sober people, in a country where they have as much mother-wit certainly as the rest of mankind, know them to be true, nothing but the absurd and froward spirit of sadducism [disbelief in spirits] can question them."

They were burlesqued. Robert Calef a merchant of Boston, in a series of letters which he wrote and published, exposed Mather's credulity, and greatly irritated the really good man. Mather retorted by calling Calef a "weaver turned minister." Calef tormented him the more by letter after letter, when Mather, wearied with the fight, called his opponent "a coal from hell," and prosecuted him for slander. When these letters were published in book form, Mather's kinsman, then president of Harvard College, caused copies of the work to be publicly burned on the college grounds.

This strange episode in the history of Massachusetts astonished the civilized world, and made an unfavorable impression on the surrounding Indians, who despised a people that cherished a religion which sanctioned such cruelties toward their countrymen. It gave a large advantage to the French, whose Jesuit missionaries, then laboring among the savage tribes on the frontier, contrasted their own mild and beneficent system of religion as exhibited there with that of the Puritans, whose ministers had been so prominent in the fearful tragedy. It had a serious effect upon the future destiny of New England, for the barbarians on the frontiers were, henceforth, strongly wedded to the fortunes of the French.

We paused to consider "Salem Witchcraft." Let us resume the narrative of general events.

"King William's War" continued in Europe and in America until it was closed by a treaty at Ryswick in 1697. Meanwhile the New England people had suffered much from the incursions of the French and Indians. Governor Phipps visited some of the tribes with whom he had made a treaty at Pemaquid, on Bristol Bay in Maine, and endeavored to secure their friendship and alliance with the English. They were willing to abide by the terms of their treaty, but, more attached to the French than ever, they refused to listen to any proposition for an English alliance, for Jesuits had told them that Protestants were enemies to the true religion of Christ. "The French," they said, "have driven witchcraft from among us, and we do not care to associate with a people who cherish it." Phipps returned disappointed, and soon afterward sailed to England, leaving the government in the hands of Stoughton, his deputy, who exercised the authority of chief magistrate about three years.

During Stoughton's administration, internal feuds disturbed, and border wars distressed the province continually. The French and Indians now prosecuted their peculiar warfare with relentless vigor. They spread death and desolation over the frontier. The French, by conquest, extended their colonial dominion. Nova Scotia submitted to the rule of France again and in the summer of 1696, a strong force of French and Indians, under Colonel Iberville, attacked and captured Fort William Henry, at Pemaquid. They were accompanied by the Baron de Castin, a colonel of the French army, who came to America with his regiment, remained, and in 1687, set up a trading-post at the mouth of the Penobscot River, which spot yet bears his name. There he married a daughter of a powerful Indian chief, and exercised great influence over the dusky tribes. With two hundred of such followers, he joined Iberville, assisted in the capture of the fort and with his own hands helped to level it with the ground. So Castin was avenged for the burning of his house by the English.

This severe blow mortified and alarmed the New Englanders and excited the victors to a more distressing warfare. The French and Indians penetrated New England further than they had ever done before, destroying villages, and dispersing settlements, and carrying away people into captivity. Among the places that felt the severest blasts of the storm was Haverhill, within thirty miles of Boston, which was attacked by Indians in March, 1697, when forty persons were killed or made captives. Among the latter was a part of the family of Thomas Dustin, who was in his field when the savages suddenly appeared with horrid yells and gleaming knives and tomahawks.

Seizing his gun and mounting his horse, he hastened to his house to bear away his wife, eight young children and a nurse to a place of safety. His youngest child was only a week old. He ordered the other seven to fly in a direction opposite to the approach of the savages, and was lifting his wife from the bed when the Indians attacked his house. "Leave me," cried the mother, "and fly to the protection of the other children." Seeing no chance to save his wife, Dustin again mounted his horse and soon overtook his precious flock, who were filled with joy when they saw their father. The Indians had pursued. Placing himself between the savages and his precious charge, he defended his children so valiantly as the foe pressed him back, that the savages gave up the pursuit, and the children were saved in an unoccupied house.

Meanwhile the scenes at Mr. Dustin's house were most distressing. The savages found Mrs. Dustin in bed, and the nurse attempting to fly with the infant. They ordered the feeble mother to rise instantly, while one of the savages, taking the infant out of doors, dashed out its brains against an apple-tree. Then they plundered and set fire to the house; and before the terrified mother was dressed, they compelled her to follow them in a hasty retreat. She was forced to walk twelve miles the first day, in the March slush of snow and mud, without shoes, encounter the chilling winds half-clad, and lie upon the ground, when resting, with no covering but the cold gray sky. This was repeated day after day until, by a circuitous route, they reached the island in the Merrimac River, at the mouth of the Contotook Creek, six miles above Concord, New Hampshire, now known as Dustin's Island. There was the home of the chief, who claimed Mrs. Dustin and her nurse as his captives. They were lodged with his family, which consisted of two men, three women, seven children and a captive English lad, who had been with them more than a year. The savage pretended to be a Christian. "When I prayed the English way," he said, "I thought it was good; but I think the French way better."

A few days after their arrival at the island, the prisoners were told that they were soon to start for a distant Indian village, when they would be compelled to "run the gauntlet"-that is, to be stripped naked and run for their lives between two files of Indian men, women and children, who would have the privilege of scoffing at them, beating them, and wounding them with sharp hatchets. The two women resolved not to endure the indignity and danger, preferring death. Mrs. Dustin planned a means for escape, and her nurse and the lad leagued with her in the execution of it. The Indians believed the lad to be faithful to them, and did not suppose the women would have courage to attempt to escape. So they did not keep watch.

On the day before the plan was to be carried out, Mrs. Dustin ascertained, through inquiries made by the lad, how to kill a man instantly, and how to take off his scalp. "Strike him here," said the Indian inquired of placing his finger on his temple, "and take off his scalp so," showing the lad how. With this information, the plot was ripe. Before daylight the next morning, when the whole family were in deep slumber, Mrs. Dustin arose, awakened her nurse and the lad, and with their assistance instantly killed ten of the twelve sleepers, she slaying her captor and the lad killing the man who told him how to do it. A squaw and a child fled to the woods and the prisoners, after scuttling all the boats there but one, to prevent pursuit, started in that one down the river, with provisions from the wigwam. They had not proceeded far when Mrs. Dustin, reflecting that they

had not scalped their victims, and that her friends might demand ocular proof of the truth of her thrilling story, went back with her companions, took off the scalps, and carried them away in a bag.

With strong hearts the three voyaged down the Merrimac to their homes, every moment in peril from savages or the elements, and were received as persons risen from the dead. Mrs. Dustin found her husband and children saved. Soon afterward she went to Boston, carrying with her a gun and tomahawk which she had brought from the wigwam, and her ten trophies; and the General Court of Massachusetts gave these brave sufferers fifty pounds as a reward for their heroism. Ex-Governor Nicholson, of Maryland, sent a metal tankard to Mrs. Dustin and Mrs. Neff as a token of his admiration. That tankard is now (1875) in the possession of Mr. Emery Coffin, of Newburyport, Massachusetts. During the summer of 1874, one hundred and seventy-seven years after the event, citizens of Massachusetts and New Hampshire erected on the highest point of Dustin's Island an elegant monument commemorative of the heroic deed. It displays a figure of Mrs. Dustin, holding in her right hand, raised in the attitude of striking, a tomahawk, and a bunch of scalps in the other. On it are inscribed the names of HANNAH DUSTIN, MARY NEFF, and SAMUEL LEONARDSON, the English lad.

Other places suffered dreadfully during the summer of 1697. Haverhill was again attacked and desolated. The treaty at Ryswick (a small village near the Hague, in Holland), soon afterward stayed the flow of blood in Europe and America. There a peace was agreed upon between Louis the Fourteenth of France, and England, Spain, Holland and the German Empire, which ended a war of more than seven years duration. Louis was compelled to acknowledge William of Orange to be the sovereign of England. That war cost Great Britain one hundred and fifty million dollars in cash, besides a hundred million dollars loaned. The latter laid the foundations of the enormous national debt of Great Britain, now a heavy burden to the English people.

A little before the treaty at Ryswick a Board of Trade and Plantations was established in England, whose duty it was to have a general oversight of the affairs of the American colonies. It was a permanent commission, the members of which were called "Lords of Trade and Plantations." It consisted of seven members, with a president, and was always a ready instrument of oppression in the hands of the sovereign. It became, as we shall see, a powerful promoter of those discontents in the colonies which finally broke out into a flame of rebellion in 1775.

The lull in the storm of war, caused by the treaty at Ryswick, was of short duration. Aspirants for power again tormented the people with the evils of war. King James the Second died in France in September, 1701. He had been shielded by Louis after his flight from his throne to France, and now the French monarch acknowledged James's son, James Francis Edward (who is known in history as The Pretender), to be the lawful king of England. This act offended the English because the crown had been settled upon Anne, James's second and Protestant daughter. Louis likewise offended the English by placing his grandson, Philip of Anjou, on the throne of Spain, so increasing French influence among the dynasties of Europe. William was enraged, and was preparing for war, when a fall from his horse, while hunting, caused his death. He was

succeeded by Anne, and the causes already mentioned, with others of less importance, impelled her to declare war against France after her accession to the throne. Hostilities began in 1702, and, as before, the colonies of the two governments in America became involved in the conflict. In the war that ensued, and which lasted almost a dozen years, the New Englanders again suffered dread - fully from incursions of the French and Indians. That contest is known in our annals as QUEEN ANNE'S WAR.

It may be observed that at this opening of a new era in the history of New England, when the liberal and enlightened reign of William was making a deep impression upon England and her American colonies, the people of our present Eastern States were more united, more enlightened, and less bigoted than they had ever been before. The Earl of Bellamont, whom we have mentioned as governor of New York, was made governor of Massachusetts and New Hampshire also. When he visited Boston in 1699, he found controversies allayed, passions cooled, and the prevalence of a general disposition to promote harmony and good-fellowship. Wisdom and moderation had taken the places of folly and vehemence in thought and action and there was a happy toleration abroad. The printing-press was doing its beneficent work efficiently in scattering the seeds of knowledge, thereby creating a sentiment of brotherhood among separated religious communities. From the beginning, the New Englanders were distinguished for their appetite for knowledge and the ready reception, when untrammelled by arbitrary restraints, of truths of every kind. This disposition formed the springs of that love for liberty which has always distinguished the inhabitants of New England.

Chapter XXXIII

Bellamont Governor of Massachusetts - French Claims in New England - Queen Anne and Others Declare War Against France - Struggle with the French and Indians - Influence of the Jesuits - Death of Father Rale - Destruction of Deerfield - Fate of the Williams Family - The Village Bell - Acadie Invaded - Progress of French Dominion - Indian "Kings" in England - Expedition Against Canada - A Long Peace - Capture of Louisburg - French Attempt to Retake it - Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle.

WE have observed that the Earl of Bellamont found public affairs in pleasant shape in Massachusetts, on his arrival in Boston in 1699. He was the only English-born nobleman who ever governed a New England province. His conduct won for him the profound respect of the rigid puritan republicans, for he fairly estimated the mutual dependence of ruler and people, and acted accordingly. One day at his table, at which sat many representatives of the people of the commonwealth, he said to his wife Dame, "we should treat these gentlemen well they give us our bread."

Nothing disturbed the serenity of Bellamont's administration excepting the encroachments of the French, who had out-generaled the English in securing the control of the mouth of the Mississippi River, and were then preparing to extend their territorial jurisdiction in the East as far westward as the Kennebec River.

According to the Interpretation of the English court, the St. Croix River, now the eastern boundary of the United States, was to be the western boundary of the French dominion in that quarter. The French king chose to interpret it otherwise and his representatives in Nova Scotia gave notice to the authorities of Massachusetts that it was their intention to assert jurisdiction as far westward as the Kennebec. Bellamont informed the British ministry of the threatened invasion, but his communication received little notice. No doubt the invasion would have been successfully carried out had not the war between England and France began soon afterward.

In May, 1702, Queen Anne and her allies the Emperor of Germany and the States-General of Holland declared war against France and Spain. When hostilities began in Europe, they were the signal for the English colonists in America to prepare for another fierce struggle with the French and Indians. Governor Dudley and some magistrates of Massachusetts held a conference with the Eastern Indians at Casco, in June, 1703. The savages, with well-feigned friendship, readily renewed former treaties. They declared that the French had asked them to take up the hatchet against the English, but they had refused because the friendship for the people of Massachusetts was "as firm as the mountains, and as enduring as the sun and moon."

Some believed in the sincerity of the Indians. Wise men shook their heads in doubt, and others declared their belief that the savages, under the tutelage of the French, were playing a treacherous part. Circumstances soon settled the question. Only a few weeks after the conference these same Indians fell, with remorseless fury, upon the frontier settlers of Massachusetts and New

Hampshire. The solemn treaties were scattered to the winds. The tribes from the Merrimac to the Penobscot desolated the border settlements, murdering the innocent, plundering the thrifty, and laying in ashes cabins, mansions, and villages. Not even the benefactors of the Indians, the Friends or Quakers, were spared. They respected neither the milk-white brows of the grave ancient, "nor the mournful cries of tender infants."

This treachery greatly exasperated the English against the French Jesuits, to whose counsels they professed to trace the cause of the dire calamity. Already this Order had incurred the intense hatred of the New Englanders, because many circumstances pointed to Jesuit influence inciting the Indians to make war on the English. The revelation of Bomaseen, a sachem who visited Boston, intensified that hatred. He declared that the Jesuits had told the Indians that Jesus Christ was a Frenchman that his mother, the Virgin Mary, was a French woman that the English had murdered him; that he had gone up to heaven to plead for mankind, and that he who would receive his favor must espouse the cause of his countrymen, the French, in the pending quarrel. Bomaseen was a crafty Indian, and may have invented this story but it was believed by the colonists. The Legislatures of both New York and Massachusetts had already passed laws for the expulsion of the Jesuits from their respective provinces; but nothing could diminish their secret influence over the Indians. Warriors from Canada joined those south of the St. Lawrence, and in their murderous forays they were often accompanied by French troops and ecclesiastics.

The white men and Indians all confessed their sins to the priests and received pardon for them, before engaging in their bloody work. A day was appointed for such confession and pardon. "I exhorted them," [the Indians], says Father Rale, of Norridgewock, to maintain the same interest in religion as if they were at home to observe carefully the laws of war to practice no cruelty; to kill no one except in the heat of battle and to treat their prisoners humanely." What a ghastly commentary on their merciful instructions were the savage cruelties of these absolved men, as they swept along the frontier from Casco to Wells immediately after leaving the presence of the priest, staining the fields with the blood of the innocent, and lighting up the heavens at night with the flames of burning dwellings! Twenty years afterward, Rale fell a victim to the fiery indignation of the English against him and his fellow Jesuits for their alleged complicity in the atrocious acts of the Indians for more than a quarter of a century. Norridgewock, where he had labored as a missionary more than thirty years, was attacked by the English in 1723. Rale was shot dead, it is said, at the foot of a cross, where his flock, with wild cries, bewailed his death. On that spot, in 1833 a monument was erected to his memory. With Rale, Bomaseen and some of his kindred also fell.

During the winter of 1703-4, the people along the New England frontier lived in perpetual dread of the foe. At length, late in February, a party of French and Indians, who had traveled with snow-shoes all the way from Canada, approached the pretty village of Deerfield on the Connecticut River, in Massachusetts. The snow lay four feet deep in that region, and was covered with a crust that bore the invaders. The drifts around the town were almost as high as its encircling palisades. Over these Major Hertel de Rouville, the commander of the motley party, and his followers, easily crept into the village while the inhabitants were slumbering before the

dawn of the first day of March. The first intimation the villagers had of danger was the bursting open of their doors and the sound of the horrid war-whoop of the savages. The people were dragged from their beds and murdered or carried into captivity. The village was set on fire, and every building excepting the chapel and one dwelling-house was laid in ashes. Forty of the inhabitants were killed, and one hundred and twelve were borne to the wilderness an hour after sunrise.

Among the victims was the Rev. John Williams, the village pastor, and his family. Two of his children and a black servant were murdered at his door. With his wife and five children he began the toilsome journey. Mrs. Williams fainted with fatigue on the second day. The tomahawk of an Indian cleft her skull, and so they were relieved of the burden. Her husband and children were taken to Canada, and after a captivity among the Caughnawagas, near Montreal, for nearly two years, they were ransomed and returned home. Only a daughter, ten years old, was kept. The Indians would not part with her. She grew up to womanhood in Indian habits and tastes, became a Roman Catholic, married a young Mohawk brave and bore children and when she visited her relations in Deerfield in after years, she could not be induced to abandon her Indian mode of life, nor leave the church to which she was attached.

The chief object of this expedition was to procure the little bell in the meeting-house in Deerfield. It had been bought in France for the church of St. Louis, at Caughnawaga. The vessel that bore it to America was captured by a New England privateer and taken into Boston. The bell was purchased by the congregation at Deerfield, and hung in the belfry of the meeting-house. The invaders carried it away, under the charge of Father Nicolas, of the church at Caughnawaga, who accompanied the expedition. It was borne in triumph to its original destination, and it now summons the people to worship from the belfry of the church of St. Louis at Caughnawaga.

For years these tales of horror were the true narratives of the experience of New Englanders on the border. Remote settlements were abandoned. The tillers of the soil gathered in palisaded villages and labored in the fields in groups, and well-armed. There was no semblance of civilized warfare in the methods of the French and Indians, and their cruelties inspired good men everywhere with horror. "I hold it to be my duty towards God and my neighbor," wrote the good Peter Schuyler, Mayor of Albany, to Vaudreuil, the French governor of Canada, "to prevent, if possible, these barbarous and heathen cruelties. My heart swells with indignation when I think that a war between Christian princes, bound to the exactest laws of honor and generosity, which their noble ancestors have illustrated by brilliant examples, is degenerated into savage and boundless butchery. These are not the methods for terminating the war thought with me on this subject."

Such protests were uttered in vain. Would that all the world The savages were unrestrained by their Christian allies. The power of the church and state encouraged then, in their bloody deeds. At length the New Englanders determined to make aggressive movements. In 1707, Massachusetts, New Hampshire and Rhode Island, resolved to carry war into the French domain on the East. Early in June a thousand men under Colonel Marsh sailed for Nantucket, under

convoy of a British warship, to attempt the conquest of Acadie. The French at Port Royal were prepared for them, and the expedition was a failure.

In 1710, another expedition, fitted out at the joint expense of the New England colonies and New York and New Jersey, sailed from Boston, with a fleet from England under the command of Colonel Nicholson. There were thirty-six vessels in all. They sailed in September, and six days afterward the fleet was anchored before the fort at Port Royal. The place was surrendered to the English on the thirteenth of October, and the name and fortress of Port Royal were changed to Annapolis, in honor of Queen Anne. Acadie was annexed to the realm of Great Britain, under the title of Nova Scotia or New Scotland. The British flag has waved perpetually over that fortress from that day to this.

Nicholson carried the good news to England, and urged the conquest of Canada. The people of the province of New York, though shielded from invasion by the French and Indians from Canada by the neutral Five Nations who stood an impassable barrier, favored the project, because they looked with concern upon the progress of French dominion in the West, its arms reaching from the great lakes on the North toward others extending from the Gulf of Mexico on the South. The French then claimed all the region in the Valley of the Mississippi to the South Sea named the country Louisiana in honor of their king, and were preparing to establish a great empire there.

The Legislature of New York sent a memorial to the queen on the subject of French encroachments, by the hand of Colonel Schuyler, just mentioned, who was accompanied to England by sachems of the Five Nations, as representatives of the Iroquois Confederacy.

In London these dusky "kings," as they were called, drew crowds of wondering gazers. Multitudes followed the sachems wherever they went, and the print-shops soon exhibited engravings of their portraits. They felt awkward in English small-clothes of black, and scarlet mantles trimmed with gold lace, in which they were clad, and preferred the scanty wardrobe of their forest homes. They were entertained at sumptuous banquets by the principal nobility of the realm, and shown the glory of the kingdom. They saw reviews of troops, and went on board some of the great ships of the Royal Navy; and at the London theatre they were amused by gorgeous displays. In the state carriage drawn by six horses, they were conveyed to the court and held an audience with the queen; and before their departure, they addressed to her Majesty, and to the Lords of the Privy Council, letters bearing their signatures in the form of rude pictures of the Wolf, the Bear, and the Tortoise - their respective totems or tribal arms - in which they promised perpetual friendship and alliance with the English, and confirmed them by presenting belts of wampum, their tokens of fidelity. With Schuyler, they returned to America in the ship Dragon, with Colonel Nicholson, and arrived in Boston early in the summer of 1711. They had seen evidences of the amazing strength, power and glory of Great Britain, which made a deep and abiding impression upon the ambassadors and their countrymen. They were ready to aid the English in the conquest of Canada.

An expedition for that conquest was planned by Henry St. John, afterward Lord Bolingbroke,

the friend of Pope and Swift, the brilliant orator and conversationalist, and the popular and unscrupulous Secretary of War of Queen Anne. Fifteen ships-of-war, forty transports and six store-ships were placed under the command of Admiral Sir Hovenden Walker, and with marines and battalions of veteran soldiers, then sailed for America and arrived at Boston in June, 1711. New England colonies promptly raised a provincial force, and the ships sailed for Quebec on the 10th of August, bearing about seven thousand troops. At the same time other colonies had formed a provincial army for the capture of Montreal and the holding of the region of the upper St. Lawrence. These were under the command of Nicholson, who held a general's commission and marched from Albany, on the Hudson, on the same day when the fleet left Boston. They were four thousand in number, and were chiefly furnished by New York and Connecticut. Six hundred of them were warriors of the Five Nations.

News of these movements soon reached Governor Vaudreuil at Montreal. He sent out Jesuit missionaries and other agents to secure Indian allies, and hastened to Quebec to prepare for the invaders. The fortifications were strengthened; and so enthusiastic were the inhabitants in the cause of defensive war, that women worked on the forts. But there was no occasion to fight for Quebec, for the British armament on the sea did not get into the St. Lawrence. When the ships arrived at its mouth after loitering by the way, they were overtaken by a storm of wind and a thick fog. It was a perilous place among rocks and shoals. Haughtily rejecting the advice of the New England pilots, the admiral listened to that of French pilots, who had an interest in misleading him. His fleet was soon driving on the shore, on the night of the 2nd of September. Just as he was going to bed the captain of his vessel came down to him and said, "Land is in sight; we are in great danger." Walker did not believe him. Presently a provincial captain rushed down and exclaimed: "For the Lord's sake come on deck, or we shall be lost I see the breakers all around us." Leisurely putting on his gown and slippers, the admiral ascended to the deck and saw the imminent peril. His orders for salvation, immediately given, were too late. The vessels were driven on the iron-bound shore, and eight of them were lost. Almost a thousand men perished in the sea.

A few days afterward, a council of war concluded that it would be wise to abandon the expedition. The disheartened admiral returned to England with his ships, while the provincial troops were sent to Boston. Hearing of the calamity and the result, Nicholson unwillingly retraced his steps to Albany, and left Montreal unmolested. Walker actually claimed credit for himself in retreating after falsely charging the disaster to the incompetence of the New England pilots. Had we arrived safe at Quebec, ten or twelve thousand men," he wrote, "must have been left to perish of cold and hunger; by the loss of a part, Providence saved all the rest." The admiral was disappointed in not receiving public honors for his exploits in assisting Providence.

In the spring of 1713, the war was ended by a treaty concluded at Utrecht, by which England obtained the privilege of being the chief trader of the world in African slaves, and received large accessions of territory from France. The eastern Indians, wearied with the war, sent delegates to Boston to sue for peace and at Portsmouth, the governor of Massachusetts and New Hampshire made a solemn treaty of amity with the chiefs of those tribes on the 24th of July.

A long peace now ensued. For thirty years the colonists of New England enjoyed comparative repose. It was broken only by discontented Indians in the East - the powerful Abenakes. They disputed the claims of Massachusetts to their territory, which the French had surrendered. Their chief said, I have my land where the Great Spirit has placed me and while there remains one child of my tribe, I will fight to preserve it." Finally, the English seized the young Baron de Castin, the son of an Indian woman. Smarting under this indignity, the Indians resolved to retaliate. The torch was again lighted, and Brunswick was laid in ashes. The Jesuit missionary, Rale, clearly perceiving their comparative weakness, told them plainly that their country was lost. The exasperated New Englanders overran portions of it with small military expeditions, striking blow here and there. It was in one of these forays upon Norridgewock that Rale was killed. He was the last Jesuit missionary in New England, and with him perished French influence over the Indian tribes in the East.

For several years after the close of these contests with the Indians, the history of Massachusetts consists chiefly of the record of warm political disputes by which the growth of republican principles was greatly stimulated. Controversies, sometimes violent and sometimes conciliatory, were carried on between the governors and the representatives of the people, the former contending for prerogatives and salaries which the latter deemed inadmissible. These disputes were suddenly arrested when, late in the spring of 1744, news came that France had declared war against Great Britain. The colonists knew that the evident result would be hostilities between their respective colonies in America, and they prepared for the conflict which is known in our history as King George's War." It was so called because King George the Second was then on the throne of England, and had espoused the cause of the Empress of Austria, the celebrated Maria Theresa, who fought for the crown of Austria against the Elector of Bavaria. The king of France espoused the cause of his opponent, and this led to war. In Europe it was known as "The War of the Austrian Succession."

This war was not marked by any very stirring events in America, excepting some military and naval operations in the East. Before war was declared, some French soldiers from the island of Cape Breton, surprised, captured and carried to Louisburg a small English garrison at Canseau. Then some Indians attacked the dilapidated fort at Annapolis, but were repulsed. These things compelled the English colonists to contemplate retaliation, and they resolved to attempt to capture the fortress at Louisburg, and so secure an important advantage. The men taken from Canseau had been sent to Boston on parole, and gave a minute account of that fortress. It had been built by the French after the treaty of Utrecht at a cost of five and a half million dollars, and because of its great strength it was called: "The Gibraltar of America."

At that time, William Shirley, a good soldier and energetic statesman, was governor of Massachusetts. He asked England for aid in the expedition against Louisburg. He appealed to the other colonies. The Legislature of Massachusetts made provision for the expedition. New York sent some artillery, and Pennsylvania some food. The New England colonies raised men, Massachusetts alone furnishing more than three thousand. So the common danger was extending the idea of a necessity for a political union of the English-American colonies long before it

assumed a practical shape in 1754, and especially in 1774.

The colonists had reason to expect the co-operation of a British fleet then in the West Indies, under Admiral Sir Peter Warren. They waited some time for its appearance, but in vain. Finally, at the beginning of April, 1745, New England troops sailed from Boston for Canseau, under the general command of William Pepperell, a wealthy merchant of Maine, who was afterward made a baronet for his distinguished services. The ice was yet floating around Cape Breton in such huge masses that ships could not enter the harbor of Louisburg, and the expedition was detained at Canseau almost a month, when it was unexpectedly joined by five war-ships and soon afterward by others from England, under Admiral Warren. That officer had received instructions from home to give to Massachusetts all the aid in his power. On the day after Warren appeared, some vessels arrived from Connecticut with a considerable land force from that colony.

The New England vessels of all sorts now at Canseau numbered one hundred. Governor Shirley had instructed Pepperell to have all of these vessels arrive near Louisburg at the same hour, in the night and no matter what might then be the condition of the surf, to land all the troops on the rocky shore before daylight, march at once through thickets and over morasses to the city and beyond it, and to take the fortress and town by surprise. Of course a strict compliance with these orders was impossible, but it was undertaken. The vessels all left Canseau, bearing about four thousand troops, and early in the morning of the 30th of April appeared in Gabarus Bay, eastward of Louisburg. The troops were disembarked on the same day, and most of the artillery, ammunition, and provisions were landed. The alarm bells of the city were rung, and cannon from the fortress were fired to warn the suburban inhabitants of danger.

The assailants had heavy work before them, with seemingly inadequate means for its execution. The walls of the fortress were forty feet thick at the bottom, of solid masonry, and from twenty to thirty feet in height. Around them was a ditch, filled with water, eighty feet wide. More than one hundred heavy cannon, and nearly eighty swivels and mortars, composed the armament of the fort. All the walls were swept by artillery from the bastions, and a garrison of sixteen hundred men defended these strong works. There were also batteries with many cannon outside the fort to defend the approaches to it. It seemed possible for two hundred men to defend it against five thousand. The heavy artillery of the assailants consisted of only eighteen cannon and three mortars.

The French sent out a force to oppose the landing, but they were soon put to flight. On the following morning, Lieutenant-Colonel Vaughan, of New Hampshire, a resolute volunteer, full of zeal and courage, conducted a small advance column through the woods within sight of Louisburg, and with three cheers greeted the first sight of the fortress. The same evening he marched to a part of the harbor where there were large warehouses containing a vast amount of naval stores, and set them on fire. The smoke driven by a strong wind into the grand battery situated near, so terrified its garrison that they spiked their guns and fled into the city. Vaughan took possession of the battery, and held it until he was reinforced, in spite of a resolute effort of a French force to retake it. The guns of the battery were unspiked by Major Seth Pomeroy, a

Massachusetts blacksmith, who afterward became a useful officer in the French and Indian war. "It looks as if our campaign would last long," the gallant Pomeroy wrote to his wife, "but I am willing to stay till God's time comes to deliver the city into our hands." "Suffer no anxious thought to rest on your mind about me," answered that patriotic New England woman. "The whole town is much engaged with concern for the expedition, how Providence will order the affair, for which religious meetings every week are maintained. I leave you in the hand of God." Such was the spirit of the descendants of the Puritans. The New Hampshire troops bore on their banners the motto given them by the eminent Whitefield - "Nil desperandum Christo subduce" - Nothing is to be despaired of with Christ for the leader. It inspired many of them with the zeal of crusaders, for they regarded it as an efficacious benediction by a highly gifted and holy man; a true servant of heaven.

The English troops encamped in a semicircle around Louisburg. The heavy cannon and mortars, under the charge of Captain Richard Gridley (who was conspicuous in the siege of Boston thirty years afterward, as an engineer), were dragged on sledges across morasses trenches were dug by the zealous soldiers batteries were erected, and on the last day of May a regular siege was commenced. Meanwhile Warren had captured a French seventy-four gun ship, with five hundred men and a large quantity of military stores.

Finally, a combined attack of the fleet and army was made, and on the 17th of June, the city, the fort and garrison, and the batteries, were surrendered to the English, together with the Island of Cape Breton. The value of the stores and prizes then captured was a little less than five million dollars. On the day of surrender New England ministers preached in the chapel of the fortress and in view of the amazing strength of the place, one of them said from the pulpit: "God has gone out of the way of his common providence, in a remarkable and almost miraculous manner, to incline the hearts of the French to give up, and deliver this strong city into our hands."

The pride of France was deeply mortified by the results of this daring and successful expedition. Her rulers determined to recover the lost city and fortress, and to desolate the colonies of the English in America. For that purpose a powerful fleet was sent to Cape Breton, under the command of the Duke d'Anville. His vessels were dispersed, and several of them were wrecked by violent storms and disease wasted hundreds of his men. He was compelled to abandon the enterprise without striking a blow, and with two or three ships - the remnant of his fleet - he took shelter in the harbor of Chebucto (now Halifax) in Nova Scotia. There he died, it is believed, from the effects of self-administered poison and his lieutenant who succeeded him, committed suicide because of mortified pride. As in the case of the capture of Louisburg, the New Englanders now regarded this delivery as the interposition of a special providence and the bells of Boston and other towns rang out merry peals of joy, while thousands knelt in the meeting-houses and poured out thanksgivings to God for his evident favors.

Hostilities continued two years longer, but the Americans suffered very little from the war, excepting from incursions by the French and Indians, on their frontiers. In October, 1748, a treaty at Aix-la-Chapelle put an end to the war, when it was agreed that all prisoners taken by either

party should be released, and all acquisitions of property or territory by either party should be restored. So Cape Breton and its fortress passed into the possession of the French by peaceful means, and the colonies were paid by the British government for their expenditures in capturing them, amounting to more than a million dollars. Both the principals in the contest were heavy losers. Nothing had been gained. Humanity had severely suffered.

National animosities, religious differences, and recent causes for irritation, had created the most intense hatred between the English and French colonists; and the acts of horrid cruelty by the Indians made the people on the frontiers regard them as almost as obnoxious as ravenous beasts of prey. Yet, firm in their allegiance to the crown of Great Britain, and loyal to the duty of obedience, the people of New England, and especially of Massachusetts, were impelled to a restraint of their resentment while England and France were at peace. But it was not long before disputes about territorial boundaries began which soon led to preparations for hostilities in America between the three races who occupied the country. At about the middle of the last century, they came to blows, and then began the fierce struggle of the English and French for dominion on this continent, known in history as "The French and Indian War." This we shall consider hereafter.

Chapter XXXIV

The Government of Maryland - Difficulties with Clayborne - The Indians Uneasy - A Civil War - Toleration Act - Disturbances in Maryland - George Fox in the Province - Rule of the Calverts - Insurrections - Revolution in England - Coode the Disturber of Maryland - Annapolis the Seat of Government - Lord Baltimore and William Penn - Tranquillity in Maryland - The French and Indian War.

AT the close of Chapter XVI II of the first volume, we have observed that in the year 1639, a representative government was established in Maryland. It was crude in form, but possessed the prolific seeds of a sturdy republicanism. The freemen chose as many representatives as they pleased. So did the proprietor. These, with the governor appointed by the proprietor, and a secretary, composed the government of Maryland.

In that first representative assembly, the people boldly asserted their rights and dignity. The proprietor presented to the Legislature a system of laws which he had framed. The representatives of the people, feeling that the inherent right to make laws resided in their constituents, rejected the whole system. They adopted a Declaration of Rights, defining the powers and duties of each branch of the government, and set to work to pass bills for the security to the people of every privilege that belonged to a British subject. This popular sovereignty was briefly contested by Lord Baltimore, by a series of vetoes or refusals to sign such bills. After vetoing more than forty, and finding the people firm, the proprietor gave up the contest and yielded gracefully to the popular will.

The province now had an aspect of profound repose, for the Indians regarded the new settlers as friends. Everything social and political promised for Maryland a long career of peace and prosperity, when personal ambition and greed, as usual, disturbed the serenity of society. A restless adventurer, named William Clayborne, had received authority from the governor of Virginia, so early as 1627, to explore the headwaters of Chesapeake Bay north of the 34th degree of latitude. Four years later, King Charles gave to Clayborne the privilege of making discoveries in the same region, and trafficking with the natives. He established a trading-post on Kent Island, in Chesapeake Bay, not far from Annapolis. When Governor Calvert visited Governor Harvey, while the colonists for Maryland were on their way to that province, Clayborne appeared and gave them ominous warnings of the hostilities of the Indians, to which they would be subjected. Not succeeding in frightening the emigrants, he insisted upon the exemption of Kent Island from the jurisdiction of the Maryland proprietor, because his grant was older than Lord Baltimore's thereto. The Virginia Assembly secretly supported his claim and when Calvert insisted that Clayborne should either leave the island or take an oath of allegiance to the governor; he would do neither, but fitted out an armed vessel to protect his domain and cruise against the colonists. His vessel was captured by a Maryland force, and Clayborne, who was not in the expedition, prudently fled to Virginia, and there effectually excited the hostility of the Indians against Calvert's colony, telling the savages that they were Spaniards. The governor of Maryland demanded the body of Clayborne as a rebel and traitor and he was saved from arrest only by

fleeing to England. The Maryland Legislature, in 1638, deprived Clayborne of his civil rights and property, within their jurisdiction. He laid his case before the king, and it was decided against him. For a few years afterward he did not appear as an open enemy of the Maryland government.

During the lull in Clayborne's active hostility, he had secretly poisoned the minds of the Indians with suspicions of dark designs on the part of the settlers toward them. The king of the Patuxents showed much unfriendliness, and the colonists were disquieted. But the more powerful king of the Piscataways resolved to become a Christian. He had been very sick. His forty conjurors could not kill the malady and it was likely to kill him, when Father White, the Roman Catholic priest already mentioned, by the judicious use of medicines, cured the monarch. With a grateful heart the king asked to be baptized. He urged his chiefs to receive the rite. On a warm summer's day in 1640, in a chapel made of bark for the occasion, the king, his queen, and their little child, with several of his council, were baptized in the presence of the governor and other distinguished citizens. The king was named Charles in honor of the British sovereign and in the afternoon he and his queen were married, in accordance with Christian rites. His daughter, an intelligent young woman, followed her father's example, and was sent to school at St. Mary's. His example was also followed by many other leading persons among the Indians; and they promised to be a shield for the colonists against outside barbarians. But the king soon afterward died, and his daughter at St. Mary's became queen. She could not protect the Christians against hostile pagans within their borders and beyond, with whom Clayborne and his emissaries had tampered.

The Indians, alarmed by the rapid increase of Englishmen in their country, and made suspicious by the false testimony of Clayborne, at length took a hostile position and made war on the intruders in 1642. The war was mild, but lasted between two and three years. It had just ended when Clayborne, assisted by Captain Richard Ingle, stirred up the people to rebellion. The insurrection flamed out with greater vehemence than the Indian war, but was not so long. Civil war was then raging in England, and the proprietor could not expect aid from the virtually dethroned monarch. The rebels, assisted by disaffected Indians, instantly triumphed, and the governor and his council were compelled to fly into Virginia. For about a year and a half the insurgents held the reins of power, and the horrors of civil war brooded over fair and once happy Maryland. The rebellion was crushed in the summer of 1646, when the governor returned to his chair of state. During the turmoil many of the records of the province were destroyed, and a greater portion of them were carried into Virginia by Captain Ingle and were lost. A wise clemency extended a general pardon to the rebels, excepting Ingle, and tranquillity was speedily restored.

Lord Baltimore displaced Green, a Roman Catholic, who had been acting- governor since the decease of Leonard Calvert, and commissioned William Stone of Virginia, a Protestant and warm friend of Parliament. Through his influence the Virginia Puritans came to the waters of the Chesapeake, insisting upon liberty of conscience. Soon after that the Maryland Assembly of 1649 met, says John Hammond (a friend of Lord Baltimore, in a pamphlet published in London in 1656), composed of Puritans, Church of England men, and a few Roman Catholics. It was this body of a majority of Protestants that passed the Toleration Act of which so much has been

written. That act seems to have been an outgrowth of statutes passed by the British Parliament in 1645 and 1647, and adopted by the Maryland Legislature under the pressure of the strong Puritan influence then existing there. By that act, every believer in Jesus Christ and the Trinity, was allowed the free exercise of his or her religious opinions, but from this toleration Jews and Unitarians were alike excluded, and it was far from being a full "Toleration Act." No man was allowed to reproach another on account of his peculiar religious doctrines, excepting under the penalty of a fine to be paid to the person so insulted and to Maryland the persecuted in other colonies now flocked to enjoy this broader freedom - Churchmen from New England, Puritans from Virginia, and Roman Catholics from all. That act is the pride and glory of Maryland's early legislation, yet it was not the first act of the kind (as has been often alleged) passed by a colonial assembly in America. In May, 1647 - two years before - the General Assembly of Rhode Island adopted a code of laws which closed with the declaration that all men may walk as their consciences persuaded them, without molestation - every one in the name of his God. This would include Jew or Mohammedan, Parsee or Pagan. It was absolute toleration.

For more than ten years republicanism prevailed in England. Lord Baltimore, whose politics and theology were easy-fitting garments, professed to be a republican when the king lost his head, but he had too lately been a decided royalist to secure the confidence of Parliament. They appointed a commission, of which Clayborne was a member, to govern Maryland. These commissioners entered upon their duties there with a high hand. They demanded a sight of Governor Stone's commission, and when he produced it, they snatched it from his hands, removed him and his subordinates from office, took possession of the records and abolished the authority of the proprietor of the province. A few months afterward they reinstated Governor Stone, put Kent and Polmer's islands into the possession of Clayborne, and so enabled the vigorous "outlaw" to trample over his enemy, Lord Baltimore.

When the Long Parliament was dissolved in 1653, Cromwell restored full power to Baltimore as proprietor. Stone proclaimed the movements of the commissioners to have been rebellious. He displaced all officers appointed by them, and in other ways acted very unwisely. The incensed commissioners returned to Maryland and compelled the governor to surrender his authority. Then they vested the government of the province in a board of ten commissioners.

Now the passions of the opposing political and religious parties were aroused into vehement action. The Protestants, who were still the majority in the General Assembly which convened in the fall of 1654, were imbued with the narrow bigotry of the early Puritans of Massachusetts, and, unmindful of the better principles of the Toleration Act of 1649, they wantonly disfranchised the Roman Catholics and members of the Church of England, by passing a law which declared that Papists and Churchmen were not entitled to the protection of the laws of Maryland. These zealots flogged and imprisoned Quakers; and their unworthy triumph was celebrated in a book published in London entitled "Babylon's Fall in Maryland."

When intelligence of these unrighteous proceedings reached London, Lord Baltimore obtained an audience with Cromwell, then Lord High Protector and real monarch of England. These

eminent men met in the Council Chamber at Whitehall, in friendly conference. Cromwell in power was not like Cromwell fighting for power. He was tolerant. His Latin Secretary, the eminent John Milton (who was present at the interview), had assisted in making him so. When Baltimore courteously protested against the injustice of Puritan legislation in Maryland, the Protector said: "I would that all the sects, like the cedar and the myrtle and the oil-tree, should be planted in the wilderness together," and assured Lord Baltimore that he disapproved of the ungrateful decree. That assurance was followed by an order which Cromwell sent to the commissioners "not to busy themselves about religion, but to settle the civil government."

So encouraged, Lord Baltimore determined to vindicate the rights of his people. He upbraided Stone for his want of firmness, and ordered him to raise an army for the restoration of the authority of the proprietor. Stone, smarting under rebuke, acted vigorously. He raised a force, chiefly of Roman Catholics, seized the colonial records, resumed the office of governor, and inaugurated civil war. Skirmishes followed. Finally, a sharp battle was fought, early in April, 1655, near the site of Annapolis, in which Stone was defeated and made prisoner, and about fifty of his party were killed or wounded. The governor and others were tried for treason. His life was spared, but four of his colleagues were hanged.

For several months, anarchy reigned supreme in Maryland, when Lord Baltimore appointed Josias Fendall, a former insurgent, to be governor of the province. Suspected of favoring the Roman Catholics, the Protestant Assembly ordered his arrest as a disturber of the peace, and for two years longer there was bitter strife between the people and the agents of the proprietor. The latter finally made important popular concessions, and Fendall was permitted to act as the governor. By prudent conduct he secured the confidence of the people, and Lord Baltimore anticipated a lasting relief from trouble on account of his American possessions, when Cromwell died and there were disquieting presages of a change in the government of England. The people of Maryland did not wait upon movements at home, but boldly asserting their supreme authority, dissolved the proprietary portion of the General Assembly in the spring of 1660, and assumed the whole legislative power of the State. The popular representatives then gave Fendall a commission as governor.

Three months after this political revolution in Maryland, monarchy was restored in England, and the son of the beheaded sovereign ascended the throne as Charles the Second. This event was soon followed by the restoration of his proprietary authority to Lord Baltimore. Fendall was tried for and found guilty of treason, because he had accepted office from the rebellious assembly. But Baltimore wisely proclaimed a general pardon for all political offenders, and for about thirty years afterward Maryland enjoyed comparative repose, while her neighbor, Virginia, was torn by civil war. Under the mild proprietary rule, the province prospered and the people were happy. Commerce flourished. The soil yielded rich rewards for labor. Industry was fostered by well-paid labor, and feminine hands found ample and profitable employment, as in peaceful Pennsylvania at the same time. A quaint writer of the period, discoursing on Pennsylvania, says in relation to the price of women's labor: "One reason why women's wages are so exorbitant is that they are not very numerous, which makes them stand upon high terms for their several services, and moreover,

they are usually married before they are twenty years of age, and when once in that noose, are for the most part a little uneasy, and make their husbands so too, till they procure them a maid-servant to bear the burden of the work, as also, in some measure, to wait on them, too."

Emigrants came to Maryland from almost every part of Europe to enjoy the tolerant rule there; and the pleasant spectacle was seen of George Fox, the founder of the sect called Friends, or "Quakers," preaching in the evening twilight on the shores of the Chesapeake to a multitude of people, comprising members of the Legislature and other distinguished men of the province, and a large group of Indian kings and chieftains, with their wives and children, led by their emperor. But the refusal of the Friends to perform military duty or take an oath, subjected them to fines and harsh imprisonments. This was a civil matter, and had nothing to do with their religious tenets.

When monarchy was restored, the people of Maryland were in full possession of the liberty founded upon popular sovereignty, and never parted with the precious treasure. The population of the province consisted of about ten thousand white people living together in comparative harmony, the fierceness of religious bigotry having been subdued by mutual concessions.

Lord Baltimore died in 1675, after a rule in Maryland, with several interruptions, for forty-three years. He was crowned in his old age with the blessings and honors of a colony which he had planted in his youth. He had never trodden the soil of Maryland, but a grateful people cherished his memory as they would that of a beloved father known to them in person. The commercial capital of that State bears the name of his title. His son and successor, Charles, followed in the footsteps of his liberal father in fostering toleration and humanity and he and his successors continued, with a few interruptions, to administer the government of the province until the storm of the revolution, which burst forth in 1775, swept away every vestige of proprietary and royal government in the English-American colonies. The title of Lord Baltimore became extinct in 1771, and the last of the family in England, of whom anything is known, was a prisoner for debt in the Queen's Bench prison in London, in 1860. In that, and the Fleet prison, he had then been confined, by the fiat of the barbarous law, twenty years.

Maryland, like the other colonies, was shaken by the revolution in England in 1688, and experienced deep sorrows for awhile. For several years before, the democratic ideas then rapidly spreading over the provinces, could not reconcile the rule of a lord proprietor with the principles of republicanism. Even so early as when Charles Calvert went to England after the death of his father, signs of political discontent were conspicuous in Maryland. In 1678, the General Assembly, influenced by the popular feeling, established the right of suffrage - casting of a vote for rulers - on a broad basis. When Charles returned in 1681, he annulled this act, and by an arbitrary ordinance restricted the right to freemen owning fifty acres of land or personal property of the value of forty pounds sterling. This produced great disquietude, and Ex-Governor Fendall planned an insurrection for the purpose of abolishing the proprietorship and establishing an independent Republican government. The king was induced to issue orders that all offices of government in Maryland should be filled by Protestants alone; and so, again, the Roman Catholics were deprived of their political rights.

In 1684, Lord Baltimore again went to England, leaving the government of his province in charge of several deputies under the nominal governorship of his infant son. There he found his rights in great peril but before the matter was brought to a direct issue by the operation of a writ of quo warranto, King James was driven from the throne and Protestant William and Mary ascended it. Lord Baltimore immediately acquiesced in the political change. Because his instructions to his deputies to proclaim the new monarchs were delayed in their transmission, he was charged with hesitancy and a restless spirit named Coode, an associate of Fendall in his insurrectionary movements - a man of loose morals and blasphemous speech - excited the people by the cry of a Popish plot. He circulated the false story that the local magistrates in Maryland, and the Roman Catholics there, had engaged with the Indians in a plot for the destruction of the Protestants in the province. An actual league at that time between the French and the Jesuit missionaries with the savages on the New England frontiers for the destruction of the English colonies in the East gave the coloring of truth to the story, which created great excitement. The old feud burned intensely. The Protestants formed an armed association. Led by Coode, they marched to the Maryland capital, took possession of the records and assumed the functions of a provisional government, in May, 1689. They met in convention in August following, when they prepared and sent to the new sovereigns a report of their proceedings and a series of absurd and false accusations against Lord Baltimore. In conclusion, they requested the monarchs to depose Lord Baltimore by making Maryland a royal province and taking it under the protection of the crown.

The sovereigns listened favorably to the representations of the convention and complied with their requests. Coode was ordered to administer the government in the name of the king, and so the people were punished for their folly in elevating him to leadership. He ruled with the spirit of a petty tyrant, until the people of every religious and political creed were heartily disgusted with him. He was displaced in 1692, when the king sent Sir Lionel Copley to be governor of Maryland.

The new governor arrived in the spring of that year and summoned a General Assembly to meet at St. Mary's in May. New laws were instituted. Religious toleration was abolished. The Church of England was made the state church for Maryland, to be supported by a tax on the whole people. "Thus," says McMahan, "was introduced, for the first time in Maryland, a church establishment sustained by law and fed by general taxation. Other laws oppressive in their bearings upon those opposed in religious views to the dominant party were enacted, some of which remained in force until the glorious emancipation day in the summer of 1776 gave freedom to our nation."

Partly because the whole people of Maryland might be better accommodated, but largely for the purpose of punishing the adherents of Lord Baltimore, who constituted a greater portion of the population of St. Mary's, the seat of government was moved from there to Anne Arundel town, on the shore of the Chesapeake, early in 1694, and there a General Assembly was convened in February. The following year the name of the place was changed by authority to Annapolis, and the naval station of the province was established there. Annapolis has continued to be the

capital of Maryland until now. St. Mary's, dependent for its existence upon its being the capital of the province, speedily sunk into insignificance and fell into ruins.

Lord Baltimore never recovered his proprietary rights. Neither did he return to America, but died in England in 1714, at the age of eighty-five years. He was succeeded by his son Benedict Leonard Calvert. That son had abandoned the faith of his father and died in the spring of 1715, when his title to the province devolved upon his infant son Charles, who, with his brothers and sisters, had been educated as Protestants.

Charles Calvert Lord Baltimore and William Penn were contemporaries, and were equally conspicuous for their beneficent disposition. They are regarded as the best of all the proprietaries who owned chartered domains in America. This sentiment is shadowed in the following lines by a minor English poet:

"Laws formed to harmonize contrarious creeds, And heal the wounds through which a nation bleeds, Laws mild, impartial, tolerant and fixed, A bond of union for a people mixed; Such as good Calvert framed for Baltimore, And Penn the Numa of th' Atlantic shore."

There being no longer any objection to the Baltimore family on account of religion, the British government restored to the young scion of that noble house, all the rights of proprietaryship in 1715. This restoration did not affect the republican sentiment of a great majority of the people of the province, except to stimulate its growth. The first legislature which met, after the Restoration, passed a body of laws based upon the broadest principles of civil and religious liberty, some of which yet remain in force in Maryland. There was a single blot on the legislation of that Assembly. They introduced into Maryland all of the odious test-oaths and disabilities which were enforced in England against the consciences of men.

For almost forty years after the Restoration the colony enjoyed remarkable tranquillity. Only the natural disputes that arose between a lord proprietor and a people of strong republican tendencies in thought and action, and the flutter of excitement caused by the furnishing of men to aid the northern colonies in their struggles with the common foe on the frontiers, disturbed the general repose.

Charles Lord Baltimore died in 1751, after ruling the province in person and by deputies about thirty-six years. During that period the growth of the province in wealth and population was remarkable. The inhabitants then numbered more than one hundred and thirty-five thousand souls, of whom about forty thousand were black men and women, who were mostly slaves. The several provinces were then agitated by the encroachments of the French upon the territory of the Ohio and Mississippi valleys, toward which English adventurers were casting longing eyes. In the French and Indian war that broke out in 1755, Maryland became involved, at first, simply in the maintenance of an attitude of self-defence and a generous assistant of its sister colonies. Its legislature for awhile persistently stood aloof from aggressive warfare in spite of the commands of the king and the entreaties of Virginia. They consented to send delegates to the colonial

convention which assembled at Albany in 1754, but the delegates offended their constituents by agreeing to a plan of union submitted by Dr. Franklin, by which the several colonies might act with national power in the prosecution of measures of defence against the common enemy. The Marylanders, ever jealous of their colonial rights and proud of their separate independence as a colony, and their inherent sovereignty, had always opposed every attempt to effect a fusion of the colonies into one government. When the plan agreed upon at Albany was submitted to the General Assembly of Maryland, it was unanimously disapproved as tending to the destruction of the rights and liberties of his majesty's subjects in the province.

The time soon arrived when the Marylanders could no longer stand in the attitude of separatist and avoid taking an active aggressive part in the war, for its surges were beating upon the borders of their province. The Indians were plundering their frontier. The General Assembly, aroused by immediate danger, voted men and money for a vigorous prosecution of the war; and the command of all the forces engaged against the French on the Ohio was given, by a royal commission, to Governor Sharpe, of Maryland. The people of that province were forced by circumstances to consent to a union which was finally cemented by the blood of the Revolution.

Chapter XXXV

The Connecticut Colonies - An Absurd Rumor about the Dutch - Charter for Connecticut Obtained - Tyranny of Governor Andros - His Attempt to Seize the Charter - The Charter Oak - Freedom Enjoyed in Rhode Island - Society There - New Charter for Rhode Island Obtained - Its Duration - Andros in Rhode Island - New Jersey Considered - Its Social and Political Condition - The Province Divided - The Quakers Settle There - Andros in New Jersey - It Becomes a Royal Province.

THE Connecticut colonists worked in harmony as brethren or the same nation and creed until their fusion into one commonwealth in 1665. They managed their private and public affairs prudently and were prosperous. Troubles with the Dutch, concerning territorial boundaries, were amicably settled with Stuyvesant when he visited Hartford in 1650; but the mutterings of dissatisfaction which fell from the lips of the neighboring Indian tribes gave them some disquietude, and made them heartily approve and join the New England Confederacy formed in 1643. The following year the little independent colony at Saybrook, at the mouth of the Connecticut River, which had been formed in 1639, was annexed to that of Connecticut at Hartford, and was the precursor of the final union of the three colonies about twenty years afterwards.

The repose of the colonists was broken in 1653, by a war between England and Holland. An alarming rumor had spread over New England that Ninigret, an old, crafty and wily sachem of the allied Niantics and Narragansets, who had spent part of a winter at New Amsterdam, had made a league with Stuyvesant for the destruction of the New England colonies. The majority of the commissioners of the New England Confederacy believed the absurd story, and decided to make war on the Dutch. The Connecticut people were specially eager for war, for they were more immediately exposed to the effects of such a plot than the other colonists. But Massachusetts refused to furnish men and arms for an aggressive war, before an investigation of the matter. Messengers were sent to Ninigret and his associate sachems for the latter purpose. These were questioned separately, and all concurred in the solemn assurance that they had no knowledge of such a plot. Ninigret, who went to New Amsterdam for medical treatment, said with emphasis, in his denial, "I found no such entertainment from the Dutch governor, when I was there, as to give me any encouragement to stir me up to such a league against the English, my friends. It was winter time, and I stood a great part of a winter day knocking at the governor's door, and he would neither open it, nor suffer others to open it, to let me in. I was not wont to find such carriage from the English, my friends." The story of the Dutch-Indian plot appears to have been a pure invention of Uncas, the crafty sachem of the Mohegans, who was a foe of Ninigret, and was extremely jealous of the supposed friendship between that sachem and the English. It caused the frightened Connecticut colonists, when Massachusetts refused to join them in war upon the Dutch, to ask Cromwell for aid. The Protector sent four ships-of-war, but before their arrival a treaty of peace had ended the war between England and Holland, and blood and treasure were saved in America.

On the restoration of monarchy in England, in 1660, the Connecticut colonists had fears regarding their future. Their sturdy republicanism and independent action in the past might be mortally offensive to the new monarch. The General Assembly of Connecticut, therefore, resolved to make a formal acknowledgment of their allegiance to the crown and ask the king for a charter. A petition was accordingly framed and signed in May, 1661, and Governor John Winthrop bore it to England. He was a son of Winthrop of Massachusetts, and was a man of rare attainments and courtly manners, and then about forty-five years of age. He obtained an interview with the king, and was received with coolness. His name and the people over whom he was the chosen ruler were associated with radical republicanism, and the king received the prayer of the petitioners with disfavor. Winthrop left the royal presence, disappointed but not disheartened, and sought and obtained another interview.

The "merry monarch" was now in more genial mood. He chatted freely with Winthrop about America - its soil, productions, the Indians and the settlers - yet he hesitated to promise a charter. Winthrop, it is said, finally drew from his pocket a gold ring of great value, which the king's father had given to the governor's grandfather, and presented it to his majesty with a request that he would accept it as a memorial of the unfortunate monarch, and a token of Winthrop's esteem for, and loyalty to King Charles, before whom he stood as a faithful and loving subject. The king's heart was touched. Turning to Lord Clarendon, who was present, the monarch said: "Do you advise me to grant a charter to this good gentleman and his people?" "I do, Sire," responded Clarendon. "It shall be done," said Charles, and he dismissed Winthrop with a hearty shake of his hand and a royal blessing.

The governor left Whitehall with a light heart. A charter was issued on the first of May, 1662. It confirmed the popular constitution of the colony, and contained more liberal provisions than any yet issued by royal hands. It defined the boundaries so as to include the New Haven colony and a part of Rhode Island on the East, and westward to the Pacific Ocean. The New Haven colony reluctantly gave its consent to the union, 1111665, and the boundary between Connecticut and Rhode Island remained a subject of dispute for more than sixty years. That old charter, engrossed on parchment, is among the archives in the Connecticut State Department. It bears the miniature portrait of Charles the Second, drawn in India ink by Samuel Cooper, it is supposed, who was an eminent London miniature painter of the time.

During King Philip's war, the colonists of Connecticut did not suffer much from hostile Indians, excepting some remote settlers high up the Connecticut River. They furnished their full measure of men and supplies, and their soldiers bore a conspicuous part in that contest between the races for supremacy. But while they were freed from dangers and distress of war with the Indians, they were disturbed by the petty tyranny of Governor Andros, whose advent in New England and New York has been noticed.

Seated at New York, Andros claimed jurisdiction as far east as the Connecticut River. To the mouth of that stream he went, with a small naval force, in the summer of 1675, to assert his authority. Captain Bull, the commander of a small fort at Saybrook, permitted him to land but

when the governor began to read his commission, Bull ordered him to be silent. Andros was compelled to yield to the commander's bold spirit and his superior military power, and in a towering passion he returned to New York, flinging curses and threats behind him at the people of Connecticut in general, and Captain Bull in particular.

For more than a dozen years after this flare-up of ambition and passion, nothing materially disturbed the public repose of Connecticut. Then a most exciting scene occurred at Hartford, in the result of which the liberties of the colony were involved. Andros again appeared as a usurper of authority - the willing instrument of his master King James the Second, who had determined to hold absolute rule over all New England. On his arrival in New York, as we have seen, Andros demanded a surrender of all the colonial charters into his hands. The authorities of all the colonies complied, excepting those of Connecticut. The latter steadily refused to yield their charter voluntarily, for it was the guardian of their political rights. To subdue their stubbornness, the viceroy proceeded to Hartford with sixty armed men, to demand the surrender of the charter in person. On his arrival there on the 31st of October (O. S.), 1687, he found the General Assembly in session in the meeting-house. The members received him with the courtesy due to his rank. Before that body, with armed men at his back, he demanded a formal surrender of the precious document into his own hands.

It was now near sunset. A subject of some importance was under debate, and the discussion was purposely continued until some time after the candles were lighted. Then the charter, contained in a long mahogany box, was brought in and laid upon the table. A preconcerted plan to save it from the grasp of the usurper was now instantly executed. As Andros put forth his hand to take the charter, the candles were all snuffed out and the document was snatched by Captain Wadsworth, whose train-bands were near to protect the Assembly from any violence which the royal soldiers might offer. Wadsworth bore away the charter, the crowd opening as he passed out, and closing behind him, and hid it in the hollow of a venerable oak tree on the outskirts of the village. When the candles were relighted, the members were seated in perfect order, but the charter could not be found. This was the same Captain Wadsworth who afterward silenced Governor Fletcher.

So, again, the tyrannical purposes of Andros were foiled in Connecticut. Wisely restraining his passion at that time, he assumed the control of the government declared the charter annulled, and Secretary Allyn wrote the word FINIS after the last record of the Journal of the Assembly. From that time until he was expelled from the country in 1689, he governed Connecticut as an autocrat - an absolute sovereign. Then the charter was brought out from its place of concealment, in May, 1689; a popular Assembly was convened; Robert Treat was chosen governor, and Connecticut again assumed the position of an independent colony. The tree in which the document was hidden was ever afterward known as the "Charter Oak." It remained vigorous, bearing fruit every year until a little after midnight in August, 1856, when it was prostrated by a heavy storm of wind. It stood in a vacant lot on the south side of Charter street, a few rods from Main street, in the city of Hartford.

About six years after Andros was out-generaled at Hartford, his successor in office Benjamin Fletcher, was foiled, at the same place, in his attempts to exercise control over the militia of Connecticut. The exciting scene has been recorded in the 28th Chapter of the first volume. From that time, during the space of about three-fourths of a century, the history of Connecticut is intimately woven with that of the other colonies planted in America by English people. The inhabitants of Connecticut, by prudent habits and good government, steadily increased in numbers and wealth. They went hand in hand with those of other colonies in measures for the promotion of the welfare of all and when, in the fullness of time, the provinces were ripe for union, rebellion and independence, the people of Connecticut were foremost in their eagerness to assert their rights as a free people.

We have seen that Rhode Island was favored with a charter from Parliament in 1644. Yet with this guaranty of strength, it was not free from the dangers which excessive liberty often creates. But Rhode Island passed that fiery ordeal almost unscathed. In the plenitude of freedom there enjoyed, each individual was, in a degree, a law unto himself. In religion and politics the people were absolutely free. The General Assembly, in a code of laws adopted in 1647, declared, as we have observed, that all men might walk as their consciences permitted them - every one in the name of his God. Almost every religious belief might have been encountered there; so that if a man lost his religious opinions, he might have been sure to find them in some village in Rhode Island. Society was in a continual ferment, but the agitation was healthful. Town meetings, and other like gatherings of the people, were stormy and the disputes of rivals were sometimes fierce, but never brutal. There was a remarkable propriety of conduct on all occasions and out of the political agitations came to the surface the best men in the colony to administer public affairs. Throughout the whole community, so independent in thought and action, appeared a healthier religious sentiment than in Massachusetts, where the people were straight-laced by creeds and dogmas, and were constantly tempted to be hypocrites. There was a high-toned morality, based upon that religious sentiment, which preserved society from many dangers. "Our popularity," says one of their records, "shall not, as some conjecture it will, prove an anarchy, and so a common tyranny for we are exceeding desirous to preserve every man safe in his person, name, and estate."

A little danger menaced the commonwealth when, in 1651, the Executive Council of State in England granted to William Coddington a commission for governing the islands within the limits of the Rhode Island charter. This threatened a dismemberment of the little empire and its absorption by neighboring colonies. The people were alarmed. Roger Williams and John Clarke hastened to England, and with the assistance of Sir Henry Vane, "the sheet-anchor of Rhode Island" - the noble and true friend to an outcast and despised people" - the commission was recalled and the charter given by Parliament was confirmed. That was in October, 1652. This act put an end to the persevering efforts of Massachusetts to absorb the little commonwealth.

While Roger Williams was in England, he partly supported himself by teaching. He then enjoyed the intimate friendship of Cromwell, Hampden, Milton, Sir Henry Vane, and other distinguished men. On his return, he was again hailed with joy as a benefactor and in the autumn

of 1654, he was chosen president of the colony. The following year, Cromwell, as ruler of England, confirmed the charter given by Parliament, and the colony prospered in peace. Religious disputes agitated the people but reason, left free to combat error, allowed no persecution.

On the restoration of monarchy in 1660, the inhabitants of Rhode Island sent to Charles an address, in which they declared their loyalty and begged his protection. This was followed by a petition for a new charter. The prayer was granted; and in July, 1663, the king issued a patent highly democratic in its general features, and similar, in every respect, to the one granted to Connecticut. Benedict Arnold was chosen the first governor under the royal charter, and it continued to be the supreme law of the land for the period of about one hundred and eighty years. In 1842, the people of Rhode Island adopted a constitution, and the power of the old royal charter ceased.

When, in 1687, Andros demanded the surrender of the colonial charters, the inhabitants of Rhode Island instantly yielded. When the order for the seizure of these charters was first made known, the Assembly of Rhode Island had sent a most loyal address to the king, saying: "We humbly prostrate ourselves, our privileges, our all, at the gracious feet of your majesty, with an entire resolution to serve you with faithful hearts." Andros, therefore, found no opposition in the little colony. Within a month after his arrival at Boston, he proceeded to Rhode Island, where he was graciously received. He formally dissolved the Assembly broke the seal of the colony, which bore the figure of an anchor and the word HOPE; admitted five of the inhabitants into his legislative council, and assumed the functions of governor. But he did not take away the parchment on which the charter was written.

The people of Rhode Island were restive under the petty tyranny of Andros; and when they heard of the imprisonment of the despot at Boston, in the spring of 1689, they assembled at Newport, resumed popular government under the old charter, and began a new and independent political career. From that time until the enforced union of the colonies for mutual defence at the breaking out of the French and Indian war, the inhabitants of Rhode Island always bore their fair share in defensive efforts, especially when the hostile savages hung along the frontiers of New England and New York like a dark and ill-omened cloud. The history of that commonwealth is identified with that of all New England, from the beginning of King William's war soon after the expulsion of Andros.

Let us now turn again to a consideration of the history of New Jersey as a colony. We have traced its progress from the period of its first settlements to that of its permanent political organization as a British colony, with a governor and council, and when a cluster of four houses at Elizabethtown were dignified with the title of a colonial capital. Agents were sent to New England to invite settlers, and a company from New Haven were soon seated on the banks of the Passaic. Others followed; and when, in 1668 the first legislative assembly met at Elizabethtown, it was largely made up of representatives of New England Puritanism. The fertility of the soil the salubrity of the climate; the exemption from fear of Indian hostilities and other manifest advantages, caused a rapid increase in the population and prosperity of the province; and nothing

disturbed the general serenity of society there until the year 1670, when specified quit-rents of a halfpenny for each acre of land was demanded. The people murmured. Some of them had purchased their land of the Indians before the proprietary government was established, and refused to pay the rent, not on account of its amount, but because it was an unjust tax levied without their consent.

Disputes concerning rents continued almost two years, and the province was cast into confusion. The whole people combined in resistance to the payment of the tax. There was actual rebellion; and in May, 1672, the disaffected colonists sent deputies to a popular Assembly which met at Elizabethtown. That body chose a weak and dissolute illegitimate son of one of the proprietors to be their governor, and compelled Philip Carteret, the proprietary ruler, to vacate his chair and leave the province. He went to England for more authority; and while the proprietors were making preparations to recover the province by force of arms, New Jersey and all the rest of the territory in America claimed by the Duke of York fell into the hands of the Dutch, with whom the English were then at war. That was in August, 1673.

When, fifteen months afterward, these territories were restored to the English, and the duke received a new charter from his brother the king, he appointed Andros governor of the whole domain. Carteret complained, and his authority was partly restored but sufficient was reserved to give Andros a pretext for asserting his authority and annoying the proprietors and the people.

Lord Berkeley was now so disgusted by the losses and annoyances which he had endured in connection with his ownership of New Jersey, that he sold his interest in the province to John Fenwick and Edward Byllinge, English Friends or Quakers, for the sum of five thousand dollars. The tract sold to these Friends was in the western part of the province. With some emigrants, mostly of the Society of Friends, Fenwick sailed for his new possessions. They settled at a spot not far from the Delaware River, which they named Salem, on account of the peaceful aspect of the country and the surrounding Indians. There, with the peculiar gravity of the sect, Fenwick and his two daughters, thirteen men (most of them heads of families) and one woman, the wife of one of the emigrants, sat in silent worship according to their custom, under the shadow of a great tree, with covered heads and quiet bodies, on the ensuing First Day after their arrival. Then they built log cabins for shelter, and so began a new life in the wilds of New Jersey.

Byllinge was the principal proprietor, but soon after the departure of Fenwick, heavy losses in trade made him a bankrupt, and his interest in New Jersey was first assigned to William Penn and others for the benefit of his creditors, and was afterward sold to them. These purchasers and others who became associated with them, unwilling to maintain a political union with other parties, bargained with Carteret for a division of the province. This was done in July, 1676. Carteret retained the eastern part of the province, and the new purchasers held the western part. From that time until they were united and became a royal province in 1702, these divisions were known as East and West Jersey. From this circumstance, the expression "The Jerseys," heard in our day, was derived.

The proprietors of West Jersey gave to the settlers, who were mostly Friends at first, a remarkably liberal constitution of government, entitled "The concessions and agreements of the proprietors, freeholders, and inhabitants of the province of West New Jersey in America." The following year (1677) more than four hundred Friends came from England and settled below the Raritan. Andros required them to acknowledge his authority as the representative of the Duke of York. They refused, and the matter was referred to the eminent crown-lawyer and oriental scholar, Sir William Jones, for adjudication. Sir William decided against the claims of the duke, who submitted to the decision, released both provinces from allegiance to him, and the Jerseys became independent of foreign control. The first popular Assembly in West Jersey met at Salem in November, 1681, and adopted a code of laws for the government of the people. One of these laws provided that in all criminal cases, excepting treason, murder and theft, the aggrieved party should have power to pardon the offender.

Carteret died late in 1679. The trustees of his American estates offered East Jersey for sale. It was bought in 1682, by William Penn and others, among them the Earl of Perth, the friend of Robert Barclay, whom the proprietors appointed governor of the domain for life. Barclay was an eminent young Friend, whose writings have ever been held in high estimation by his sect, especially his Apology for the true Christian Divinity, as the same is held forth and practiced by the people called in scorn Quakers, and his Treatise on Christian Discipline. The purchase was made, not in the interest of religion or liberty, but as a land speculation. Barclay governed the province by deputies until his death in 1690, when he was only forty-two years of age.

A large number of Friends went from England and Scotland to East Jersey, and other immigrants flocked in from Long Island, to find repose and peace. They soon found that repose was not to be enjoyed by lovers of freedom anywhere under royal rule. They were also impressed with the significance of the injunction: "Put not your trust in princes," for James the king failed to keep the promises of James the duke, and they were compelled to submit to the tyranny of Andros. When that detested viceroy was driven from the country in 1689, the Jerseys were left without a regular civil government, and so they remained several years.

Wearied with contentions with the people of the provinces and with the government in England, and annoyed by losses in unprofitable speculations; the proprietors of the Jerseys surrendered them to the crown in 1702, when Queen Anne was the reigning British monarch. The government of that domain was then confided to Sir Edward Hyde (Lord Cornbury), whose instructions constituted the supreme law of the land. He was then governor of New York, and possessed almost absolute legislative and executive control within the jurisdiction of his authority. In New Jersey the people had no voice in the judiciary or the making and executing of laws other than recommendatory. Liberty of conscience was granted to all but Roman Catholics, but the bigoted governor always showed conspicuous favors to the members of the Church of England. Under the rule of that dishonest libertine, the people of New Jersey were slaves. Printing was prohibited in the province except by royal permission, and the traffic in negro slaves was specially encouraged.

The province of New Jersey remained a dependency of New York, with a distinct legislative assembly of its own, until the year 1738, when, through the efforts of Lewis Morris, its chief justice, it was made an independent colony, and so continued until the war for independence. Mr. Morris was commissioned the first governor after the province had gained its freedom from New York. He was the son of an officer in Cromwell's army who, at about the year 1672, settled on a farm of three thousand acres on the Harlem River, New York, which was named Morrisania.

The last of the royal governors of New Jersey was William Franklin, son of Dr. Benjamin Franklin, who was appointed, in 1763, and closed his official career in the summer of 1776, when he was deposed by the Continental Congress, and sent under guard to Connecticut, where he was released on parole and sailed for England. He died there in 1813.

Chapter XXXVI

William Penn in Pennsylvania - Growth of that Province - Penn Goes to England - His Troubles There - He Returns to America - Gives a Third and More Liberal Charter to the Colonists - His Death, and the Fate of the Province - Attempts to Force the Fundamental Constitutions on the Carolinas - Effects of Navigation Laws - Rebellion in North Carolina - Archdale Made Governor of Both Carolinas - Social Condition of North Carolina - Settlements and Political Troubles in South Carolina - Growth of the Colony - The Huguenots and Their History - Rebellion in South Carolina - The Good Deeds of John Archdale.

WHEN William Penn, with the help of Thomas Holme, the surveyor, laid out the city of Philadelphia at the close of 1682, he caused the boundaries of the streets to be marked on the trunks of the chestnut, walnut, locust, spruce, pine and other forest trees that covered the land. Several streets of that city yet bear the names of those trees, then given to them. The growth of the new town was rapid. Within a year after the surveyor had finished his task, almost a hundred houses were erected there, and the Indians came daily with the spoils of the forest as presents for "Father Penn," as they delighted to call the proprietor.

In March following, the new city was honored by the gathering there of the second Assembly of the province, when Penn offered to the people, through their representatives, a new charter. It was so liberal in all its provisions that when the question, "Shall we accept the new constitution or adhere to the old one?" came up in that body, there was a solid vote in favor of the new one. It constituted a representative republican government, with free religious toleration and having justice for its foundation and the proprietor, unlike those of other provinces, surrendered to the people his chartered rights in the appointment of officers. From the beginning, the happiness and prosperity of his people appeared to be upper-most in the heart and mind of William Penn. It was this happy relation between the proprietor and the people, and security against Indian raids that made Pennsylvania far outstrip her sister colonies in rapidity of settlement and permanent prosperity.

Late in 1682, a small house was erected on the site of Philadelphia for the use of Penn. It survived until our day, occupying a place in Letitia Court, between Front and Second streets. There he assisted in fashioning those excellent laws which gave a high character to Pennsylvania from the beginning. Among other wise enactments, it was decreed that, to prevent lawsuits, three arbitrators, to be called peace-makers, should be appointed by the county courts, to hear and determine small differences between man and man that children should be taught some useful trade that factors wronging their employees should make satisfaction, and one-third over that all causes for irreligion and vulgarity should be repressed and that no man should be molested for his religious opinions. They also decreed that the days of the week and the months of the year "shall be called as in Scripture, and not by heathen names (as are vulgarly used), as ye First, Second and Third dais of ye week, and First, Second and Third months of ye year, beginning with ye day called Sunday, and ye month called March," so beginning the year, as of old, with the first spring month. At about the same time Pennsylvania was divided into three counties - Bucks, Chester

and Philadelphia and the annexed territory was also divided into three counties - New Castle, Kent and Sussex - known for a long time afterward the "Three Lower Counties on the Delaware."

In the summer of 1684, Penn returned to England. He left the government of the province, during his absence, in the care of five members of the council and Thomas Lloyd as president, who held the Great Seal. His mission in America had been one of solid triumph over the hoary prejudices of feudalism and the selfish instincts of man. His wise and beneficent conduct had given wings to a report that William Penn had opened, in a beautiful land beyond the ocean, an asylum to the good and oppressed of every nation and creed. These and others came from Scandinavia, the borders of the Rhine, and from England, Wales, Scotland and Ireland, to plant quiet homes in the dominions of the "Quaker King." His "City of Brotherly Love" had, in the course of two years, grown more rapidly than had the city of New York in almost half a century. At the close of the year following his departure for England, it contained six hundred houses schools were established, and William Bradford, who had landed where Philadelphia was afterward laid out, had set up a printing-press there. His "Almanack for the Year of the Christian's Account, 1687," was printed there on a broadside or single sheet, with twelve compartments, the year beginning with March. Looking upon the result of his work, Penn, with righteous exultation, wrote to Lord Halifax: "I must, without vanity, say I have led the greatest colony into America that ever any man did upon private credit, and the most prosperous beginnings that ever were in it are to be found among us." Penn bade the colonists farewell, with the most cheering forebodings for the future, saying: "My love and my life are to and with you, and no water can quench it, nor distance bring it to an end. I have been with you, cared over you, and served you with unfeigned love; and you are beloved of me and dear to me beyond utterance. I bless you in the name and power of the Lord, and may God bless you with his righteousness, peace and plenty all the land over And thou, Philadelphia, the virgin settlement of this province, my soul prays to God for thee, that thou mayest stand in the day of trial, and that thy children may be blessed." The blessings of the whole people rested upon the good man, when, on a bright day in August, the vessel that bore him to England weighed anchor at near the foot of Chestnut street.

Four months after Penn's return to England, Charles the Second died, and his brother James ascended the throne. Then began a period of great theological and political excitement in England, in the perils of which Penn became involved. He and the new king had long been personal friends; and through Penn's influence, twelve hundred persecuted Friends were released from prison, in 1686. When it was seen that James was under the powerful influence of the Jesuits, his Quaker friend was suspected of being one of them and after the revolution that drove James from the throne, he was arrested three times, on a false charge of treason, and as often acquitted. The last time was in 1690. Meanwhile there had been great political and theological commotions in Pennsylvania, and in April, 1691, the Three Lower Counties on the Delaware, offended at the action of the council at Philadelphia, withdrew from the Union, and Penn yielded to the secessionists so far as to appoint a separate deputy governor over them.

In consequence of representations which came from Pennsylvania, the monarchs William and Mary deprived Penn of his rights as governor of his province, in 1692, and the control of the

domain was placed in the hands of Governor Fletcher, of New York, who, in the spring of 1693, reunited the Delaware counties to the parent province. Fletcher appeared at the head of the council at Philadelphia on Monday, the 15th of May, with William Markham, Penn's deputy, as lieutenant-governor.

Powerful friends interceded with King William for the restoration of Penn's rights. He was called before the Privy Council to answer certain accusations, when his innocence was proven. A few months afterward his rights were all restored. That was in the summer of 1694. His fortune had been wasted, and he lingered in England, under the pressure of comparative poverty, until 1699, when, with his daughter, and his second wife, Hannah Callowhill, he sailed to Philadelphia. Meanwhile his colony under his old deputy, William Markham, had asserted their right to self-government, and made laws for themselves. Penn found them prosperous, but clamorous for political privileges guaranteed to them by law. Regarding their demands as reasonable, he gave them a new constitution or frame of government, in November, 1701, more liberal in its concessions than former ones, and perfectly satisfactory to all. Finding the people of the "Territories," or Three Lower Counties, restive under the forced union with Pennsylvania, he made provision for their permanent separation in legislation, in 1702 and the first independent legislature in Delaware was assembled at New Castle in 1703. Although Pennsylvania and Delaware ever afterward continued to have separate legislatures, they were under the same governor until the Revolution in 1776.

While Penn was in America, tidings came that measures were pending before the Privy Council, for bringing all of the proprietary governments under the crown. Penn had come to Philadelphia to live and die there; and had built a fine brick house to reside in, which stood on the corner of Second street and Norris alley, until a few years ago. But the news from England determined him to return to his native country to defend his rights. He did so late in 1701, and succeeded. He never returned to America. Harassed and wearied by business connected with his province, he was making arrangements in 1712 to sell it for sixty thousand dollars, when he was prostrated by paralysis. He survived the first shock six years, when he died, leaving his estates in America to his three sons. His family governed Pennsylvania, as proprietors, until the Revolution made it an independent State in 1776. Meanwhile the province had sustained its share of the burden of mutual defence with its sister colonies during the troubles with the French and Indians.

Let us now return to a consideration of the colonial history of the Carolinas from the formation of the "Fundamental Constitutions" by Locke and Cooper (afterward Lord Shaftesbury) for the government of the colonists of those regions, until the period of the old war for independence.

We have observed that the scheme for a splendid government was completed in 1669. The "constitutions" were signed in March, 1670, and were highly lauded in England as forming the wisest scheme for human government ever devised. Monk, duke of Albemarle, was created Palatine or viceroy for the new empire, who was to display the state parade of his office, with landgraves, barons, lords of manor, caciques, and courts of admiralty and heraldry, among the

scattered settlers in the pine forests living in log cabins with the Indians. The idea seems too ludicrous to have been seriously entertained. Yet it was entertained and, so far as the proprietors were concerned, this splendid government was established. But the simple settlers had something to say; and when the governor of the Northern or Albemarle county colony attempted to introduce the new government, they said, "No," with peculiar emphasis, as the question was forced upon them, "Will you accept it?" They had a form of government of their own far better adapted to their social circumstances than the one sent from England, and they resolved to adhere to it.

The attempts to enforce obedience to the new form of government; the oppressive taxation imposed upon the people, and especially the commercial restrictions authorized by the English navigation laws, produced wide-spread discontent. This was fostered by refugees from Virginia, who had been implicated in "Bacon's Rebellion," and who sought personal safety among the people below the Roanoke. These refugees scattered broadcast over a generous soil the germinal ideas of popular freedom and successful oppression was made difficult, if not impossible.

The whole State of North Carolina did not, at that time, contain quite four thousand inhabitants. They carried on a feeble trade in tobacco, maize and fat cattle, with the merchants of New England, whose little vessels brought in exchange those articles of foreign production which the settlers could not otherwise procure. English cupidity envied them their privileges, and the navigation laws of 1672 were put in force. An agent of the government appeared, who demanded a penny for every pound of tobacco sent to New England. The colonists resisted the levy. The tax-gatherer was rude, and had frequent personal collisions with the people. On one occasion he attempted to drive away a steer in satisfaction of a demand for the tax on the tobacco of a planter, which had just been shipped for Boston, when the sturdy wife of the yeoman beat him off with a mop-stick, and saved the animal from the tax-gatherer.

Finally, the exasperated people, led by John Culpepper, a refugee from the Southern or Carteret county colony, seized the governor and the public funds imprisoned him and six of his councillors called a new representative Assembly, and appointed a chief magistrate and judges. That was in December, 1677. For two years the colonists conducted the affairs of their government without any foreign control. Meanwhile Culpepper, whom the royalists denounced as an ill man, one who merited hanging for endeavoring to set the people to plunder the rich, conscious of his integrity, went boldly to England to plead the cause of the colonists. There he was arrested, just as he was re-embarking for America, on a charge of treason for which he was tried and acquitted. Returning to North Carolina, he was appointed surveyor-general of the province; and in 1680 he was employed in laying out the city of Charleston in South Carolina.

The Northern colony now enjoyed repose for awhile, until the arrival of Seth Sothel as governor. He had purchased the share of Clarendon in the soil of the provinces, and was sent to administer government there. On his voyage he was captured by Algerine pirates, but escaped, and reached North Carolina in 1683. Avaricious, extortionate, cruel, without the abilities of a statesman and mean-spirited - "the dark shades of his character not relieved by a single virtue" -

he sought the government with the hope of winning a fortune thereby. His advent disturbed the public tranquillity. He plundered the people, cheated the proprietors, and on all occasions seems to have prostituted his delegated power to purposes of private gain. After enduring his misrule for about six weeks, the people rose in rebellion, seized the governor, and were about to send him to England to answer their accusations before the proprietors, when he asked to be tried by the colonial Assembly. That body were evidently more merciful than his associates in England would have been, for they found him guilty and sentenced him to only one year's banishment and perpetual disqualification for the office of governor. Sothel then withdrew to the Southern colony, where we shall meet him presently.

Sothel's successor, Philip Ludwell, was an energetic and honest man. By the exercise of wisdom and justice, he soon restored order and good feeling in the colony. He was succeeded by other honorable men, among them the good John Archdale, a member of the Society of Friends, who came in 1695 as governor of the two colonies. His administration was a blessing. The people of North Carolina, over whom he ruled, were almost as free in their opinions and actions, as the air they breathed. There were few restraints of any kind, legal or moral, yet the people were generally enemies to violence, and gentle-tempered. They were widely scattered, with not a city or town, and scarcely a hamlet in their sylvan domain. There were no roads but bridle-paths from house to house, and these were indicated by notches cut in trees. There was no settled minister of the gospel among them until 1703. The first church erected in North Carolina appeared in 1705. No building for a court-house was constructed until 1722 and it was not until 1754 - about a hundred years after the first permanent settlement was made in the region of the Chowan - that a printing-press was set up in the province.

The Southern or Carteret County colony was, meanwhile, steadily advancing in population and wealth. The settlers there, perceiving the fatal objections to the Fundamental Constitutions as a plan of government for their colony, did not attempt conforming thereto, but established a more simple government adapted to their condition. It was crude. Under it the first legislative assembly of South Carolina convened in the spring of 1672, at the place on the Ashley River where the colony was first seated. In that body, jarring political, social and theological interests and opinions produced passionate debates and violent discord. There was a Proprietary party and a People's party; a High Church party and Dissenter's party, each bigoted and resolute. At times debates were so angrily carried on, that members almost came to blows; and it was a relief to the people when the Assembly adjourned, for it seemed to be a nest out of which might come the rapacious vulture of civil war, that would be perilous in the extreme, at that time, when surrounding savages were evidently hostile. The danger from these foes finally healed the dissensions among the settlers. Moved by the instinct of self-preservation, they joined in a successful warfare upon the Indians, who had begun to plunder the plantations of grain and cattle, and to menace the lives of the colonists. The savages were subdued in 1680, and those who were made captive were sent to the West Indies and sold for slaves. Then Old Town, as their first place of settlement was called, was abandoned, and on Oyster Point, as we have observed, was founded the city of Charleston, the future capital of the colony. It was settled chiefly by the English, for the Dutch and others spread over the country along the Edisto and Santee rivers.

Immigrants from different parts of Europe rapidly swelled the population of Charleston and its vicinity, and aspirations for political independence were manifested there at that early day.

A second popular Assembly met at Charleston in 1682. It was more harmonious than the first. Wise laws were framed, and a more tolerant religious spirit prevailed. Immigrants flowed in with a full and continuous stream. Families came from Ireland, Scotland and Holland; and when the edict of Nantes, which secured toleration to Protestants in France, was revoked, a large number of Huguenots fled from their country, and many sought an asylum in the Carolinas. The traditional hatred of the English for the French was shown at this time. For full ten years these French refugees were denied the privileges of citizenship in the land of their adoption.

Meanwhile a little colony of ten Scotch families who had fled from persecution in their native land, and led by the Presbyterian Lord Cardross, landed at Port Royal on the coast of South Carolina, and proceeded to plant a settlement there in 1682. The existence of that little colony was brief. The Spaniards claimed Port Royal as a dependency of St. Augustine; and in 1686, during the absence of Cardross in Britain, they attacked and dispersed his colony and laid waste their property. Some of them returned to Scotland, and others joined the colony between the Edisto and Santee rivers.

The Huguenots, who infused warm blood into the veins of the Southern colony, and carried the sunshine of their buoyant natures into other American provinces, deserve more than a passing notice here. We have already considered their forlorn condition in the time of Coligni, a hundred years earlier. The decree of Henry the Fourth, issued from Nantes in 1598, giving them free toleration within his dominions, secured them from severe persecution. They had prospered, and had become, as a body, the best citizens of France.

When the profligate Louis the Fourteenth approached old age, he became the slave of a fascinating woman, widow of the comic poet Scarron, who is better known in history as Madame de Maintenon. She was then fifty years of age, but was still beautiful, graceful and witty, and wise and discreet in all her ways. The king, then forty-eight, fascinated by the charms of her mind and person, married her secretly. From that time she fashioned his future life. She had been a Calvinist, but was now a devoted daughter of the Church of Rome. When remorse for past sins clouded the mind of the king, she shed the light of religious consolation into its darkened recesses. He would pass whole days with her alone in a library of the palace, listening to her charming conversation or her reading from books of devotion. As amends for past misconduct, she persuaded him to take measures for the conversion of the Huguenots and to win them back to the Church of Rome.

This work was begun in earnest, by every species of bribery, and every means of coercion excepting actual personal violence. These Huguenots were driven from all public employments, and were reinstated only upon the condition of entering the church as communicants. They were persecuted by being subjected to all kinds of disabilities, social and political, and finding relief only in a profession of the Romish faith. These measures operated powerfully, and, in a degree,

successfully. It was perceived that the surest road to popular favor was by converting Huguenots, and Louvois, the Minister of War, determined to outdo Madame de Maintenon in this work, by the use of soldiers, whom he quartered on the Huguenots with orders to torment them in every possible way short of personal violence. These Protestants were forbidden to leave France, and so, like hunted deer driven to close quarters, they were dreadfully worried by the hounds. At length, following the advice of Madame de Maintenon, the king revoked the tolerant edict of Henry, and the Huguenots were exposed to the unbridled passions of the soldiery and the intolerance of religious bigots. So, Louis hoped he had gained the favor of Heaven and secured the salvation of his own soul.

The sufferings of the Huguenots were now horrible. The most cruel torments were used to convert them. It is said that full ten thousand of them perished at the stake and other places of torture, for conscience sake. In the face of vigorous measures for preventing emigration, full five hundred thousand of these useful citizens, numbering multitudes of skilled mechanics, fled from their country, and so impoverished the kingdom. They created Huguenot villages in Germany. They swelled the army of William wherewith to win the throne of England. They filled a whole suburb of London, and introduced the art of silk-weaving into England. Some went to the Cape of Good Hope, and many of them sought peaceful homes among the American colonists. They were welcomed everywhere, and became blessings to every community among whom they settled. Many families were seated in New York and other colonies; but the warmer climate of the Carolinas was more congenial to these children of sunny France. They gave some of the best blood to the American colonies; and their descendants have borne a conspicuous part in building up our free Republic.

The South Carolinians resisted all attempts to make them submit to the authority of the "Fundamental Constitutions." Annoyed by persistent efforts to compel them to accept that form of government, they felt disposed to cast off all allegiance to the proprietors and the mother country. At that crisis, John Colleton, one of the owners, was appointed governor of the province, with full powers to bring the people into submission. That was in 1686. His administration of four years was a very turbulent one. Finally, his continual collisions with the people drove them into open rebellion. They seized the public records imprisoned the secretary of the province; called a new Assembly, and defined the power of the governor. The latter, pleading the danger of an impending invasion of Indians or Spaniards, made it a pretext for calling out the militia, with whom he hoped to suppress the insurrection. He declared the province to be under martial law, and proposed to rule by its vigorous code.

The militia were a part of the people, and no troops appeared at the call of the governor. His act greatly exasperated the colonists. He was impeached, and banished from the province by the Assembly, in 1690. The Revolution in England at the same time was initiated in miniature in South Carolina.

During the turbulence at near the close of Colleton's administration, Seth Sothel arrived from North Carolina, pursuant to his sentence of banishment. He espoused the cause of the people

against the proprietors, and the former, in the moment of their anger, unwisely chose him to be their governor. Their poor judgment was rebuked, and the people were punished for this rash act by the conduct of the new governor. While he followed the popular will in opposing the claims of the proprietors to political domination, he plundered the people, trampled upon their dearest rights, and ruled them with insolence and undisguised tyranny. His misrule was endured for about two years, when the people heartily seconded the measures of his fellow proprietors for his removal. When they heard of his usurpations, they sent him letters of recall, with an order from the king to appear in England to answer charges of disloyalty and other grave offenses. Sothel was compelled to retire from the office in 1692, when he withdrew to North Carolina, where he died two years afterward. It was during the administration of Sothel that the Huguenots in South Carolina were as fully enfranchised, or granted the liberty of citizens, as if they had been born on the soil. This act of enfranchisement was repealed in 1697.

Colonel Philip Ludwell, of Virginia, and then governor of North Carolina, as we have seen - a man wholly unconnected with the interests of the province - was appointed the successor of Sothel. When the people found that a part of his mission was to restore the authority of the proprietors and impose upon them the absurd "Fundamental Constitutions," they were restive under the rule of even so good a man as he. He was authorized to inquire into grievances, but had no power to redress them; and after a brief and unhappy administration, he gladly retired from the chair of state.

The proprietors were now satisfied that they could never impose upon the people of the Carolinas the form of government framed by Locke and Cooper, and after a trial of about twenty years, the scheme was abandoned. They sent good John Archdale, as we have seen, to govern both provinces under more simple forms of government prepared by the people themselves. His administration was short, but highly beneficial. He healed dissensions established equitable laws, and with the spirit of a true Christian he set a true Christian example of toleration and humanity. He made no distinction on account of religious creeds in the choice of his council. He cultivated friendly intercourse with the surrounding Indians, and ransomed Indian captives who were exposed for sale as slaves. Chiefs of tribes formerly hostile were sometimes seen at his table and two Indian maidens were paid servants in his family. With the Spaniards at St. Augustine he cultivated friendly relations, for the liberal spirit of the Quaker could respect the faith of the Roman Catholic. With keen foresight he introduced and promoted the growth of rice on the seacoasts of the Carolinas, some seed having been given to him by the captain of a vessel from Madagascar. It was distributed among the planters; and so the cultivation of this valuable cereal was begun in our country. The name and deeds of John Archdale were kept green in the memory of the Carolinians for generations.

From the close of Archdale's administration, the history of the two Carolinas should be considered separate and distinct, although they were not politically disunited until 1729.

Chapter XXXVII

The Carolinas - Disappearance of the Indians - Internal Commotions - Emigrants from France, Switzerland and Germany - An Indian Raid and Massacre of White People - Further Trouble with the Indians - South Carolina - The Governor Makes War on the Spaniards in Florida - War with Indians - Political Troubles - South Carolina Invaded by Spaniards and Frenchmen - The Foe Expelled - An Indian League - Revolution in South Carolina - The Two Colonies Become Royal Provinces - Georgia - Religious Missionaries There - Oglethorpe and the Spaniards in Florida - Condition of the Georgia Colony - Oglethorpe Invades Florida - The Spaniards Invade Georgia - Punishment of a Deserter - The Spaniards Driven Out of Georgia - Oglethorpe in England - Georgia Becomes a Royal Province.

WHEN the good Archdale had left the impress of his example and teachings upon the Carolinians, both provinces began their career of permanent prosperity. Although they were politically united, each acted independently of the other from the close of the seventeenth century. Both made a steady advance in population and wealth, and the arts of refined society.

The North Carolinians turned their attention to the richer lands away from the sea and hunters trapped the beaver and otter in the waters far in the interior among the hills. The Indians along the sea-board had melted before the warmth of civilization like snow in the sunbeams of spring-time. The powerful Hatteras tribe, that numbered about three thousand when Harriot healed King Wingina, were reduced to fifteen bowmen in the year 1700. Another tribe on the Chowan had entirely disappeared; and the remainder of the savages in that region had been defrauded of their lands and driven back into the deep forests, when they and their brethren there perished by hundreds by the vices and diseases of the white man. The broad domain from the sea to the Yadkin and the Catawba then lay almost uninhabited, and invited to its bosom the skill of the husbandman with promises of wealth and comfort.

At about that time the freedom of the North Carolinians - "every one of whom," it was said, "did what was right in his own eyes, paying tribute to neither God nor Caesar" - was disturbed by an attempt, in 1704, to establish there the ecclesiastical dominion of the Church of England. Deputy-Governor Daniells had been sent for that purpose. He caused the first church in the province, already mentioned, to be built at the public expense. The people opposed the scheme. The Friends led in the opposition, and the turbulence that ensued soon bore the aspect of a political quarrel. Anarchy prevailed for awhile. On one side in the dispute were Churchmen and Loyalists; on the other side were Dissenters and Republicans, among whom the Friends, who were rapidly increasing in numbers, were the most active, and were ranked by the adherents of the proprietors as a rabble of profligate persons. There were two governors and two legislatures for a time but their dissensions were soon quieted. The people passively acquiesced in the ecclesiastical scheme of the deputy-governor, but they did not become Churchmen. Several years afterward, there was only one clergyman in the provinces, for no congregations could be gathered.

Meanwhile some excellent immigrants had enriched the colony. In 1607 some Huguenots

came from their temporary settlement in Virginia, and seated themselves on the beautiful banks of the Trent, a tributary of the Neuse. They were followed two years afterward by emigrants from Switzerland, who founded New Berne at the head of the Neuse. At about the same time a hundred fugitive German families from the devastated Palatinates on the Rhine came to seek shelter and repose. They were led by Count Graffenreid, and founded settlements upon the headwaters of the Neuse and the banks of the Roanoke.

Soon after these inland settlements were fairly planted, and were spreading, a fearful calamity fell upon the Germans. The remnants of the exasperated tribes, who had been driven into the forests, had nursed their revenge until it became too strong for repression. Incited and led by the Tuscaroras, a fierce Algonquin tribe, they joined in an effort to re-possess their lost country. In this patriotic endeavor the Corees, a tribe near the seaboard further south, became their allies. They all fell with terrible force upon the scattered German settlers along the Roanoke and the borders of Pamlico Sound; and in a single October night in 1711, they slew one hundred and thirty men, women and children, and lighted up the country for scores of miles with the flames of burning dwellings. With the hatchet and torch they swept like fiends along the borders of Albemarle Sound, killing, plundering and burning, during the space of three days, until they were overcome with fatigue and drunkenness. On the eve of this murderous raid, John Lawson, surveyor-general of the province, and Count Graffenreid, were taken captive by the savages. They tortured Lawson to death by burning him at a sapling, but the Count saved his life and gained his liberty by adroitly persuading them that he was the sachem of a tribe of men who had lately come into the country, and were in no way connected with the English.

The wildest excitement spread over North Carolina. The people fled in affright toward the sea, and many left the province. Those who remained called upon their brethren of South Carolina for help. Colonel Barnwell hastened northward with some Carolinians and a body of friendly Indians composed of Creeks, Cherokees, Catawbias, and Yammasees. The savage tide was rolled back. The Tuscaroras were driven to their fortified town in the present Craven county, and there a solemn treaty of peace was made between the white men and the Indians. All might have been well but for the treachery of the South Carolinians, who, on their way homeward, violated the treaty by committing outrages upon the Indians. The latter were enraged, and speedily flew to arms. Terror everywhere prevailed. It seemed as if the purpose of the savages to annihilate the intruders would be accomplished. Back to the rescue of their brethren from destruction went the Carolinians. Colonel Moore, with a small number of white men and a large body of Indians, soon met and defeated the hostile savages. The Tuscaroras were driven to their fort in the present Greene county, where eight hundred of them were made prisoners. The remainder of the tribe fled to the north, and joined their kindred near the southern shores of Lake Ontario, when they became the sixth nation of the Iroquois Confederacy in the province of New York. A treaty of peace was made with the Corees afterward, and North Carolina never again suffered from the hostility of Indians. The war had cost the province a large sum of money, for the payment of which bills of credit were issued to the amount of forty thousand dollars. This was the first issue of paper money in North Carolina.

During the years when the people of the northern colony were suffering from civil commotions and Indian raids, the South Carolinians were excited by troubles with the Spaniards and the neighboring barbarians. The governor (James Moore) was more belligerent and aggressive than his predecessors. When he heard of Queen Anne's proclamation of war with France in May, 1702, and that Spain was involved in the quarrel, he proposed an expedition against the Spaniards at St. Augustine. The Assembly agreed with the governor and appropriated nearly ten thousand dollars for the enterprise. An army of twelve hundred men (one-half of them Indians) was raised, and in two divisions they proceeded, one by land and the other by sea, to make the attack. The governor commanded the forces on the ships, and Colonel Daniels the division that crossed the Savannah River, traversed Georgia along the coast, penetrated Florida, and made the first attack. The Spaniards retired within their fort, with provisions for four months, where they were quite safe from harm, for their enemies had no artillery.

Governor Moore arrived with his vessels and troops soon afterward, and blockaded the harbor of St. Augustine. When Daniels had plundered the town, he was sent to Jamaica for battering cannon, but before his return two Spanish war-vessels had frightened the blockaders away, and the colonel came very near being made captive. He reached Charleston in safety, and the ill-advised expedition was then at an end. It cost the colony a large sum of money, and to defray the expenses bills of credit were issued to the amount of twenty-six thousand dollars. This was the first issue of paper money in South Carolina.

Late in the following year, Governor Moore tried his skill again in making war. This time it was against hostile Indians who were in league with the Spaniards. These were the Appalachians, a Mobilian tribe, who occupied a region in Georgia between the Savannah and Alatomaha rivers. There their chief villages were situated, and there large gardens were cultivated. Against these the governor proceeded with a force competent to insure success. The villages were desolated the gardens were laid waste eight hundred men, women and children were carried into captivity, and the inhabitants of the whole region were made vassals or subjects of the English. By this movement a thorn of irritation was planted in the bosom of the surrounding Indians which rankled for years, and was one of the causes that spurred them into fierce hostility afterward.

Just as the province was becoming tranquil after the war with the savages, it was disquieted by turbulence in civil affairs in its own bosom. The proprietors resolved to establish the liturgy of the Church of England in South Carolina, as the standard order of public worship. Sir Nathaniel Johnson, who was the official successor of Governor Moore, found a majority of Churchmen in the Assembly, and easily executed the wishes of his masters. Dissenters were disenfranchised - deprived of the rights of free citizens - and actually suffered persecutions. After a season of much turbulence, they appealed to the crown, and in the autumn of 1706, the Assembly, by order of Parliament, repealed the law of disfranchisement. But the Anglican Church maintained its supremacy in ecclesiastical affairs in the province until the war for independence.

The attack of the South Carolinians on St. Augustine excited the anger of the Spaniards. An expedition, consisting of five vessels-of-war under the command of the French admiral Le

Feboure, and a large body of troops, was sent from Havana to attack Charleston, conquer the province and annex it to the Spanish territory in Florida. When, in May, 1706, the squadron crossed Charleston bar, and about eight hundred troops were landed at different points, the commander sent a flag to the city with a peremptory order for a surrender, and threatening to take it by storm in case of a refusal to submit. Governor Moore had been apprised of the expedition, and was prepared to meet it. When the flag arrived, he had so disposed the provincial militia and a host of Indian warriors, as to give an exaggerated idea of the strength of the Carolinians. Before the messenger could make any extended observations he was dismissed with the defiant reply that the people were ready to sustain the promised attack.

This was followed by a furious assault, just at dawn, upon the invaders on shore by a strong party of South Carolinians. They killed many, captured more, and drove the remnant back to their ships. At the same time the little provincial navy, lying in the harbor, prepared to attack the invading squadron. The French admiral, amazed and alarmed by the display of valor on shore, weighed anchor and fled to sea. A French war ship, uninformed of these events, sailed into the harbor soon afterward, with troops, and was captured. The victory was complete. The dark storm cloud, from which a destructive tempest was expected, suddenly dissolved, and the sunshine of peace and prosperity gladdened the colonists for a season.

At length a more frightful tempest was seen brooding over the colony. It had gathered with fearful celerity. A league had been formed among the surrounding Indian tribes to exterminate the English. It was the secret work of the Spaniards in Florida and the French in the Mississippi Valley. Within the space of forty days, a confederacy had been formed, including the whole Indian tribes from the Cape Fear on the north to the St. Mary's on the south, and back to the rivers beyond the mountains in the west. The warriors of the league were full six thousand strong. It comprised the Cherokees, Choctaws, Chickasaws, Catawbas and Congarees on the west, and the Creeks, Yammasees and Appalachians on the south. At the same time a thousand warriors broke forth from the forests of the Neuse region to avenge their misfortunes in the war two or three years before.

So secretly had the savages organized, that not a whisper of impending danger had reached the inhabitants of Charleston, before the news came that on the morning of Good Friday (April 13, 1715), the Yammasees had begun an indiscriminate massacre of the white people along the seaboard. The news had been carried from the scene of destruction by a swift-footed seaman who broke through the lines of the furious savages, ran ten miles and swam one, and told the dreadful tale to the settlers at Port Royal. These fled in canoes and in a ship, and carried the first intelligence of the sad event to Charleston. A stream of terror-stricken planters and their families began pouring into the city at the same time. The capital was in peril. The governor (Craven) acted promptly and efficiently in the emergency. He took measures to prevent men leaving the colony. He declared the province to be under martial-law took measures to secure all arms and ammunition to be found, and called upon the citizens to prepare to fight valiantly for their lives and property. He put arms into the hands of faithful negro slaves; and with a motley army of white men, Indians and black men, twelve hundred strong, he marched to meet the savages, who

were approaching from the interior with their knives and hatchets in fearful activity. After some severe encounters with them, the governor drove the Yammasees across the Savannah River and through Georgia, giving them no rest until they found it under the protection of the guns of St. Augustine. Meanwhile the warriors from the north had been driven back to the forests, and the Cherokees and their neighbors, who had not yet taken up the hatchet, had retired to their hunting-grounds, deeply impressed by the evidences of the strength and prowess of the white people. So, again, was sunshine brought to South Carolina, in the beautiful month of May, 1715.

Proprietary government in South Carolina was now drawing to a close. It had been a heavy burden upon the colonists from the beginning. The governors appointed by the proprietors, being independent of the people, had often been haughty and exacting, and they irritated rather than conciliated the popular mind. While the colonists were laboring to build up a permanent and prosperous State, the proprietors refused to assist them in times of danger or to reimburse their expenses incurred in defending the domain from invasion. The people were not only compelled to bear the whole expense of the late war with the Indians, but the proprietors enforced their claims for quit-rents more remorselessly than ever.

The colonists saw no way to cast off their chains but by revolution, and no security for the future but in royal rule and protection. So they resolved to revolt. Their popular Assembly declared that they would have nothing further to do with the proprietors, and asked Governor Johnson to rule in the name of the king. He refused, when a Convention of the people prepared to choose a governor for themselves.

Johnson had appointed the first day of December as the time for a general review of the militia of the province. The Convention chose the same day as the time for the election of a popular governor. Johnson then countermanded the order for the review. But the militia assembled in large numbers in the public square at Charleston. They were a part of the people; and when the governor ordered their commander to disperse them, he said: "I obey the Convention." Then the people proceeded to the election of a chief magistrate, when James Moore was chosen. Soon afterward proprietary rule was dismissed from the soil of South Carolina. The royal ear listened favorably to a petition presented by an agent of the colony, in England. The charter of the proprietaries was abrogated, and in 1720, South Carolina became a royal province, with Francis Nicholson as royal governor.

North Carolina was relieved of proprietary rule without enduring the throes of actual revolution. From the time when its southern sister passed under royal rule and protection, the people of the northern colony became more and more restive. They seemed to be on the verge of revolution, when, in 1729, the proprietors, seeing the inevitable drift of public sentiment, made a virtue of necessity, and sold that domain to the king for about eighty thousand dollars. It then became a royal province. The two Carolinas were then separated. George Burrington was appointed governor of North Carolina, and Robert Johnson was made chief magistrate of South Carolina. The people of the provinces were soon convinced that they had gained nothing by a change of rulers; and from the time of the separation until the French and Indian war, their history

is largely made up of the records of disputes between the people and the royal governors.

The latest planted of the English colonies in America was Georgia, the founding of which we have already considered. The settlers there had very little intercourse with or knowledge of the outside world, and thought of but little excepting the material interests of their new homes, until after Oglethorpe's return from England early in 1736. Then foreign politics threatened dangers from their neighbors, and religious teachings stirred the sluggish society into some activity.

With the great guns and the Highlanders skilled in military art, came with Oglethorpe many Germans to join their Moravian brethren who had settled in Georgia two or three years before. He was also accompanied by John and Charles Wesley, sons of an English poet and divine in the reigns of James, William, and Anne. They were religious enthusiasts, and were clergymen of the Church of England. The great guns and the Highlanders came to make war upon visible invaders of the domain the Wesleys came to make war upon the invisible foes of righteousness. John was then thirty-three years of age, and came as a missionary of the gospel among the settlers and the surrounding pagans. Charles came as an assistant to his brother in this warfare, and as secretary to Governor Oglethorpe. They had lately begun that course of independent action in England, which caused the pulpits of their church to be closed against them and led to the founding of the Methodist denomination.

John Wesley was fervent in spirit and eloquent in speech. A large congregation attended his ministrations at Savannah, at first; but the austerity of his maxims, his fearless denunciations of vice and even foibles, and his rigid exercise of ecclesiastical authority, soon involved him in serious disputes with the settlers, who were a peculiarly mixed people. He became unpopular, and was sorely vexed and irritated by opponents on every side. At length he became involved in a difficulty with a woman whom he had refused to admit to the communion, and he left the province in disgust at the end of two years, and returned to England, "shaking the dust off his feet," as he expressed it. His mission in Georgia was a failure.

At that time there was a sturdy young preacher in England who was swaying multitudes by his fervid eloquence. He was a friend of the Wesleys, and obtained permission to join them in Georgia. He was not quite twenty-four years of age when he arrived at Savannah. The Wesleys had departed, but the young missionary, George Whitefield, entered upon his sacred duties with fervor. More practical than Wesley, he became a blessing not only to Georgia, but to other American colonies, where he labored much as an independent itinerant preacher. He established an asylum for orphans at Savannah, which was founded and supported several years by voluntary subscriptions which he procured in England and elsewhere. He worked lovingly with the Moravians in Georgia, who made a most salutary impression upon society there.

On his return, Oglethorpe discovered that the Spaniards at St. Augustine were very jealous of the rapid growth of the Georgia colony. He was not fairly prepared to resist an invasion by arms, and he sent a messenger to St. Augustine to invite the commander to a friendly conference. At about the same time he went, with a number of his martial Highlanders, on an exploring

expedition among the islands and along the coasts of Georgia. On St. Simons' Island he founded Frederica and built a fort there. Sailing up Alatomaha Sound, he visited New Inverness (now Darien), where a few Scotch people had planted a settlement. He was dressed in Highland costume, and with his Gaelic followers he was warmly welcomed by the settlers, who came to the beach in their plaids, bearing various weapons, and expressing their delight with the sounds of the bagpipe in merry tunes. There, too, he marked out a small fortification.

It was now warm spring weather. Oglethorpe's messenger had not returned from St. Augustine, and he proceeded to manifest the intention of Great Britain to sustain its claims to the country as far south as the St. John's River. On Cumberland Island, to which he sailed on leaving Darien, he marked out a fort to be called St. Andrew's, which would command the mouth of the St. Mary's, the stream which finally became the southern boundary of Georgia. At the southern extremity of an island at the entrance of St. John's River, he also planned a small military work, which he called Fort St. George. He also founded Augusta far up the Savannah River, and erected a stockade there as a defence against Indians from the west who might be under the influence of French or Spanish traders.

These hostile preparations irritated the Spaniards at St. Augustine. They detained Oglethorpe's messengers as prisoners, and threatened war. The news spread among the friendly Indians. To-mo-chi-chi came with painted warriors to offer his aid. So, too, did other chiefs and the Chickasaws send a delegation to bear assurances of friendship and alliance to the ears of the governor, and a crown of brilliant feathers, adorned with the polished horns of the buffalo, for the brow of Oglethorpe. With these tribes at his back as allies, Oglethorpe felt strong. The governor of St. Augustine, who had tampered with them, hearing of their alliance with the English, expressed a willingness to treat for a settlement of all disputes. An honorable treaty was made. The messengers were released, and the Georgians abandoned Fort St. George. But the home government of Spain did not approve the treaty, and Oglethorpe was notified that a commission from Cuba would meet him at Frederica. He appeared with his secretary, after leaving three regiments of Spanish infantry at St. Augustine, and peremptorily demanded the evacuation by the British of all Georgia and of South Carolina below the parallel of Port Royal, claiming all of that region as a part of the dominions of Spain. The conference ended without an agreement.

Oglethorpe now hastened to England to confer with the trustees and seek military strength for his colony, for he was satisfied that it was in peril from the increased number of soldiers thrown into Florida. He was commissioned a brigadier-general, and invested with authority over the military in Georgia and South Carolina. He was also authorized to raise troops in England to serve in America. He did so, and with these he arrived in Georgia in the autumn of 1738, when he found general discontent prevailing. The colony was not prosperous, owing partly to the unwise regulations of the trustees referred to at the close of Chap. XXIII, and partly because many of the emigrants who came from England were men unaccustomed to manual labor and habits of industry. The use of slave labor, so productive in other colonies, was forbidden in Georgia, and tillage was neglected. Even the industrious Scotch, Swiss and German settlers in Georgia previous to the year 1740, when the colony contained twenty-five hundred souls, could not give

that vitality to industrial pursuits which was necessary for the development of the resources of that virgin soil.

The greed of English merchants, who were growing rich by illicit trade on the coasts of Spanish-America at the expense of Spanish commerce, was fostered by the English ministry, who were blindly bent on destroying the Spanish colonial system in the so-called New World. Spain resented this interference with her rights, and for this - the real cause - England declared war against that kingdom late in 1739.

Oglethorpe had been apprised of this measure at an early date. He knew that St. Augustine had been strengthened by more troops, and he resolved to strike a blow there before his enemy should be well prepared. He had just put an end to a conspiracy in Georgia to assassinate him, and a negro insurrection in South Carolina - both incited by Spanish emissaries. He first penetrated Florida with a small force, and captured some outposts, early in 1740. In May he marched into Florida with six hundred of his regular troops, four hundred Carolina militia, and a large body of friendly Indians. He was before St. Augustine in June, after capturing two little forts, one within twenty miles of the city, and the other only two miles distant. A demand was made for the instant surrender of the fortress and garrison. It was defiantly refused. Oglethorpe determined to starve the garrison by a close investment. He surrounded the town, and with a little squadron blockaded the harbor. For awhile supplies for the fort were cut off, and the English were promised success, but very soon swift-sailing galleys ran the weak blockade and placed ample supplies in the fort. Oglethorpe had no cannon wherewith to batter and breach the fortress. Warned by the increasing heats of summer and the approach of the sickly season, whose malaria had already invaded his camp, the general raised the siege and returned to Savannah.

Hostilities were now suspended for almost two years, when the Spaniards determined to invade Georgia. With a fleet of thirty-six vessels from Cuba and a land force about three thousand strong, they entered the harbor of St. Simons in July, 1742. The vigilant Oglethorpe, who had been informed of the expedition, was there before them, but with less than a thousand men including Indians. The governor of South Carolina had failed to furnish men or supplies, and upon the Georgians devolved the task of defending both provinces from invasion. The intrepid general, when he saw the white sails of the Spanish ships in the distance, went on board one of his own little vessels, and addressing the seamen, said: "We must protect Carolina and the rest of the colonies from destruction, or die in the attempt. For myself I am prepared for all dangers. I know the enemy are far more numerous than we; but I rely on the valor of our men, and by God's help, I believe we will be victorious."

When the fleet passed the English batteries at the southern end of the island, Oglethorpe saw that resistance would be vain. He ordered his vessels to run up to Frederica, while he spiked his guns at St. Simons and retreated to the same place with his troops. There he waited for reinforcements from Carolina, but they did not come. Spanish detachments annoyed him with frequent attacks, but he always repulsed them.

At length Oglethorpe resolved to act on the offensive, and make a stealthy night attack upon the Spanish encampment near St. Simons. He moved cautiously along a road which he had constructed, with a dense live oak forest draped with Spanish moss on one side, and a deep morass on the other. When he was near the camp, a Frenchman in his little army ran ahead, fired his musket, and deserted to the enemy. The Spaniards were aroused, and Oglethorpe fell back to Frederica.

The general punished the deserter in a novel way. He employed a Spanish prisoner to carry a letter to him, secretly, in which Oglethorpe addressed him as a spy in the enemy's camp. He told him to represent the Georgians as very weak in numbers and arms, and advise the Spaniards to attack them at once and if they would not do so, to try and persuade them to remain at St. Simons three days longer, for within that time a British fleet with two thousand land troops would arrive to attack St. Augustine. The bearer of the letter, as Oglethorpe expected and hoped he would, carried it to the Spanish commander. It produced a great commotion in camp. The Frenchman was arrested and put in irons, and afterward hanged as a spy. A council of war was called, and while it was in session some vessels from Carolina were seen at sea. They were mistaken for the British fleet alluded to, and the Spaniards determined to attack Oglethorpe immediately, and then hasten to the defence of St. Augustine.

An advanced division moved immediately on Frederica. On the narrow road flanked by the forest and the morass, within a mile of the fort, they were assailed by Oglethorpe and his Highlanders, who lay in ambush. Almost the whole party of the invaders were killed or captured. A second party pressing forward to their relief met the fate of the first. The Spaniards retreated in confusion, leaving about two hundred of their companions dead on the field. They fled to their ships and hastened to St. Augustine, only to find that they had been out-generaled by the governor of Georgia. The place of the battle has been called "The Bloody Marsh" to this day. The stratagem of Oglethorpe had worked such disaster to the Spanish expedition that its commander, Don Manuel de Monteano, was dismissed from the service. That stratagem probably saved Georgia and South Carolina from utter ruin.

Oglethorpe had settled, colonized and defended Georgia with rare courage, energy and skill, not for personal glory and worldly gain, but for a great and benevolent purpose. Having firmly established the colony, he returned to England in 1743, where, after performing good military service for his king against the "Young Pretender," he retired to his seat in Essex. When General Gage returned to England from America in 1775, he was offered the chief command of the British army in this country, though he was then almost eighty years of age. His benevolent ideas did not suit the temper of the British ministry then, and General William Howe received the appointment. When, at the close of the Revolution, John Adams went to England as American minister at the British court, Oglethorpe was among the first to congratulate him because of the independence of his country. The brave Founder of Georgia died the next year, at the age of almost ninety years, with all his mental faculties in full vigor.

Oglethorpe was a benefactor in the higher sense of that term. For the good of his fellow-men,

he had renounced ease of body and mind and the enjoyment of fortune and friends in his native land. He had encountered dangers in many forms unknown in England, not for the glory that leads a soldier to brave the perils of a strange land. He was gentle and good merciful toward offenders and enemies a father to the emigrants whom he led to the banks of the Savannah River; the warm friend of the Wesleys and kind guardian of the Moravians, with a missionary spirit ever anxious for the spiritual welfare and mental culture of the pagans around him and it always gave him pleasure to relieve the poor and the weak of their burdens. Oglethorpe outlived most of the companions of his youth; but he was so loving and lovable that he made "troops of friends" on his long journey of life, who were to him in his vigorous old age like green branches nourished by his abounding virtues. Even in that old age, his person was spoken of as "the finest figure that ever was seen." His prominent eyes retained their brightness undimmed, and his person, tall and straight, was like a vigorous pine until the close of his life.

After the departure of Oglethorpe, Georgia enjoyed repose from conflicts with hostile neighbors. He left the country in a state of tranquillity. The same year it passed from the control of a mild military government to that of a civil organization, managed by a president and five councillors or assistants, under the supreme authority of the trustees, in England. Yet the colony languished for reasons already mentioned, and general discontent prevailed. The restrictive laws were generally relaxed and were generally evaded, especially those relating to slave-labor. Slaves were brought across the Savannah from South Carolina, and hired to the Georgia planters for a hundred years, the sum paid for such life-service being the market value of the slave. The transaction was practically the introduction of the slave-labor system into Georgia. It was not interfered with; and very soon ships laden with negroes from Africa came to Savannah, and men, women and children were offered for sale, in a way somewhat evasive of law, in the open market, by the auctioneer. In the year 1750, Georgia was really a slave-labor province. Then agriculture flourished, and the colony took its place as a planting State in an equal position by the side of its sister across the Savannah.

In 1752, when the twenty-one years named in the charter had expired, the trustees gladly gave that instrument to the king, and Georgia became a royal province. So it remained until the old war for independence.

Chapter XXXVIII

Review of the History of Discoveries - Settlements and Colonization in America - Planting the Seeds of French Dominion in America - The Labors, Influence and Success of the Jesuits - Adventures Beyond the Great Lakes - Father Marquette and His Discovery of the Mississippi River - His Voyage upon that Stream and Its Results - La Salle - His Expedition to the Valley of the Mississippi - Voyages on that River to the Gulf of Mexico - He Discovers and Names Louisiana - His Attempts to Colonize that Region - Discovery of Texas - Death of La Salle - Subsequent Colonization by the French.

WE have now traced the history of our country from its discovery at near the close of the fifteenth century, until the time when European colonies planted here, were forming that political union for mutual defence which speedily crystallized into the grand form of an independent nation late in the eighteenth century.

In the course of these investigations, we have noted how the allurements of science, human enterprise, a lust for dominion and power, and the greed of individuals, impelled men to spend fortunes and risk their lives in making voyages of discovery along the coasts of the American continent, from the regions of the frozen ocean to those under the equator; also among the islands that lie in American waters within the tropic of Cancer. We have seen how the monarchs and navigators of Spain, Portugal, France and England struggled for the honors and emoluments to be derived from such discoveries; how the Spaniards extended their dominions by force over the islands and coasts of the western world in the space of a few years, by the help of the Roman Pontiff, and obtained the mastery over vast and fertile regions in the warm zone, while the French, English and Dutch discovered and took possession of extensive domains in the temperate zone and far toward the verge of the Arctic Circle.

These great movements were made in the fullness of time, as if in preparation for that expansion of the human intellect and those wonderful human achievements which had then begun in Europe. Geographical science was then a favorite study, and the cosmographers were enthusiasts in the field of speculative philosophy founded upon that science. Stimulated by the few revelations of the learning of the East which commerce had brought into Europe, men were impelled to make those great discoveries on the surface of our planet, which were soon succeeded by the marvels revealed by the newly-found telescope, by which astronomy was released from the dull chrysalis of astrology and allowed to soar into the higher regions of celestial truths.

Then followed the era of settlements. To this end, a desire for winning riches was the first powerful impulse given to men and women that led them to make the sacrifice. It was soon followed by the higher motives which were born of aspirations for personal, intellectual and spiritual liberty, at a time when the tocsin or alarm-bell of the Reformation had aroused the powers of church and state into the most active opposition to everything which seemed to endanger their absolute domination. These motives led to the plantation of devotees of freedom in isolated communities all along the Atlantic seaboard from Maine to Florida.

Then followed the gradual change of settlements into colonies. We have seen how many of these settlements seemed, at first, to be only temporary asylums from the grasp of oppression, or the abiding-place of men until they should get sufficient wealth to return to their native land and live in ease. But many of them, contrary to their early promise, became permanent colonies, whose members determined to make America their final earthly abode. We have traced the progress of these colonies, step by step, from their inception. We have seen how the spirit of liberty which pervaded these communities led them by cautious methods to assert their right to the exercise of self-government. New political ideas were then stirring the popular mind in Europe, and bold thinkers were expressing them audibly and through the new-born printing-press. These were the seeds of republicanism which, when wafted to America, found here a congenial soil. These ideas took vigorous root, as we have seen, in every community, and flourished even among the sour elements of theological controversy and the persecution of bigots. They were made vigorous by the peculiar circumstances of the colonists, among whom existed affinities of race, language, and Christian tenets of great strength, and they were accustomed to common political institutions and thought. These formed the groundwork in the structure of each colony for union, and composed the broad foundations of the nation that was finally developed.

We have traced, in rapid outline, the history of each of these colonies, showing their material and moral growth, their advance in political ideas and practices from feudalism to independence, and their general condition as great and flourishing commonwealths, animated by a national spirit, and coalescing in measures for the defence of the common domain on which they were destined to raise the strong and beautiful structure of our Republic. It now remains for us to take a brief survey of the history of the French dominion and influence among the savage tribes on and beyond the frontiers of the English settlements in America, and to view the social condition of the European colonists who, at the middle of the last century, occupied a selvedge of the continent along the Atlantic, averaging about a hundred miles in width and almost a thousand miles in length.

We have already observed that the French in America, through the influence of the Jesuits, made a powerful impression upon the minds of the savages of this country, and easily persuaded them to become the friends of Frenchmen in peace and their allies in war. We have seen how the seeds of French dominion in America were planted by Champlain at Quebec. He had selected for his companions and spiritual co-workers some of the mild and benevolent priests of the Franciscan Order, who, he said, were free from ambition, except to be instrumental in the salvation of souls. But these priests were not sufficiently aggressive to suit the ambitious Gallican Church, nor worldly-wise enough to serve the state in carrying out its political designs for enlarging its dominions in America. They were withdrawn, and the task of converting the heathen of Canada and serving the church and state at the same time was entrusted to the Jesuits. With their help Champlain established an alliance with the Hurons on the St. Lawrence and in the country westward and so began that wide-spread affiliation of the French and Indians that became so disquieting to the English colonists.

So early as 1636 there were fifteen Jesuit priests in Canada - a band of zealous, obedient,

self-sacrificing men, ready to endure every privation and encounter every danger in the service of their church. At an assembly of Huron chiefs and sachems at Quebec, Champlain introduced three of these black-robed missionaries to his savage allies as men who were to teach good things for themselves and their children. These were Brebeuf, Daniel and Davost. With faith that never forsook them, these men followed the bare-footed Indians through the dreadful forests of the Huron dominions stretching along the northern borders of the St. Lawrence and Lake Ontario to the shores of Lake Huron, near which they established the first mission-house of the Jesuits among the dusky barbarians. It was a journey full of fatigue and peril. The priests shared in all the toil. They waded streams and swamps; climbed rocks; plied the oar when on the waters assisted in carrying the canoes around almost forty waterfalls slept on the bare earth with no covering but the sky, and for daily bread ate pounded Indian corn mixed with water. In the script of Brebeuf were materials for the administration of the Holy Communion and around the neck of each was a cord that held a heavy breviary or order of the daily service in the Roman Catholic Church. The devotion of Brebeuf in particular, was marvelous in the eyes of the wondering savages. Twice a day, often, he whipped his own bare back with hard cords; he wore a bristling hair-shirt next to his skin, and under it an iron girdle studded with sharp points; and while others slept, he "watched and prayed." The barbarians regarded him with reverence and awe, as the greatest "medicine man" they had ever known; and when he told them of visits he had received from the Mother of God, and how he had battled with foul fiends, they believed him and it was not long before whole tribes bowed at altars in rude Jesuit chapels in the forest, and became nominal Christians. They were taught to believe in Jesus as the guardian spirit of their lives and that it was he, and not one of the many deities with which they had peopled earth, air and water, that had all along afforded them protection in great perils. So the Jesuits took a firm grasp of the savage minds, and held a controlling influence over the children of the forest far and near, from the Gulf of St. Lawrence to the Gulf of Mexico. The Church in France, and the Pope, took a deep interest in the work and a year before Massachusetts provided for the establishment of a college in that province, one was founded in Canada for the education of Indian boys. And very soon afterward a young and rich widow of France established the Ursuline Convent at Quebec for the education and religious training of Indian girls. She came with three nuns. They were received on the shore at Quebec by the governor and garrison of the fort. As they touched the ground when stepping from the boat, these devoted women stooped and kissed the earth in token of their adoption of the country as their home. Then they were escorted to the church, followed by a crowd of Indian men, women and children, where the Te Deum was chanted in the midst of thanksgivings.

So began the expansion of the dominions of the French in America. In 1640 they took possession of Montreal, and a united prayer went up from the people of France that the Queen of Angels might take that region under her protection. Missionary after missionary followed and in the space of thirteen years, forty-two of them had carried the Gospel and French power from the Niagara River to the remotest bounds of Lake Superior. They established mission-houses here and there, and encountered the greatest perils among the savages, who were continually at war. These Jesuits carried their lives in their hands, and often lost them. Upon those seemingly weak props rested the fabric of French colonization in America. At times these props seemed to be

giving way, for whole villages of converted Indians would sometimes be destroyed in an hour by some hostile tribe, and the pitiful sight of women and children clinging to the knees of the priest for protection from the tomahawk would be presented.

In 1654, two young traders went from Quebec to the wilderness far west-ward toward the Mississippi River. Two years afterward they returned with fifty canoes and a retinue of Indians. Their tales of the magnificent countries which they had traversed excited great enthusiasm, and the church and state determined to possess that goodly land. Father Allouez, a daring Jesuit, went boldly into that region. Among the Chippewas he proclaimed the King of France as their sovereign, and built mission-houses there. He preached to the fiery Sioux; and from them he heard of the magnificent Mississippi River, which the Indians called the Father of Waters. This intelligence was sent back to Quebec, and Fathers Marquette and Dablon, two energetic priests, set out to explore the mysterious land and plant the banner of the Cross in the very heart of the heathen world. Among the Chippewas they labored lovingly for their God and their king. And when Joliet, an agent of the French government of Canada, arrived there, Marquette gave him efficient aid in his political designs. He summoned a convention of all the surrounding tribes, at the Falls of St. Mary, between Lakes Superior and Huron, where he had erected a rude chapel and founded a mission. There, by the side of the cross, the national emblems of France were raised in token of the dominion of Louis the Fourteenth.

Marquette resolved to seek for the Mississippi River. "He, an ambassador of God," and Joliet, an "envoy to discover new countries," went up the Fox River to the water-shed between the Mississippi and the Lakes, in birch canoes, and crossing the portage went down the Wisconsin River until its waters were mingled with those of the great stream. Late in June, [1673, they were upon the bosom of that mighty river which De Soto had discovered, nearer the Gulf a century and a quarter before. The Indians called it Mississippi which, in their language, signified The Great Water. So it was that the seeds of civilization and Christianity were first planted in the Valley of the Mississippi.

Marquette and his companions spread light sails over their canoes and voyaged quite rapidly on the bosom of the Mississippi with winds and currents, past the inflowing waters of the Missouri and Ohio, and other less tributaries, stopping on the shores and holding friendly intercourse with the natives. At length they reached a point below the mouth of the Arkansas River, where they found a tribe of sun-worshippers who appeared hostile. The missionaries would, undoubtedly, have been destroyed had not a revered symbol been held by Marquette. On the borders of Iowa a chief had presented him with a beautifully wrought and richly ornamented calumet, or pipe of peace, which the good father held aloft. Its well-known form, and the rich plumage that adorned it, commanded the attention of the fierce savages, when their leader, a venerable man, with nine others in an immense log canoe, came toward those of Marquette and Joliet. The old man bore in his hand a calumet, and, singing as he approached, he offered it to Marquette as a token of friendship. These Indians had axes of steel, which implied intercourse with Europeans.

Having satisfied himself that the Mississippi did not flow into the Atlantic nor the Pacific Ocean, but at some intermediate receptacle, Marquette turned the prow of his canoe northward, and he and Joliet reached Green Bay before the frosts of October were seen there. Two years longer Marquette labored among the barbarians in the vicinity of Chicago, when he crossed to the eastern shore of Lake Michigan. Suffering from mortal sickness, and conscious that his death was near, he passed along that shore in his canoe, propelled by two men, until it entered a small stream which bore his name a long time afterward. They carried him tenderly ashore, and laid him upon the leaves in the shadows of the forest. He told them, with joy, that he was about to die, but requested them to leave him alone while they should unload the canoe and promising to call them when his end should be nigh. He did so very soon. Then he asked for some holy water which he had prepared, and taking a crucifix from his neck, placed it in the hands of one of his companions and desired him to hold it constantly before his eyes while he lived. With clasped hands he then pronounced aloud the profession of his faith, and soon afterward he died, as he had desired to do, in the bosom of the wilderness in the service of his Master, without human aid. Then his companions carried him to a grave they had dug, ringing his little chapel bell which he had brought with him and so wished them to do. Near his grave they erected a large cross as a mark for passers-by. So disappeared the mortal remains of a discoverer of the Mississippi and the founder of Michigan. "The people of the West," wrote Bancroft almost forty years ago, "will build his monument." Steps were taken late in 1873 for the fulfillment of the prophecy. Marquette's remains lie in the bosom of Michilimackinac or Mackinack.

At this time Robert Cavalier de la Salle, a young Frenchman who had been educated for the priesthood in a Jesuit seminary, but who preferred a secular life, was seated at the foot of Lake Ontario, and was enjoying a monopoly of the fur trade with the Five Nations south of the lake. He had built a fort on the site of modern Kingston and named it Frontenac, in honor of his patron. The mild Franciscans, who were now tolerated in Canada, were carrying on their religious work among the Indians under the favor of La Salle.

The enterprising young Frenchman had been stirred by accounts of the Spanish voyages to America, and especially by the adventures of De Soto, and the events attending his discovery of the Mississippi River in the warmer regions of the continent. His ambition was influenced by the story of Marquette's voyage on that stream so mighty in the higher latitudes, with a desire to become a pioneer in those far-off regions and perfect the explorations of "the Great Water." He had heard, also, of the Ohio River, and the beauty and wealth of the country through which it flowed; and he resolved to attempt the establishment of a widely-extended commerce with the natives there, and, if possible, plant colonies in the vast wilderness. With these aspirations he went to France, and there found favor with Colbert, the famous minister of Louis the Fourteenth.

The sagacity of Colbert comprehended the possibilities of La Salle's scheme, and he induced the king to extend La Salle's monopoly of the fur trade among the Indians, and to give him a commission to perfect the explorations of the Mississippi River. With some mechanics and others and Tonti, an Italian, as his lieutenant, La Salle returned to Fort Frontenac late in 1678. With these, and Franciscan priests, in a great canoe, they crossed Lake Ontario and went up the

Niagara River to the site of Lewis ton. In that region a trading-house was established and at near the site of Buffalo, above the cataract, they built a sailing vessel in which they crossed the lakes to Mackinack, and pushing forward, anchored in Green Bay, west of Lake Michigan. From Mackinack or Mackinaw, La Salle sent back his brig laden with a rich cargo of furs, and awaited her return. He tarried impatiently among the Miamis at Chicago, for some time, when with Tonti, Father Hennepin and two other Franciscans, and about thirty followers, he boldly penetrated the wilderness westward on foot and in canoes, until he reached Lake Peoria, in Illinois. There he built a fort, and sent Father Hennepin forward to explore the Upper Mississippi, while he returned to Frontenac to look after his property.

Hennepin, with two oarsmen, went down the Illinois River to "the Great Water," which they reached late in March. When the floating ice in the Mississippi had passed by, he invoked the aid of St. Anthony of Padua, and ascended the stream to the great falls which bear the name of his patron saint. Hennepin was a man much given to romancing, and permitting the creations of imagination to be represented as realities. He claimed to have discovered the source of the Mississippi, when it is known that he never went above the Falls of St. Anthony. These he described with tolerable accuracy, and near them he carved across and the arms of France upon the forest trees. In the autumn of 1680 he returned to Green Bay by the way of the Wisconsin and Fox rivers. In the meantime Tonti had been driven out of Illinois by the savages, and had taken refuge among the barbarians on the western shore of Lake Michigan.

La Salle returned to the Illinois country with men and supplies for an exploration of the Mississippi. That enterprise was undertaken early in 1682. La Salle was accompanied by twenty-three Frenchmen, and eighteen New England Indians with ten women and three children. They reached the Mississippi in February, and embarked upon its bosom in a strong and spacious barge which had been constructed, and his people followed in canoes. They descended the Mississippi to the Gulf of Mexico, everywhere observing the evidences of unbounded wealth in the bosom of the soil along its course. They stopped at many places and held intercourse with the natives, who came to the river banks in large numbers to meet them. At one place below the mouth of the Arkansas River, they found a powerful king over many tribes, to whom La Salle sent presents. His ambassadors were received with great respect, and the monarch sent word by them that he should visit their chief in person. He came in great state. He was preceded by two horses, and by a master of ceremonies with six men, who cleared the ground over which his majesty was to pass, and erected a pavilion of mats to shield the king from the sun. The monarch was dressed in a white robe falling to his knee, that had been beautifully woven of the inner bark of trees. He was on foot, and was preceded by two men bearing immense feather fans as white as snow. A third carried plates of copper highly polished. With grave demeanor and gracious words, he held an interview with La Salle, and they parted with mutual assurances of friendship. The people over whom the king ruled were a part of those barbarians of the Gulf region who worshipped the sun. They were called Taenses.

La Salle proceeded southward, planted a cross and the arms of France on the borders of the Gulf of Mexico, and proclaimed that the whole Mississippi Valley was a part of the dominions of

King Louis. He named the magnificent domain Louisiana in honor of that monarch, who was then at the height of his power. So was planted in the heart of our continent the germ of the French empire that grew up there early in the eighteenth century.

Having performed this great service, La Salle went back to Quebec, and thence hastened to France and laid a report of his great discovery before the delighted court. Colbert was dead, but his son was in power and inherited his father's genius and enterprise. He procured for La Salle the king's commission to colonize Louisiana. With four ships and almost three hundred emigrants, La Salle sailed from Rochelle late in July, 1684, for the Mississippi River by way of St. Domingo. His company was composed of one hundred soldiers, and the remainder (one hundred and eighty souls) were chiefly artisans and farmers, with a few young women. Unfortunately Beaujeu, the commander of the ships, was cold and proud. He could not comprehend the lofty purposes of La Salle, and often thwarted them in a degree. His pride would not allow him to listen to La Salle, and caused him to miss the mouths of the Mississippi while sailing westward over the Gulf of Mexico. They soon found themselves in Matagorda Bay, on the coasts of Texas, and there La Salle determined to disembark. His storeship was wrecked at the entrance to the bay, and its precious cargo was scattered over the bosom of the sea by a gale that arose in the evening. Despondency seized a part of the company, and they returned to the vessels. The remainder adhered to La Salle. The ships with the timid ones sailed away to France, leaving two hundred and thirty emigrants on the beach. These, with La Salle for the architect, soon constructed a fort on a stream that flowed into the western part of Matagorda Bay, and called it Fort St. Louis. This was the beginning of the settlement of Texas, and so it was made a portion of Louisiana. France took possession of the domain, and caused the arms of the kingdom to be carved on the great trees of the forest there.

La Salle now proposed to seek the Mississippi. In December, 1685, he departed, with some of his men. They forded small streams, crossed the larger ones on rafts which they constructed, and encountered many fearful perils. One man was eaten up by alligators. The bite of a rattlesnake killed another. Some of the Indians were hostile. Discontent arose in the party and some of the men deserted. La Salle had penetrated almost to the Red River, when his necessities compelled him to retrace his steps. When he reached the fort he had a dozen men less than when he departed.

La Salle was now allured in another direction by stories concerning rich mines in New Mexico. With a few followers he started in search of the treasures. He found a country wealthy in fertile soils, but not in precious metals and he returned to the fort disappointed. That was in the spring of 1686.

La Salle now determined to go to Canada for reinforcements and supplies for his colony in Louisiana. Leaving a garrison at Fort St. Louis, he departed with sixteen men and five wild horses which he had procured in New Mexico. They had crossed Texas to the uplands of Trinity River, when some of the men became mutinous. Two of them, who had embarked all their fortunes in the enterprise, and who blamed La Salle for their losses, conspired against his life.

One of them, named Duhaut, invited one of La Salle's nephews (who was of the party) to go with him on a buffalo hunt. Duhaut quarrelled with the young man, and murdered him. The leader, ignorant of the cause of his nephew's absence, went in search of him, and found the two conspirators near the brink of the river. Duhaut hid in the grass, but his companion approached La Salle with apparent friendliness. "Where is my nephew?" inquired the leader. He was answered by a musket-ball from the skulking Duhaut, and fell dead. Then the conspirators plundered his body, and left it to be devoured by eagles and wolves. Joutel (a friend of La Salle), and two of the great leader's kinsmen, escaped, made their way to the Mississippi, and returned to Canada with the sad tidings of the explorer's death.

The French had now traversed the interior of America from Newfoundland and Nova Scotia by way of the St. Lawrence, the chain of the great lakes and the Mississippi River, to the Gulf of Mexico, and asserted the authority of King Louis everywhere. Trading-posts, mission-stations, and colonies followed in the path of the explorers. New Orleans was founded early in the eighteenth century. Other places were settled on the Mississippi, the Illinois, and the lakes. At the middle of the last century, the French claimed dominion over the whole continent north of the Spanish possessions, excepting the narrow border of territory on the sea-coasts occupied by the English. They coveted the whole country, and resolved to possess it. Their alliance with the Indians, through the influence of the Jesuits, had that permanent object in view and we have seen how fearfully those allies worked along the frontier settlements of New England, with torch and hatchet, to accomplish that end. Had they succeeded in their attempted conquest of New England, the Iroquois Confederacy, that stood like a wall of defence for the settlers in New York and Pennsylvania, might have been swept away, and the day-dreams of Louis the Fourteenth, that he was to become sole master of North America, been realized. The struggle for that mastery continued forty-five years after his death, and was ended only when the English had destroyed French dominion in America, by force of arms, and by conquest stripped France of a great portion of its claimed territory in our country.

Chapter XXXIX

Nationalities of the American Colonists - Their Social Characteristics - Their Industries and Commercial Restrictions - Their Educational Institutions - Newspapers in the Colonies - The Tendency of the People to Local Self-Government and Union - Plans for a National Union - Congresses - Designs of the Royal Governors - A Crisis - Lords of Trade and Plantations - Resistance to the Royal Prerogative - Complaints by Royalists in America - Revolution Prevented by the French and Indian War.

SEVERAL European nations, as we have seen, contributed materials for the English-American colonies. They were people of varied and opposite tastes, habits and theological views, but, as a rule, they commingled without asperity and when the time came for a political union, no serious antagonisms were apparent. Churchmen and Dissenters, Roman Catholics, Puritans and Friends, finally settled down quietly together, and labored with a generous faith in each other for the public good. The Puritans of New England, the Friends of Pennsylvania, the Roman Catholics of Maryland and the Churchmen of Virginia, though often narrow in their theological views, manifested a common love of liberty, and acted upon the common rule that the majority should govern.

A great majority of the emigrants who settled the English domain in America were of Teutonic origin. The English, Lowland Scotch, Dutch and Swedes, were decidedly of German blood. The Irish and French were few at first. Denmark and the Baltic regions contributed a considerable number, and natives from Africa were soon scattered among the white population of all the colonies. With the exception of Georgia, the emigrants had founded settlements and colonies without the aid of the British government, and often in defiance of its expressed wishes and absolute decrees. Subjects of the same perils and hardships, there grew up among them, insensibly, a brotherhood of feeling that prepared the people of thirteen of the colonies, after uniting in resistance to the aggressions of the French during a war of more than seven years duration, to resist, almost as one man, every form of oppression, when the government to which they acknowledged their allegiance became an oppressor.

There was a great diversity of character seen among the inhabitants of the several colonies, owing, chiefly, to their origin, early habits, and the climate. Those of Virginia were from classes in English society wherein a lack of rigid moral discipline allowed free living and its attendant vices. This circumstance, combined with the influence of a mild climate, produced a tendency to voluptuousness and ease among the Virginians and their southern neighbors. They generally exhibited less moral restraint, more hospitality, and greater frankness and social refinement, than the people of New England. The latter were from the middle classes of society. They included a great many religious enthusiasts, possessing more zeal than knowledge. Very rigid in their manners, shy and jealous of strangers, they were extremely strict in their notions, and attempted to regulate the habits and tastes of society by formal standards. Their early legislation, as we have seen, recognizing as it did the right to control the most minute regulations of social life, often presents food for merriment for their descendants. The General Court of Massachusetts, on one

occasion, required the proper officers to notice the "apparel of the people, especially their ribbands and great boots." Drinking of healths in public or private; wearing funeral badges; celebrating the Church festivals of Christmas and Easter, and many other things that seemed quite improper to magistrates and legislators, and especially to the Puritan clergy, were forbidden. At Hartford, the General Court kept an eye constantly upon the conduct of the people. Freemen were compelled to vote under a penalty of six-pence; the use of tobacco was prohibited to persons under twenty years of age, without the certificate of a physician; and no others were allowed to use it more than once a day, and then they must be more than ten miles from any house. The people of Hartford were compelled to rise in the morning when the watchman rang his bell. And so, in a great variety of enactments, the law-makers, with pure intentions, noble purposes and virtuous aims, tried to make the whole people Christians after their own pattern. If they did not accomplish these higher designs, they erected strong bulwarks against the smaller vices which compose, in a great degree, private and public evils. They dwelt upon a parsimonious soil. Possessing neither the means nor the inclination for sumptuous living indulged in by their southern brethren, the New Englanders lived in very plain houses and their habits were frugal.

The ideas, manners, customs and pursuits of the Dutch made a deep impression upon the colonists of New York and portions of New Jersey and Pennsylvania, which is not yet effaced, but appears conspicuous in many places. They were a race of industrious, frugal, plodding money-getters, loving personal ease and freedom from disturbance. They possessed very few of the elements of progress. They were constitutionally averse to change, and had very little faith in anything not known to their fathers. They were distinguished by many of the more substantial virtues that are necessary in giving health to society and stability to a State. The Swedes and Finns on the Delaware did not differ much from the Dutch in their general characteristics but the habits of the Friends, whose influence predominated in West Jersey and Pennsylvania, were quite different. There was a refined simplicity in the manners and habits of the latter that won the esteem and confidence of virtuous and cultivated people, and the respect of every class. They made no ostentatious display in their dress or of their piety. They were governed in their daily life by a religious sentiment without fanaticism, which was a powerful safeguard against vice and immorality.

The Maryland settlers were greater formalists in religion and less restrained in their conduct than the New Englanders or the Dutch. They were generally more refined than the colonists of the East, and equally industrious, but they lacked the unwearied perseverance in pursuits of the latter. As in New England, so in Maryland, the peculiarities of the inhabitants had been greatly modified by inter-migration at the middle of the last century. Religious intolerance had been subdued; and when common danger called for common defenders of the soil and of the chartered rights of the colonists, they stood shoulder to shoulder in battle-array and in legislative halls.

The principal pursuit of the English-American colonists was agriculture. At the time we are considering, commerce and manufactures were struggling here against unwise and unjust laws for existence. With forced self-reliance, the people had been compelled, from the beginning, to make their own apparel, their simple furniture, and their implements for labor, which they could not buy

from the looms and workshops of Old England; and manual labor was regarded as honorable and dignified, especially in New England and the immediately adjoining provinces. The evil example of an idle privileged class was never before the settlers in the forests of America.

The commerce of the English-American colonies had a feeble infancy, and was stunted in its growth by oppressive navigation laws. Indeed, their trade may not properly be dignified with the name of commerce before the Revolution. So early as 1636, a Massachusetts vessel of thirty tons made a voyage to the West Indies and two years later another vessel went from Salem to New Providence, and returned with a cargo of cotton, salt, tobacco and negroes. This was the beginning of negro slavery in New England. It was recognized by law in Massachusetts, in 1641 in Connecticut and Rhode Island, about the year 1650; in New York, in 1656; in Maryland, in 1663; and in New Jersey, in 1665. There were but a few slaves in Pennsylvania. Some were there as early as 1690, and were chiefly in Philadelphia. At about the same time a few appeared in Delaware. In Virginia, as we have seen, they were introduced in 1619; and in the Carolinas, at the time of their settlement. By an evasion of law they were taken into Georgia about the year 1752.

The successful voyages of these vessels from Massachusetts were regarded with joy, as the harbingers of a flourishing American commerce; and the New England people, especially, looked forward with expectations of much wealth to be derived from the ocean, for they were then quite extensively engaged in fishing. But a navigation act passed by the republican parliament in 1651 gave them warning of English jealousy and its restoration, with more stringent clauses, by the royal parliament in 1660, satisfied the colonists that their commerce was doomed, because it seemed to be regarded as a promising rival of that of Great Britain. After that the attention of parliament was called from time to time to the industries of the American colonies, and laws were made to regulate them. In 1719, the House of Commons declared that erecting any manufactories in the colonies tended to lessen their dependence on Great Britain, and they were discouraged. A little earlier a British author had written "There be fine iron works which cast no guns no house in New England has above twenty rooms; not twenty in Boston have ten rooms each; a dancing-school was set up here but put down; a fencing-school is allowed. There be no musicians by trade. All cordage, sail-cloth and mats, come from England; no cloth made there worth four shillings per yard; no alum, no salt made by their sun.

Later, woolen-goods, paper and hemp were manufactured in New England, and almost every family made coarse cloth for domestic use. A heavy duty had been laid on pig-iron sent from the colonies to England, and the Americans made successful attempts to manufacture it into bars for native blacksmiths, and to make steel. Hats, also, were manufactured and sold in different colonies and small brigantines (square-rigged, two-masted vessels) were built in Massachusetts and Pennsylvania, and exchanged with West India merchants for rum, sugar, wines, and silks. Again the jealousy of the British government was awakened, and greater restrictions upon colonial manufactures were imposed, they being foolishly considered as detrimental to the interests of the English at home. It was ordained by a law that all manufacturers of iron and steel in the colonies should be considered a nuisance to be abated within thirty days after notice being given, under a penalty of one thousand dollars. A law was enacted in 1750 which "prohibited the

erection or continuance of any mill or other engine for slitting or rolling-iron, or any plating-forge to work with a tilt-hammer, or any furnace for making steel in the colonies." The exportations of hats from one colony to another was prohibited; and no hatter was allowed to have more than two apprentices at one time. The importation of sugar, molasses and rum was burdened with exorbitant duties; and the Carolinians were actually forbidden to cut down a tree in their vast pine forests for the purpose of converting its wood into staves, or its juices into turpentine. The raising of sheep in the colonies was restrained, because wool was then the great staple of England. The interests of the landed aristocracy were consulted more than justice. In the preamble to a restraining act, it was avowed that the motive for its enactment was a conviction that "colonial industry would inevitably sink the value of lands in England." And so, for about a hundred years, the British government had attempted, by restrictive laws, to confine the commerce of the colonies to the interchange of their agricultural products for English manufactures only. The trade of the colonies was certainly worth preserving, for the exports from Great Britain to them averaged, in value, at that period, about three-and-a-quarter million dollars annually. But the unrighteous measures adopted to secure that trade produced (as unrighteousness generally does in the end) a great loss. These acts of oppression constituted the chief item in the bill of particulars presented by the Americans in the account with Great Britain when, on the fourth of July, 1776, they gave to the world their reasons for declaring themselves "free and independent" of the British crown.

Education had received special attention in most of the colonies, and particularly in New England, from the beginning. So early as 1621, schools were established in Virginia for the education of white and Indian children. This was the first provision for education made in the colonies. For reasons not clearly defined, these schools did not flourish, and the funds appropriated for their support were finally given to the trustees of William and Mary College, which was founded at Williamsburg, in Virginia, in 1692. Fifty-four years before, the Rev. John Harvard had given half his estate and three hundred of his books for the founding of the college at Cambridge, Massachusetts, which bears his name. And eight years after the establishment of William and Mary College, ten clergymen met at Saybrook, near the mouth of the Connecticut River, and each contributing some books, took measures for founding a college there. It was accomplished in 1701. The most generous patron of the institution in its infancy was Elihu Yale, then president of the English East India Company. He was born in New Haven, Connecticut. His name was given to the college, and in 1717 it was removed to the place of his nativity, where it still flourishes. King's (now Columbia) College was established in the city of New York in 1750 and these four seminaries composed the chief seats of learning in the English-American colonies when the French and Indian war broke out.

While these higher institutions of learning were struggling even for existence, the common schools - the glory and pride of New England especially - were flourishing. At the beginning of the existence of the Connecticut colony, a law provided that every town organized religious communities - containing one hundred householders, should maintain a grammar school. Similar provision was made for popular education throughout New England, and that region was soon conspicuous for the intelligence of its people. The school teacher in many places had a variety of

duties, so that his time was wholly employed in and out of school. At Portsmouth, New Hampshire, an ordinance of the selectmen defined the duties of the schoolmaster, as follows: "To act as a court messenger; to serve summonses to lead the choir on Sundays to ring the bell for public worship to dig the graves to take charge of the school, and to perform other occasional duties."

Reading took the place of frivolous amusements, which were discouraged by law in New England. History and theology were the chief topics of most of the books then read in that region, and many volumes were sold. A traveler mentioned the fact that before the year 1686, several booksellers in Boston had "made fortunes by their business."

In time newspapers began to appear in the colonies, but were of little worth, as vehicles of general information, until the period of our Revolution. The first one issued in America was published in Boston in September, 1690. It was printed on three pages seven by eleven inches square, on a folded sheet, and was entitled "Public Occurrences both Foreign and Domestic." The editor said of it "It is designed that the country shall be furnished once a month (or if any glut of occurrences happen, oftener) with an account of such considerable things as have arrived unto our notice." And he gave warning in his first number that his paper should be the vehicle for exposing slanderers and false reporters, saying: "It is supposed that none will dislike this proposal, but such as intend to be guilty of so villainous a crime." Only one number of this newspaper was published. The first permanent newspaper was "The Boston News-Letter," first issued in the spring of 1704. The first in Pennsylvania was "The American," published in Philadelphia in 1719. The first in New York was "The New York Gazette," in 1725 the first in Maryland was "The Maryland Gazette," issued at Annapolis in the summer of 1728. "The South Carolina Gazette," printed at Charleston at the beginning of 1732, was the first issued in that province; the first in Rhode Island was "The Rhode Island Gazette," printed at Newport in 1732; the first in Virginia was "The Virginia Gazette," printed at Williamsburg in 1736; the first in Connecticut was "The Connecticut Gazette," printed at New Haven in 1755 the first in North Carolina was "The North Carolina Gazette," printed at New Berne the same year; and the first in New Hampshire was "The New Hampshire Gazette," printed at Portsmouth in the summer of 1756. At the period of the French and Indian war newspapers were printed in all of the colonies excepting in New Jersey, Delaware and Georgia. The printing machines on which all the colonial newspapers and books were printed were simple in form and rude in construction, as may be seen in the picture of the Ephrata printing press here given. Of the number of the inhabitants of the colonies at that time, we have no exact enumeration. Mr. Bancroft, after a careful examination of many official returns and private computations, estimated the number of white inhabitants of all the colonies to be 1,165,000, and the blacks (who were mostly slaves) to be 260,000.

Since the English Revolution in 1688 - a period of only sixty-six years - the growth of the colonies in population had been marvelous. New England had increased from 75,000 to 425,000; New York, from 20,000 to 85,000; New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware and Maryland, from 47,000 to 372,000; Virginia, from 50,000 to 168,000; and the Carolinas and Georgia, from 8,000 to 135,000. The assertion of a letter of an "American Farmer" was almost literally true when he

wrote "We are all tillers of the earth from Nova Scotia to West Florida. We are a people of cultivation, scattered over an immense territory communicating with each other by means of good roads and navigable rivers; united by the silken bands of mild government; all respecting the laws, without dreading their power because they are equitable."

While the English-American colonists were treated by the mother country as minor children or as absolute subjects to be governed, without questionings, by her capricious will and while every measure of the British ministry was calculated to trammel their advance toward local self-government, that lofty idea was working out in America the great problem of republicanism, whose demonstration by actual achievements the monarchs of Europe were dreading. It was an idea that had spontaneous birth in the minds of all the colonists when they first felt the stimulating air of the freedom of their forest homes; and it grew into a mighty force in the bosoms of individuals before any one dared to openly promulgate it. It was the early inspiration out of which grew the democracy that finally impelled the colonists to proclaim themselves independent and to establish a nation here.

The common danger, as we have seen, caused a confederation of New England colonies in 1643, but the national idea was lacking, and it was short lived. A half a century later, William Penn put forth a plan for a general union of all the colonies, for their mutual welfare, in which he proposed the appointment of persons in each colony, who should meet at specified times, in a general congress to mature plans for the common good, whose presiding officer should be a high commissioner appointed by the crown, and in time of war should command all of the colonial forces. Penn's plan was commended by many thoughtful persons, and it was likened to the Grecian Amphictyonic Council. After that, writers in England and the colonies publicly discussed the topic, not with any idea of the independence of the colonists as subjects of Great Britain, but with a feeling that a national union here would redound to the glory and happiness of Great Britain and her American citizens. When, early in the last century, public attention was called to the evident designs of the French to supplant the English in America, Daniel Coxe, who had been a prominent man in New Jersey, published a volume in London (1722), in which he proposed that all the British colonies here should be united by a national covenant, in a national government, over which a supreme viceroy or governor, appointed by the crown, should preside in some part of America, the governors of the several colonies to be subordinate to him; and also that there should be a general congress of deputies chosen by the several colonies to promote unity of action in times of danger. Men of all shades of political opinion made similar suggestions; and Dinwiddie, governor of Virginia, recommended, not only a union of the colonies for mutual defence, but a confederation of the Indians then friendly toward the English, with the tribes more in the interior and under the influence of the French.

Meanwhile there had been several congresses or conventions of leading men in the colonies, having for their object the union of the people of the several provinces for the public good, or to cultivate the friendship of the Indians. One of these was held at Albany in 1684, composed of the officers of the governments of Massachusetts, New York, Maryland and Virginia, and sachems of the Five Nations. In 1693, Governor Fletcher, of New York, in compliance with a letter of

instructions from the king, called a congress of commissioners from New England and other colonies to consult about the quotas of men and money which the several provinces should raise for common defence against the French. The call was so feebly answered that nothing was done by the few present. This was followed the next year by a meeting of commissioners at Albany with sachems of the Iroquois Confederacy, the object being to prevent the Five Nations from making a peace with the French in Canada.

When it was resolved to invade Canada with a land and naval force, in 1711, a convention was held at New London, Connecticut, to consult upon the matter, at which the governors of several of the colonies appeared and agreed upon the quotas. The expedition that followed, under Colonel Nicholson on land and Sir Hovenden Walker on the water, proved disastrous, as we have seen. In 1722, a congress of colonial officials and Indian sachems was held at Albany for the promotion of a friendly feeling and the strengthening of the alliance then existing with the Iroquois Confederacy. And in 1744, a similar congress, for the same purpose, met at Lancaster, in Pennsylvania, whereat over two hundred and fifty representatives of the Six (late Five) Nations were in attendance.

The last of these colonial congresses, all exhibiting tendencies toward a national union, was held at Albany in the summer of 1748, soon after news had reached the colonies of a preliminary treaty of peace having been signed by the commissioners of England and France. The congress was called for a two-fold purpose. The antagonisms between the royal governors and the people were alarming to the crown officers in America, and the latter wished to secure a colonial revenue through British interference, and not be subjected, in the matter, to the will or caprice of colonial assemblies. Foremost among these crown officers who were willing to abridge the rights of the people, were Governor Clinton, of New York, and Governor Shirley, of Massachusetts. They had promoted the assembling of the congress with a hope that that body would favor their scheme, and they were both there with their political friends. Another purpose of the meeting was the strengthening of the bond of friendship between the Six Nations and their savage neighbors on the west, and the English. A vast concourse of barbarians were there. The royal governors gained nothing for themselves; but a satisfactory arrangement was made with the Indians. They agreed that no Frenchman should abide within their borders; also, not to send any delegation to Canada, and to have their warriors ready for the service of the English whenever they should be called for.

A crisis in political affairs in the colonies was now at hand. The royal governors perceived that something must speedily be done to curb the democratic spirit of the people, or local self-government would supersede royal authority. It was necessary to convince parliament of this truth. Only through the Lords of Trade and Plantations could this be done. This was a Board or Committee appointed by the crown in 1696, to whom was entrusted a general oversight of the affairs of the American colonies. It was originally composed of seven members and a president. To them the royal governors were requested to give frequent and full information of the condition of their respective governments concerning political and commercial affairs, and particularly of the proceedings of the assemblies also of the appropriations for the public service, and how they were expended. To this Board the royal agents in the colonies addressed their letters. "It was the lion's

mouth," says Frothingham in his "Rise of the Republic of the United States," "into which the accusations and complaints against the colonies were indiscriminately cast."

To arouse the Lords of Trade and Plantations to action, some overt act of disobedience on the part of the colonies must be obtained. The bluff Admiral Clinton, then governor of New York, was chosen to bring on the crisis, and that province was to be the theatre of the collision. The royal governors were to aid him by representations to the Board of the turbulence of the people and their disloyalty. Governor Shirley took occasion, when the people of Boston had liberated some of their citizens from the grasp of a British admiral who had impressed them into the naval service, to represent the act as a rebellious insurrection. "The chief cause of the mobbish turn of a town inhabited by twenty thousand inhabitants," he continued, "is its constitution, by which the management of it devolves on the populace, assembled in their town meetings." Royalists in Pennsylvania wrote words of warning, saying that "the obstinate, wrong-headed Assembly of Quakers" in that colony, "pretended not to be accountable to his majesty or his government," and that "they may, in time, apply the public money to purposes injurious to the crown and the mother country." "Virginia," wrote its governor, "formerly an orderly province, has nothing more at heart than to lessen the influence of the crown." In a similar strain loyalists wrote from all the provinces; and the Earl of Halifax, a young man a little more than thirty years of age, who had been placed at the head of The Lords of Trade, was satisfied that royal authority in the colonies was in peril, and so informed the ministry. In a letter to Governor Glen, of South Carolina, he promised "a very serious consideration on the just prerogatives of the crown and those defects of the constitution which have spread themselves over many of the plantations, and are destructive to all order and government."

Governor Clinton sought, and soon found an occasion for a quarrel with the New York Assembly. He demanded of that body an appropriation for the support of the government, for five years next ensuing, with a view of making himself, as governor, independent of the assembly. As he expected, they refused their compliance. Then he warned them of the danger of incurring the displeasure of parliament, and dissolved the assembly. He at once wrote letters to the Lords of Trade, complaining of the rebellious tendencies of a greater portion of the assembly, charging them with claiming all the powers and privileges of parliament that they had set up the people as the high court of American appeal that they had "virtually assumed all of the public money into their own hands, and issued it without warrant from the governor," and, also, had assumed the right to nominate all officers of government to reward all services by granting the salaries annually, "not to the office, but by name to the person in the office," and that the system if not speedily remedied, "would effect the dependency of the colonies on the crown." He besought the king to "make a good example for all America, by regulating the government of New York." He declared that until that should be done he could not "meet the assembly without danger of exposing the king's authority," and himself, "to contempt."

After violent quarrels with all political factions in the province, Clinton abandoned the government in disgust, and returned home. He was succeeded by Sir Danvers Osborne, who came with instructions to demand from the assembly a permanent revenue to be disbursed solely

by himself. His council assured him that the assembly would refuse compliance with the demand. Foreseeing much trouble ahead, he became despondent. This state of mind was aggravated by grief because of the recent death of his wife, and he hanged himself with his pocket-handkerchief to the garden fence at his lodgings in New York.

The attitude of the New York Assembly was applauded by the leaders of popular opinion in the other colonies; and had measures for the maintenance of the royal prerogative and the supreme authority of parliament which Halifax proposed been pressed with vigor much longer, the revolution which broke out about twenty years later would doubtless have occurred then. But more urgent considerations occupied the attention of the British government and the American colonies at that time. Ever since the English captured Louisburg, in 1745, and D'Anville experienced his naval disasters, the French had put forth the most vigorous efforts for the extension and strengthening of their dominion in America. They were resolved on a persistent strife for power; and their aggressive movements about the year 1753, aroused the British government and the American colonial assemblies and people to the necessity of employing equally vigorous measures for opposing their common enemy. Then the colonists united among themselves and with the Home Government in defence of British dominion in America. Then began the conflict known in America as the French and Indian War, and in Europe as the Seven Years War, which we will now consider.

Chapter XL

The Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle - Efforts of the English to Maintain Their Dominion in America - The Ohio Land Company - Events in Nova Scotia - Sufferings of the French Inhabitants There - Attempts to Enslave the Americans Resisted - Mahew's Patriotic Sermons - Movements of the French Alarm the English - The Ohio Country Explored - Treaty with the Indian Tribes - Hostile Attitude of the French - Major Washington's Embassy to the French Commander.

THE famous treaty at Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748 produced the pacification of Europe, and a lull in warfare in America. It seemed to promise a long repose from war in both hemispheres. In that ancient city of Rhenish Prussia, where Charlemagne was born and where he died, and where fifty-five emperors have been crowned, the representatives of Great Britain, France, Holland, Germany, Spain and Genoa, signed a solemn treaty which ended a war begun in 1740. That was the consequence of the ascension of the throne of Austria by Maria Theresa in conformity to the "Pragmatic Sanction" - a royal ordinance - of her father, Charles the Sixth of Germany, made in 1713. That treaty confirmed six other treaties which had been made in the space of a century and hopeful men looked for the peace of the millennium almost. But that treaty was made delusive by a further struggle between France and England for dominion in America.

The commissioners at Aix-la-Chapelle had hardly reached their homes before the rash and inexperienced Earl of Halifax, at the head of the Board of Trade and Plantations, observing the steady encroachments upon claimed English domain in America, and the menacing attitude of the French there, resolved to employ measures for securing to England the conquered territory on the east and the Valley of the Ohio River on the west: the latter by settlements and colonization. The Indians there were friendly to the English, and the Six Nations held the passes from Canada to that rich valley.

Virginians and Marylanders had proposed the planting of an English colony beyond the Alleghany Mountains, where there was seen only here and there the solitary cabin of an English trader. Halifax regarded that region as "the centre of the British dominions," and he persuaded the king to instruct the governor of Virginia to grant to a company of speculators five hundred thousand acres of land on the north side of the Ohio, between the site of the present city of Pittsburgh and the mouth of the Kanawha River. This association was known as The Ohio Land Company. It was agreed that the company should not be called upon for quit-rent for the space of ten years. It was also agreed that within seven years at least one hundred families should be settled on the tract, and the company, at their own expense, was to build a fort there. Among the proprietors was Robert Dinwiddie of Scotland, the surveyor-general for the southern colonies, who was soon afterward made a lieutenant-governor of Virginia.

At the same time cruel measures were adopted by the English government for securing dominion in Acadie, or Nova Scotia. The French government and French priests proceeded to coax the simple French inhabitants to leave their ancient settlements on the peninsula and take a position near the frontier, the object being to make them a barrier against the encroachments of

the English. At about the same time Governor Shirley, of Massachusetts, proposed to remove the Acadians altogether, and distribute them among the English colonies, because they were French Roman Catholics, and to settle their country with Protestants. This atrocious proposal was opposed by the British ministry at first. A more humane policy was adopted. It was to settle so many Protestants among the Acadians that the obedience of the French inhabitants to British authority would be secured. Protestants in European countries were invited to settle there, under English protection, but responses were few. Finally, the British government induced disbanded British soldiers and marines to accept lands among the Acadians and to settle there. During the year 1749, about fourteen hundred of these, led by Colonel Cornwallis, went among the Acadians and planted the first English town east of the Penobscot, in a dreary place, and named it Halifax. This was in compliment to the energetic earl who had actively promoted the emigration.

Now the serious troubles of the simple-minded Acadians began. When, twenty years before, they bowed submissively to English rule, they had been promised freedom in religious matters, and exemption from bearing arms against the French and Indians. This gave them the name of French Neutrals. Now they were ordered to take an oath of allegiance to Great Britain, and the supremacy of the crown in religious matters, and be subjected to all the duties of English subjects. A thousand of the men signed a petition humbly asking permission to sell their lands and remove to some place to be provided by the French government. Their hearts bore allegiance to France and the ancient church, and they begged not to be compelled to take up arms against the one, nor to forswear the other. The haughty Cornwallis said to the ambassadors who brought the petition to him: "Take the oath or your property will be confiscated. It is for me to command: you to obey."

More cruel were the proceedings against the Indians on the peninsula, whom Jesuit priests had incited to furious raids along the New England frontiers. Cornwallis summoned a powerful Micmac chief to his presence. He came, feathered and painted, with two young warriors. Wrapped in his blanket, he stood erect and defiant before the English commander. Cornwallis demanded the instant submission of all the tribe to British authority. The chief haughtily replied: "The land on which you sleep, is ours; we sprung from it as do the trees, and the grass, and the flowers. It is ours forever, and we will not yield it to any man;" and turning on his heel went back to his people. Under the orders of his superiors, who declared that "the Indians on the peninsula were banditti, ruffians or rebels," Cornwallis offered ten guineas for every one of them "taken or killed," to be paid on producing the body or scalp of the savage. Such were the measures adopted by the English at the middle of the last century for checking the encroachments of the French on the east and west of their domain. At that time the English in America numbered almost a million and a half; the French were not more than a hundred thousand strong, but they controlled much of the Indian power of the continent. France and England were heirs to an ancient quarrel originating far back in feudal ages and kept alive by frequent collisions.

While the French power in America seemed to be confined to a narrow strip of territory along the St. Lawrence and the Lakes, the remote northeastern portion of the continent, and in the western wilderness to very distant missionary stations, very little apprehension of real danger to

their colonies was felt by the English but when, after the French lost Louisburg in 1745, they built strong vessels at the foot of Lake Ontario made stronger their little trading fort at Niagara built a cordon of fortifications, more than sixty in number, between Montreal and New Orleans; claimed dominion over all the territory drained by tributaries of the Mississippi, with the plausible plea that the French were the discoverers of a greater portion of that stream, and were negotiating treaties with the powerful Delawares and Shawnees, on the frontiers of Pennsylvania and Virginia, the English perceived real and impending danger. The American colonists saw it first, and were alarmed hence the proposition to plant an English settlement west of the Alleghanies. It was at that moment, when there appeared the plausible pretext of a necessity for united action, under a single head, against the French, that the British government resolved to assert its supreme authority in the colonies. Governor Shirley, a thorough royalist, proposed the building of frontier forts, under the direction of royal officers and engineers, at the expense of the colonies, and demanding from them the levying of a tax sufficient for the purpose. The crown officers of New York approved the measure. Shirley went to England to perfect his schemes, and found the government eager to do anything to check the democratic spirit in America which was evidently aiming at legislative independence, if not the setting up of an independent sovereignty. The English-Americans found themselves in the critical position of being compelled to fight the French and Indians for the preservation of their domain, and to contend with the mother country for their chartered rights and natural liberties. The French were their political and religious enemies, and menaced them with open hostility their British brethren were their social foes, nestling in their bosoms, and seeking to conquer their noble and holy aspirations under false pretenses. Yet the Americans were hopeful and firm. When the Lords of Trade induced the parliament to attempt to assert its supremacy in the colonies, and royal governors, under instructions, demanded of the colonial assemblies, in haughty words, the money and the rights of the Americans, their demands were met by a quiet defiance in the form of positive refusals and energetic protests of an indignant people. These had, many of them, been driven from England by persecution; had founded homes and built up states without England's aid, and had spent blood and treasure freely for England's honor and glory without even the poor return of thanks therefore this insidious attempt to enslave them gave vehemence to their determination to assert their right to local self-government at all hazards. Their bold attitude at this time made the imperial government pause, and reserve its wrath for a more convenient season.

The words of young Mahew went forth from his pulpit in Boston, at that time, with the seeming unction and authority of the ancient prophets, "Thus saith the Lord"-when, with fervid eloquence, he denounced the unholy alliance of church and state for stamping out the freedom of Americans. It was then no secret that the English hierarchy were conspiring with the crown for the establishment of an episcopacy in America, and making the liturgy of the Church of England the state form of public worship. It was a part of the plan for enslaving the Americans. Whitefield had sounded the alarm-bell in New England, and Mahew was among the first to openly avow the public dissatisfaction. He vehemently reprobated the impious bargain between the sceptre and the surplice. "Resist the small beginnings of civil tyranny," he said, lest it should swell to a torrent and deluge empires. "The divine right of kings, and non-resistance," he said in a sermon in 1750, "are as fabulous and chimerical as the most absurd reveries of ancient or modern

visionaries. If those who bear the title of civil rulers do not perform the duty of civil rulers - if they injure and oppress - they have not the least pretense to be honored or obeyed. If the common safety or utility would not be promoted by submission to the government, there is no motive for submission." And he declared that disobedience, under such circumstance, became "lawful and glorious." The sentiment of the colonists was responsive and the temper manifested by the people then was the herald of that flame of feeling which, a quarter of a century later, kindled the old war for independence. It aroused the animosity of the crown and its creatures against the Americans, and history was repeated. Demosthenes said to the Thebans two thousand years before: "We are well aware of that inextinguishable hatred which kings and the slaves of kings have ever felt towards nations which have plumed themselves on being free."

A crisis was now at hand. The disputes between the French and English in America ripened into action.

The French were offended by the planting of Halifax, in Nova Scotia; and a partisan named La Corne, professing to act under the orders of Joncaire, chief captain in Canada, took possession of the isthmus that connects the peninsula with the main, with a large force of French and Indians. He summoned the Acadians to renounce their allegiance to the English and take refuge with the French; and that poor people were at their wits end. He held a village (now Fort Lawrence), and compelled the inhabitants to take an oath of allegiance to France.

When Cornwallis heard of this he called upon Massachusetts to help in dislodging the intruders. The Assembly replied "by the constitution of this province we must first be convinced of the necessity of raising supplies." So they politely refused, and Cornwallis was compelled to rely upon the slender means at his command. With four hundred soldiers he appeared in transports before the town. The alarmed Jesuit priest set fire to the church, and compelled the bewildered inhabitants to lay their houses in ashes and flee across the river. The French were too strong for the English, and the latter withdrew. A second expedition, a few months later, was successful. Fort Beau Sejour, which the French had built opposite the desolated town, was captured, with loss of life. This was the first blood they had shed in war since the treaty at Aix-la-Chapelle. It was now August, 1750.

This event was followed by the capture of French vessels by an English man-of-war off Cape Sable. The French government, exasperated by these insults to their flag, broke off negotiations for a peaceful settlement of boundaries in America, and resolved to appeal to the arbitrament of the sword. At near the head of the valley of the Ohio was the theatre of the first passage at arms.

The Ohio Land Company took measures for defining and occupying their domain. Thomas Lee, Augustine and Lawrence Washington, and other leading Virginia members of the Company, ordered goods to be sent from London suitable for the Indian trade and as no attempt at settlement could be safely made without some previous arrangement with the Indians, the Company petitioned the Virginia government to invite the savages to a treaty council. As a preliminary movement, the Company took measures to obtain information concerning the best

lands beyond the mountains. English traders with the Indians had traversed the passes through them, and spoke of the beauty and fertility of the country beyond, but the Company wished more definite knowledge. In the autumn of 1750, Christopher Gist, from the borders of the Yadkin, was in Virginia. He was a bold and skillful woodsman, and acquainted with Indian life; and he was employed to cross the great hills and spy out the land. He was instructed to observe the best mountain passes to explore the country as far down as the Falls of the Ohio (Louisville) examine the most useful streams and count their falls; search out the fertile level lands; ascertain the strength of the Indian tribes, and make as accurate a chart of the region as his observations would allow.

Gist left Alexandria on horseback at the close of October; crossed the Blue Ridge and the Shenandoah Valley; waded through snow-drifts in the Alleghany Mountains swam his horse across the Ohio River, and made his way through a rich narrow valley to Logstown, where it was proposed to hold the Indian council. He presented himself as an ambassador from the British sovereign. As such he was respected by the chief but the savages received him with coolness. "You are come to settle the Indians' land," said the chief; "you never shall go home safe." Undaunted by this covert threat, Gist pressed forward to the Muskingum, stopping at a village of Ottawas, who were friends of the French. The Wyandots at Muskingum received him cordially, and there he found George Croghan, an emissary of the Pennsylvanians who were jealous of the Ohio Company, regarding them as rivals seeking a monopoly of the trade with the Indians of the northwest.

Gist crossed the Muskingum as he had crossed the Ohio - the "beautiful river," in the language of the Iroquois - and pushing on with Croghan and other traders through the stately forests and across savannahs then white with snow, he reached the Scioto River a few miles from its mouth. There dwelt some Delawares; and a short distance below the Scioto there were Shawnees on both sides of the Ohio. Both professed friendship for the English, and a willingness to attend a general council at Logstown.

Northward lay the beautiful land of the Miamis, a confederacy really more powerful than that of the Iroquois, with whom they were friendly. Thither the representatives of Virginia and Pennsylvania went. They were kindly received. Strings of wampum were exchanged as tokens of friendship. A treaty of peace and alliance was concluded with the confederacy, and arrangements were made for all the friendly tribes to meet at Logstown in grand council.

Just as the treaty was signed, four Ottawas came with presents from the French. The Indian sovereign, who presided at the council, immediately set up the flags of France and England side by side. Addressing the Ottawas, he said: "The path of the French is bloody, and was made so by them. We have made a road plain for our brothers, the English, and your fathers have made it foul and crooked, and have made some of our brethren prisoners. This we look upon as an injury done to us." Then suddenly turning his back upon the Ottawas, he left the council. The French flag was removed, and the emissaries who bore it were ordered to return to their Gallic friends at Sandusky.

Gist viewed the magnificent country he was in with deepest admiration, and bidding his English companions and the dusky barbarians farewell, he went down the valley of the Little Miami to the Ohio and along that stream almost to the Falls. Then he penetrated the famous blue-grass region of Kentucky, with its marvelous forests climbed over the mountains to the headwaters of the Yadkin and the Roanoke, and at the end of a journey of seven months, he stood before Lawrence Washington, at Mount Vernon, then chief director of the Ohio Company, with a vast amount of valuable information.

The promised council of the western tribes was not held until June, 1752. Gist was there as the agent of the Ohio Company, and Colonel Fry and two other commissioners represented Virginia. Friendly relations with the Western Indians were established by the treaty, but the barbarian chiefs steadily refused to recognize any English title to lands west of the Alleghany mountains. On that point they had been equally firm with the French, and resisted the importunities and claims of both. A shrewd Delaware chief said to Gist: "The French claim all the land on one side of the river, and the English claim all the land on the other side of the river where is the Indians' land?" It was a question difficult to answer. Gist did not attempt it, but said: "Indians and white men are subjects of the British king, and all have an equal privilege of taking up and possessing the land, in conformity with the conditions prescribed by the sovereign."

The Ohio Company sent out surveyors to explore the country, make definite boundaries and prepare for settlements. English traders penetrated the Ohio country to the domain of the Miamis and beyond, and the Indians found profit by their friendly relations with them. The jealousy of the French was aroused. They regarded the English as intruders. They saw with alarm the waning French influence among the tribes of the upper Ohio Valley, and presaged the ultimate destruction of their fortified line of communication between Canada and the Gulf of Mexico. Finally, in 1753, they seized and imprisoned some of the surveyors and traders and about twelve hundred French soldiers were employed to erect forts in the wilderness between the upper waters of the Alleghany River and Lake Erie. One of these was erected at Presquise, now Erie, on the southern shore of the lake of that name. Another was reared at Le Boeuf on French Creek, now Waterford and a third was constructed at the junction of French Creek and the Alleghany River, on the site of the village of Franklin.

The Ohio Company complained of these hostile demonstrations. Their lands lay within the chartered limits of Virginia, and the authorities of that colony felt it their duty to interfere in defence of the rights of the Company. Already the governors of Virginia and Pennsylvania had received instructions from England to repel the French by force of arms, if necessary. Robert Dinwiddie, one of the Company, and now governor of Virginia, determined to first send a letter of remonstrance to M. de St. Pierre, the French commander. Now, George Washington, who was destined to occupy a conspicuous place in the history of our country and of the world, first appeared on the theatre of public action, at the very opening of that illustrious drama whose closing scene was the founding of a mighty nation.

Young Washington was then a little more than twenty-one years of age He was of an excellent

and honorable family, whose roots lay far back in English history. He was a sort of foster-son of old Lord Fairfax; and as a public surveyor and skillful hunter, had traversed the forests of Virginia far and near, in the direction of the Ohio. At the age of nineteen years he had been commissioned a major of militia, charged with defending the colony against incursions of the Indians, and had entered upon the duties of his office with alacrity and zeal. Fraternal affection had called him from them to attend upon a dying brother, but he had evinced, during his short service, such an aptitude for military pursuits, and such faithfulness in performance, that he was marked for promotion.

Dinwiddie sent for Major Washington. He appeared promptly at the room of the governor (more exactly the lieutenant-governor) in the old statehouse at Williamsburg, late in October, 1753. Dinwiddie was a bald-headed Scotchman, sixty-three years of age, with thin sandy hair, stout built, and so extremely nervous that his writing bore the marks of a trembling hand. Young Washington was full six feet in height, strongly built, with a florid complexion and every indication of high health and physical strength. The governor then first revealed to the major the object of his summons, and received his cheerful agreement to perform whatever duty might be required of him. The governor gave him a commission and instructions to proceed to the quarters of the French commander, and present to him in person a letter from Dinwiddie, in which the governor inquired by what authority French troops had presumed to intrude upon the territory of the British monarch, and what were his designs. It was a mission of great delicacy, and was accompanied by not a little peril. Discretion, ability, courage, physical endurance, experience in wood-craft and a knowledge of Indian manners, were requisite. Believing young Washington to be possessed of all of these, in an eminent degree, the governor chose him to be his ambassador, out of hundreds of the more pretentious aristocracy of Virginia. The result was creditable alike to the character of Major Washington and the sagacity of Governor Dinwiddie.

Washington was directed to proceed to Logstown (on the right bank of the Ohio, about fourteen miles below the site of Pittsburgh) convene influential Indian chiefs there tell them the object of his visit, and request them to furnish him a competent escort as a safeguard to the headquarters of the French commander. There he was to demand an answer to Dinwiddie's letter in the name of his king to observe, with caution, the number of troops that had crossed the lake perceive the strength and number of their forts, and their distance from each other, and gain all information possible concerning the French on the English frontier. With these instructions Washington left Williamsburg, the Virginia capital, on the thirty-first of October, and was joined by John Davidson as Indian interpreter, and Jacob Van Braam, a Hollander by birth, and acquainted with the French language, to assist him in his intercourse with the people he was going to see. On his way he was joined by Mr. Gist, who acted as guide. With these, and four other men (two of them Indian traders), with horses, tents and baggage, they left the borders of civilization at the mouth of Will's Creek (now Cumberland, Maryland), and made their way over the Alleghany Mountains, then covered with snow. They endured every hardship incident to a dreary wilderness and the rigors of winter. The streams in the valleys were full to their brims. Over the large ones they passed upon frail and rudely constructed rafts, wading and swimming their horses through the floods of the smaller streams. Late in November they reached the forks

of the Ohio, on the site of Pittsburgh, where they rested a few days, and then proceeded to Logstown, accompanied by an influential sachem of the Delawares.

The headquarters of M. de St. Pierre was one hundred and twenty miles from Logstown. A bold and patriotic chief named Half-King, who, when the French came with arms and built forts in his country, had vehemently protested against the invasion of the rights of the Indians, and had been treated with disdain, volunteered, with two other chiefs and a skillful hunter, to escort the English company of eight to the headquarters of the French. In the simplicity of his heart he thought the English were only seeking to establish a trade with the tribes for mutual benefit. He and his people soon found that the French and English were equally governed by the ethics of the mailed hand - "Might makes Right," and came to deprive them of their domain and liberty.

After braving perils and hardships, the little company found themselves; early in December, at Fort Venango (now Franklin), the French outpost commanded by M. Joncaire. He received the English with civility, but tried to detach and detain the Indians. He remembered the patriotic speech of Half-King at a previous meeting, when the chief said: "The Great-King above allowed the land to be a place of residence for us, so I desire you to withdraw, as I have done our brothers, the English; for I will keep you at arm's length. I lay this down as a trial for both, to see which will have the greatest regard to it and make equal sharers with us." Joncaire hoped to gain his confidence by shaking his faith in the English, but did not succeed.

Further up the French Creek, Washington found St. Pierre, at Fort Le Boeuf. Here was the end of the Virginia ambassador's journey of forty-one days. The French commandant received him and his companions with great politeness. He was an elderly and courtly knight of St. Louis who, in his early years, had served in the army of Louis the Great, and had escaped the corruptions of the licentious court of his successor. He received the governor's letter with thanks entertained the bearer and his friends four days, and then delivered into the hands of Major Washington a sealed letter in reply to Dinwiddie's. With this letter and much useful information respecting the forts and forces of the French, gathered by himself and his associates, Washington returned to Williamsburgh at the middle of January.

The return journey was more perilous and fatiguing than the first. A greater portion of it was performed by Washington and Gist alone and on foot. At one time they were fired at by Indians supposed to have been incited to the deed by Joncaire. On another occasion, after working a whole day in constructing a raft, they attempted to cross the swift and swollen current of the Alleghany River upon it. The stream was filled with floating ice. They embarked at twilight, each with a pack on his back and gun strapped to it. They soon found themselves buffeted by great perils. Washington, with a setting pole, was trying to hold the frail structure that the ice might pass by, when he was jerked off into water ten feet deep, and saved himself from drowning by catching hold of a raft-log. The raft was crushed, and the travelers, thoroughly drenched, were cast upon a desert island, where they lay upon the snow all night, hungry and half-frozen. Mr. Gist had all of his fingers and some of his toes frozen. Fortunately the ice was so thick over the channel in the morning that they crossed to the main, and toward evening, suffering with cold, they reached the

cabin of a Scotch settler, near the spot where, a year and a half afterward, Braddock fought the French and Indians in the battle of the Monongahela. The island on which the travelers were wrecked is directly opposite the United States Arsenal, at Lawrenceville, Pennsylvania, and is known as Washington's Island.

After this adventure, Major Washington and his companion rested two or three days for their own refreshment and to procure horses. During that time the major paid a complimentary visit to the Indian Queen Aliquippa, who resided at the confluence of the Monongahela and Youghiogany rivers, in the southeastern part of Alleghany county. She had complained of his neglect in not calling upon her when on his outward journey. Young Washington explained the circumstances that prevented him, and with an apology he gave her a coat and a bottle of rum. "The latter," Washington wrote, "was thought the much better present of the two," and harmony of feeling was restored. Aliquippa, who was a woman of great energy, and had performed some brave deeds, was held in respect amounting almost to reverence by the Indians in Western Pennsylvania.

Chapter XLI

Reply to Dinwiddie's Letter - Virginia Prepares for War - A Fort Commenced on the Site of Pittsburgh - The French Seize It and Name It Fort Du Quesne - Washington Leads Troops to Recover It - Attacks and Defeats Some French Troops - Compelled to Surrender to the French Afterward - Colonial Convention at Albany - Plan of Union Adopted - It is Rejected by the British Ministry and Colonial Assemblies - American Affairs in England - A Mad Military Scheme Abandoned - Washington Leaves the Military Service in Disgust - Braddock Sent to America with Troops - Plan of the Campaign for 1755 Arranged.

ST. PIERRE'S letter in reply to Governor Dinwiddie's caused immediate preparations for war. It was soldierly in tone and courteous in expression. He said it did not become him as a soldier to discuss civil matters that Dinwiddie's letter should have been sent to the Marquis Du Quesne, then governor of Canada, by whose orders he acted and whose instructions he should carefully obey and that the summons of the governor of Virginia to the French to retire from the country immediately could not be complied with.

Dinwiddie laid this letter before his council. The burgesses had shown themselves indifferent to the alleged dangers from the French; and the chief magistrate and his advisers determined not to wait for the assembling of the legislature. Under the general instructions from the king, they authorized the enlistment of two hundred men to march to the Ohio River and build two forts there before the French could descend that stream or its tributaries in the spring. Major Washington was commissioned a lieutenant-colonel, and placed in chief command of the troops to be raised and the journal of his mission to the French commander was published to arouse the people to action. Washington made his headquarters for recruiting at Alexandria, and authorized Captain Trent to enlist men among the traders and frontier settlers.

Governor Dinwiddie now convened the legislature, and sent an appeal to the other colonies for help in the work so gallantly begun by Virginia. All hesitated excepting North Carolina, whose Assembly immediately voted men and money for the purpose. The royal governors and colonial assemblies were then wrangling fiercely about the supremacy of parliament and the rights of the Americans. The former insisted upon the exclusive right of parliament to fix quotas, direct taxation and disburse moneys through the agents of the crown in the colonies the latter insisted upon their right to do these things themselves in their own way. Universal jealousy produced perilous procrastination. The danger was imminent. The warm spring days were approaching, when the snows and ice would disappear, and the French might be seen upon the waters of the "Beautiful River."

After much debate, the Virginia House of Burgesses, who, as Dinwiddie complained, were in a republican way of thinking, voted men and money. They authorized the raising of a regiment of six companies, and appointed Joshua Fry, an English-born gentleman, colonel, with young Washington as his lieutenant. To stimulate enlistments, Dinwiddie was authorized to offer as a bounty two hundred thousand acres of land on the Ohio, to be divided among the soldiers who

should engage in the expedition.

Alexandria was made the place of military rendezvous. On the recommendation of Washington, the Forks of the Ohio - the site of the city of Pittsburgh - was chosen the place on which to build the first fort and Captain Trent was instructed to employ his recruits in its construction. As the spring was passing away, Washington, who was yet at Alexandria, was ordered to join Trent with the advance of the military force and assist in the speedy completion of the fort. He was instructed "to drive away, kill and destroy, or seize as prisoners all persons not the subjects of the king of Great Britain, who should attempt to take possession of the lands on the Ohio or any of its tributaries."

Early in April, Lieutenant-Colonel Washington left Alexandria with a small force, and reached Will's Creek (now Cumberland) on the 20th. On the way he was met by a swift runner sent by the friendly Half-King on the Monongahela, bearing a wampum-belt and this message from the chief: "Come to our assistance as soon as you can come soon or we are lost, and shall never meet again. I speak it in the grief of my heart." The French had been seen embarking on the Alleghany at Venango, and news of the movement had spread alarm among the barbarians friendly to the English. After giving the heated Indian runner food and a flask of rum, Washington sent him back with a belt and the words: "Your friend and brother is coming; be strong and patient."

As he approached Will's Creek, Washington was met by another runner who said the French were at the Forks; and the next day an ensign from Trent's company came with the startling news that the French, a thousand strong, with eighteen cannon, sixty bateaux and three hundred canoes, had come down the Alleghany, under the command of Captain Contrecoeur, and taken possession of the unfinished fort. These numbers were exaggerations, but the fact remained that the French were occupying the important position at the Forks of the Ohio. They immediately finished the fort on a stronger plan, and named it Du Quesne in honor of the governor of Canada.

Colonel Fry had not yet joined the advance. The young lieutenant-colonel assumed the responsibility of pressing forward with his handful of raw recruits - not more than one hundred and fifty in number - and a few pieces of light artillery. Leaving the borders of civilization on a cool morning in April, these pioneers penetrated the wilderness in the direction of the Ohio. Without shelter from cold and rain in scanty clothing and with a small supply of provisions, they dragged the cannon over the great wooded hills; felled trees; bridged streams; made causeways over marshes, and removed rocks, to make the march of the main army easier; and late in May they stood on the banks of the Youghiogany, within forty miles of Fort Du Quesne. There Washington received a message from Half-King, saying:

"Be on your guard. The French are near, and intend to strike the first English whom they shall see." On the same day this report was confirmed. Ignorant of the number of the French, Washington fell back to a fertile plain which he had crossed, called the Great Meadows, and there built a stockade and named it Fort Necessity. It was near the modern national road between Cumberland and Wheeling, in the southeastern part of Fayette county, Pennsylvania. There Mr.

Gist, who had a settlement near, came to him and reported that he had discovered the tracks of the French within five miles of the Great Meadows.

At about nine o'clock in the evening of the same day, a message came from Half-King, who was about six miles distant, saying that a party of armed Frenchmen were lying in ambush not far away. Notwithstanding the night was intensely dark and the rain was falling copiously, Washington immediately set off with forty men, in single file, for the camp of the friendly Mingo Chief with whom he made arrangements to surprise the common foe and jointly strike him. The night had been consumed in the difficult journey to the Mingo camp, and it was after sunrise when the English and Indians, each marching in parallel lines, in single file, sought the hiding-place of the foe. It was found among some rocks. Washington, who was at the head of the party and carried a musket, when he saw the Frenchmen, shouted Fire! and at the same moment discharged his own gun among them. The volleys of the assailants were returned with spirit. After a fight for about fifteen minutes, when Jumonville, the commander of the French party and ten of his men were killed, the conflict ceased. Only one Virginian was killed. Twenty-two Frenchmen were made prisoners, taken to Fort Necessity, and then sent over the mountains into Eastern Virginia. Of the fifty followers of Jumonville, only fifteen escaped.

This was the first blood shed in the French and Indian War. So was opened by young Washington, who fired the first gun, that long and bitter contest for the rights of man which, like an earthquake, shattered into fragments the institutions of feudal ages that had been transplanted in our country, and shook the foundations of society in Europe.

This skirmish, which occurred on the 28th of May, 1754, made a profound impression. It was exaggerated by French publicists and diplomats. France and England were then at peace, and were saying sweet things to each other, disguising bitterest hatred with a cloak of false professions of friendship. The attack on Jumonville was denounced as an outrage by the French. It was alleged that Jumonville was a civil messenger, bearing a peaceful despatch, and therefore Washington was a murderer. This fiction passed into French history, and has never been expunged. There is no clearer point in national annals than the fact that Jumonville was the bearer of a hostile summons, and his skulking in ambush is proof of his hostile intention. Contrecoeur had begun war by capturing the fort at the Forks; and every circumstance justified the conduct of Washington.

Two days after this event, Colonel Fry died at Will's Creek, leaving Washington in chief command. A few troops pressed forward to join him, and he was burdened at Fort Necessity with about forty families of friendly Indians, among them those of Half-King and Queen Aliquippa. With his little army swelled to about four hundred men, he moved toward Fort Du Quesne, when news came that M. de Villiers, brother of Jumonville, had marched with some Frenchmen and more than a thousand Indians to avenge the death of his kinsman. Washington fell back to Fort Necessity and strengthened it. There he was attacked on the 3rd of July by six hundred Frenchmen and about three hundred Indians, a reserve being concealed in the woods. After a conflict for about nine hours, De Villiers, finding his ammunition to be failing, proposed a

parley. It was now twilight. Washington, whose force was much inferior, agreed to surrender the fort and troops on the condition that he and his men should retire from the stockade with the honors of war and return to the inhabited portion of the country the Virginians agreeing to restore the prisoners taken from Jumonville's party, and not to erect any establishment west of the mountains for the space of a year.

On the morning of the 4th of July, the two commanders, seated upon a log outside of the fort, with Indian chiefs and Virginia officers looking on, signed the capitulation. Then the troops moved away, re-crossed the mountains to Will's Creek, and returned to their homes, while their commander hastened to Williamsburg to report to the governor. The conduct of Washington and his men was highly approved and when the House of Burgesses met, the thanks of the colony were voted them for their "bravery and gallant defence of their country." So ended the first campaign of the French and Indian war.

Meanwhile a civil movement in the colonies of great importance had taken place. It was a movement in the direction of a national union. For some time there had been indications that the Indians, and particularly the Six Nations, influenced by French emissaries, were becoming alienated from the English. The colonists were uneasy and the British government, acting upon the advice of the colonial governors, took measures to strengthen the good-will of the barbarians. The British Secretary of State issued a circular-letter to the various colonial assemblies proposing a convention to be held at Albany, composed of committees from the several assemblies, and representatives of the Six Nations. To this proposition seven of the assemblies cheerfully responded, and on the 19th of June, 1754, twenty-five delegates from these colonies met in the old City Hall in Albany. James De Lancey, acting governor of New York, was chosen to preside, and he was authorized by the Virginia Assembly to represent that colony in the convention. It was an assembly of remarkable men, such as had never before been seen on the continent. The most remarkable man of all was Dr. Franklin, of Philadelphia, then almost fifty years of age.

The chiefs of the Six Nations were there in very great force. Among them, as chief orator, was King Hendrick, the eminent Mohawk sachem who was killed near Lake George, the following year, while battling for the English. These barbarians received the first attention in the convention. The proceedings were opened by a speech to them by De Lancey, to which Hendrick responded. While they accepted the belts of wampum as tokens of alliance and friendship, there was evident dissatisfaction with the conduct of the English, whom the orator frankly reprovved. Standing in the midst of the council, he spoke of the injustice and want of spirit of the English, with significant gestures. "We thank you," he said, "for renewing and brightening the covenant chain. We will take this belt to the Onondagas, where our council fire always burns, and keep it so securely that neither the thunderbolt nor the lightning shall break it. Strengthen yourselves, and bring as many as you can into this covenant chain." Then, with his dark eyes flashing with scorn and indignation, he raised his voice, and with impassioned manner, he exclaimed, "Look at the French! They are men, they are fortifying everywhere but, we are ashamed to say it, you are like women, bare and open, without any fortifications. It is but one step," he said, from Canada hither, and "the French may easily come and turn you out of doors." Already many of the

Onondagas had settled at Oswegatchie (now Ogdensburgh, on the St. Lawrence), under the protection of the French and some of the Mohawks complained bitterly of the seizure of lands in the west, by New Englanders, that belonged to the Indians but the conference closed amicably, and, on the whole, satisfactorily to both parties.

The Massachusetts delegation had come to the convention prepared to suggest business quite as important as a treaty with the Indians. They were authorized to invite the convention to a consideration of the question whether a union of the colonies for mutual defence was not desirable. They were also authorized by the General Court to agree to articles of union or confederation. The proposition when submitted was favorably received by the convention, and a committee, composed of one member from each colony represented, was appointed to draw up a plan. That committee consisted of Hutchinson, of Massachusetts Atkinson, of New Hampshire Pitkin, of Connecticut; Hopkins, of Rhode Island; Smith, of New York; Franklin, of Pennsylvania; and Tasker, of Maryland.

The fertile brain of Dr. Franklin had conceived a plan before he went to the convention. It was similar in its leading features to those proposed by William Penn and Daniel Coxe, already mentioned. He submitted it to the committee in writing, and it was adopted after slight modifications. It was debated in the convention day after day, for almost a fortnight, hand-in-hand with the Indian business," Franklin wrote, and was agreed to on the 11th of July by all but the delegates from Connecticut, William Pitkin, Roger Wolcott, and Elisha Williams. The union was "for the general defence of his majesty's subjects and interests in North America, as well in time of peace as of war."

Franklin's plan proposed a grand council or congress of forty-eight members, chosen by the several assemblies, the representatives of each colony to be, in number, in proportion to the contribution of each to the general treasury that the congress should choose their own speaker and have the general management of all civil and military affairs, and to enact general laws in conformity to the British constitution and not in contravention of acts of the imperial parliament to have a President-General (with Philadelphia the seat of government) appointed and paid by the crown, who should bear a negative or veto power on all acts of the congress, and to have, with the advice and consent of the congress, the appointment of all military officers and the entire management of Indian affairs, the civil officers to be appointed by the congress with the approval of the President-General. This plan of government was similar, in its leading features, to our National Constitution, in the framing of which Dr. Franklin bore a conspicuous part more than thirty years after the convention at Albany.

Franklin's thoughts had been occupied with the topic of union for some time. Several weeks before, he had published the following paragraph in his newspaper, the Pennsylvania Gazette, in an account of the seizure, by the French, of the position at the Forks of the Ohio The confidence of the French in this undertaking seems well-grounded in the present disunited state of the British colonies, and the extreme difficulty of bringing so many different governments and assemblies to agree in any speedy and effectual measures for our common defence and security while our

enemies have the very great advantage of being under one direction, with one council and one purse." At the close of the article was a rude wood-cut representing a serpent, the ancient emblem of vigor, separated into as many parts as there were English-American colonies, and under it, in large letters, the words JOIN or DIE. This significant device, which seems to have been first used by Franklin, figured conspicuously at the opening of the Revolution twenty years afterward.

The Pan of Union adopted by the convention was submitted to the Lords of Trade and Plantations. That body did not approve of it, nor even recommend it to the consideration of the king. Neither was it favorably received by the assemblies, partly because the royal governors at first warmly recommended it. In endeavors to please both royalists and republicans, the convention utterly failed. Franklin wrote "The assemblies all thought there was too much prerogative in it, and in England it was thought to have too much of the democratic," and it was rejected.

When intelligence of the expulsion of the English from the Ohio Valley reached the royal cabinet, measures were taken for the recovery of what had been lost, and for the creation of a new colony west of the Alleghany Mountains for its security in the future. The Earl of Albemarle was then governor-in-chief of Virginia, with Dinwiddie as his lieutenant. He instructed the latter to grant lands to any persons desiring to settle in the Ohio region, not more than a thousand acres to each. So it was that Virginia became the pioneer in the extension of the colonies westward, and the mother of States in the great basins of the Ohio. At the same time the ministry were eager to regain, by military power, what had been lost. They could not wait for the slow process of colonization. Indeed the exigencies of the case would not permit. The direction of American affairs was left to the warlike Duke of Cumberland, then captain-general of the British army, and by his orders Dinwiddie prepared for a winter campaign against the French. He ordered Washington to join his regiment at Alexandria, to fill up the companies by enlistments, and to hasten to Will's Creek, where Colonel Innis was building Fort Cumberland, and with his own troops, and the remnants of companies from other colonies, march over the Alleghany Mountains and drive the French from Fort Du Quesne. It was so late in the year that the mountains would be impassable on account of snow-drifts by an army inadequately supplied with food, clothing, and transportation. Washington knew this and in a letter to one of the governor's council, he vehemently remonstrated. His words were heeded, and the mad scheme was abandoned.

Meanwhile French emissaries were busy among the savage tribes west of the mountains, inciting them to a war of extermination against the English. The same influence had caused a murderous Indian raid upon the frontiers of New England and yet, in full view of the impending danger, some of the colonies were strangely apathetic. Governor Shirley put forth energetic efforts in Massachusetts to avert the evil. New York subscribed twenty-five thousand dollars for military service, and Maryland thirty thousand dollars for the same. The British government sent over fifty thousand dollars to aid the colonists, and Virginia made an appropriation of the same amount.

The crown appointed Governor Sharpe, of Maryland, temporary commander-in-chief of all the colonial forces. This led to injurious disputes about military rank and precedence among the Virginia officers, when Dinwiddie, more zealous than wise - more rash than discreet - having a large sum of money at his disposal, and entirely ignorant of military affairs, assumed the responsibility of arranging these affairs in his colony as he pleased. He enlarged the provincial army to ten companies of one hundred men each and broke it up into companies, so that the highest rank in that little army was captain, and at the same time inferior in position to the same rank of those commissioned by the crown. Washington would not submit to the degradation, but resigned his commission and retired from the military service.

Knowing the value of Washington's services at that critical time, Governor Sharpe urged him to remain in the army, and intimated that he might hold his former commission. This idea," wrote the indignant young Virginian, has filled me with surprise, for, if you think me capable of holding a commission that has neither rank nor emolument annexed to it, you must entertain a very contemptible opinion of my weakness, and believe me to be more empty than the commission itself." He declined the appointment and added I shall have the consolation of knowing that I have opened the way, when the smallness of our numbers exposed us to the attacks of a superior enemy; and that I have had the thanks of my country for the services I have rendered."

The early portion of the ensuing winter was spent by the colonists in anxious solicitude. France and England had been coquetting, with mutual professions of friendship, while every movement of the French in America indicated hostile intentions. The necessity of a colonial union was never more apparent than then, and Franklin, who had set his heart on the project, visited Shirley to confer with him on the subject. At the governor's house in Boston they discussed the topic long. Shirley was favorable to union, but it must be effected by the fiat of the British government, and not by the spontaneous act of the colonists. Franklin's love of popular liberty would not consent to such a union, and he parted from Shirley with the assurance of the latter that he would immediately recommend not only a union planned by parliament, but a tax.

Meanwhile the British government, perceiving the peril of English dominion in America, resolved to send military aid to the colonists. Edward Braddock, an Irish officer of distinction then in Ireland, was appointed commander-in-chief of all British forces in America, and was ordered to proceed immediately to Virginia with two regiments of regular troops. He was a man soured by broken fortunes haughty in spirit brutal in manners conceited and brave. He was ordered to call a council of royal governors on his arrival in America, and to exact a revenue from the colonies for military service. They were also to be informed that it was the king's pleasure "that a fund be established for the benefit of all the colonies collectively in North America" - a financial union - and that the general and field officers of the provincial forces should have no rank when serving with the general and field-officers commissioned by the king.

Braddock sailed with his two regiments. What does that mean inquired the French minister. Only defence, that the general peace may not be disturbed," replied the perfidious Due of Newcastle, of whom it had been written:

"He makes no promise but to break it; Faithful to nought but his own ends; The bitterest enemy to his friends; But to his fixt, undaunted foe, Obsequious, base, complying, low. Cunning supplies his want of parts Treason and lies are all his arts."

Each government, evidently playing false toward the other, made friendly propositions for mutual concessions that were simply impossible and so the matter stood when Braddock arrived in Chesapeake Bay, with his two regiments borne by vessels under Admiral Keppel. He first visited Governor Dinwiddie, at Williamsburgh, and then repaired to Alexandria, on the Potomac, with the admiral, where, at the middle of April, he held a council with royal governors at the fine house of Jonathan Carey. The governors present were Shirley, of Massachusetts De Lancey, of New York Sharpe, of Maryland; Morris, of Pennsylvania Dobbs, of North Carolina; and Dinwiddie, of Virginia. These crown-officers told Braddock at the outset that the Assemblies would not comply with his demand for a revenue, nor the wishes of the king for a general fund for military purposes and they agreed that it would be proper to recommend the government to take measures to force the colonies to bear their share of the expenses of the regular troops sent here. A communication to that effect, signed by the governors and the general, was sent to the ministers but events would not wait on governors nor legislation. The council at Alexandria were compelled to take immediate action, or all would be lost. The warm weather was coming, and so were the French and Indians. So the council planned the campaign for 1755, depending upon the imperial government and the free-will of the colonists for the necessary supplies in executing it. Three separate expeditions were projected. One was to proceed against Fort Du Quesne, led by General Braddock a second was to attack Fort Niagara at the mouth of the Niagara River, and Fort Frontenac at the foot of Lake Ontario on the site of Kingston, and was to be led by General Shirley. A third expedition, led by William Johnson (a nephew of Admiral Sir Peter Warren, and then the government superintendent of Indian affairs among the Six Nations), was to attempt the seizure of Crown Point on Lake Champlain. A fourth expedition had already been planned in the East, for the expulsion of the French from Nova Scotia, and possibly the recapture of Louisburg.

The colonists were delighted by evidences that the imperial government intended to help them in their unequal contest with the French and Indians. They laid aside their grievances, and with zeal and patriotism joined the government in preparations for war. All of the colonial legislatures, excepting Pennsylvania and Georgia, voted men and supplies for the impending conflict. The Quaker Assembly of Pennsylvania were conscientiously opposed to military movements, and Georgia was too indigent in men and money to do anything.

Chapter XLII

The English Begin Hostilities at Sea - Expulsion of the Acadians from Nova Scotia - Hatred of the Acadians by British Officials - Braddock's Pride and Folly - His Army Moves Slowly toward Fort Du Quesne - Washington on Braddock's Staff - Gives Good Advice - A Detachment of the Army Moves More Rapidly - Washington's Wise Advice Rejected - Braddock's Army Defeated and Himself Slain - Retreat of the Army - Washington Marvellously Protected - Shirley's Expedition a Failure - Expedition under Johnson at the Head of the Lake George - Approach of the French Army.

THE French, false themselves, did not believe Newcastle's assurance; and when Keppel sailed with Braddock's troops, they sent a fleet with soldiers, under the veteran Baron Dieskau, to reinforce their army on the St. Lawrence. With Dieskau went Vaudreuil, the successor of Din Quesne as governor of Canada. Admiral Boscawen, with some English ships, pursued the French fleet, and they came together south of Newfoundland. "Are we at peace or war asked the French. They were answered by the thunder of Boscawen's cannon. Two of the French ships were captured; the remainder escaped and landed the governor, with Dieskau and his troops, at Quebec, late in June.

Meanwhile the eastern expedition had moved. Three thousand men sailed from Boston on the 20th of May, 1755, under the command of General John Winslow, a great grandson of Edward Winslow of the May-Flower, and then major-general of the Massachusetts militia. They landed at near the head of the Bay of Fundy, where they were joined by Colonel Monckton and three hundred British regulars and a small train of artillery from a neighboring garrison. The French at Beau-Sejour and other military posts on the peninsula were ignorant of the hostile preparations of the two governments, until the appearance of this armament. Resistance would have been in vain. The peninsula became an easy prey to the English before the close of June. The French soldiers were sent to Louisburg, and the Acadians, who had been forced into the service, were granted an amnesty. But a sad fate awaited them.

The simple Acadians expected forbearance and went on cultivating their lands. They readily took an oath of allegiance, but could not pledge themselves to bear arms against their kindred in nation and religion. The English coveted their fertile lands, and made their refusal a pretext for possessing them. A technical question in law was raised, whether one who refuses to take all required oaths could hold lands in the British dominions. It was referred to the chief-justice of Nova Scotia, who decided against the Acadians; when it was determined to drive them out of the province and force them to settle in the English colonies. Not a word of suspicion reached the ears of the intended victims until the cruel plot was ripe for execution. The command went forth for their distribution among the English colonists. The French government asked for them the privilege of leaving their lands, taking with them their effects, and choosing for themselves their future home. "No," was the reply they are too useful subjects to be lost we must enrich our colonies with them." A touching memorial to the council at Halifax was borne by a deputation of educated men, in which they asked for the restitution of the guns and canoes of the people for

domestic use, and promising fidelity as the ransom for them. The document was read in an humble manner by the leading deputy, to the governor. That official treated it and its bearers with scorn. It is highly arrogant, insidious and insulting," said Governor Lawrence. He charged them with intending to carry food to the enemy in their boats, and reminded them that a law of the British realm forbade all Roman Catholics having arms in the houses. He scolded the deputies without stint. It is not the language of British subjects," he said, "to talk of terms with the crown, or capitulate about their fidelity and allegiance. What excuse can you make for your presumption in treating this government with such indignity as to expound to them the nature of fidelity? Manifest your obedience by immediately taking the oaths required, before the council." The deputies meekly replied We will do as our people may determine," and asked leave to return home and consult them.

On the following day they saw the peril of themselves and their people, and offered to take the oaths. By a law of the realm," said the governor, Roman Catholics who have once refused to take the oaths cannot be permitted to do so afterward, and are considered Popish recusants and as such they were cast into prison. The chief-justice insisted' that all the French inhabitants - hundreds of innocent families - were rebels and Popish recusants that they stood in the way of English interests in the country that they had forfeited their possessions to the crown, and advised against the receiving of any of the French inhabitants to take the oath, and also the removing of all of them from the province.

Execution of the cruel measure recommended speedily followed the utterances of the opinion of the chief-justice. A general proclamation was issued ordering all the Acadians, old men and young men, and lads ten years of age," to assemble at designated places, on the 5th of September, 1755. They obeyed. The proceedings at one place afford a fair picture of those at all others. At Grand Pre, four hundred and eighteen unarmed men were assembled. They were marched into the church, where they were addressed by Winslow, the Massachusetts militia general. He told them they had been called together to hear the decision of the King of England in regard to the French inhabitants of the province. Your lands and tenements," he said, cattle of all kinds, and live-stock of all sorts, are forfeited to the crown, and you, yourselves, are to be removed from this, his province. I am, through his majesty's goodness, directed to allow you liberty to carry off your money and household goods, as many as you can, without discommoding the vessels you go in." Then he said, You are now the king's prisoners."

Consternation suddenly filled every household in Grand Pro. Nineteen hundred and twenty-three men, women and children were driven on board British vessels at the point of the bayonet, from Grand Pro alone. The men and boys assembled at the church, went first the sisters, wives and daughters had to wait for other transports. They marched from the church to the water's edge, some in sullen despair, others with hands clasped and eyes uplifted, praying and weeping, and others singing hymns, while on each side of the sad procession was a row of women and children on their knees imploring blessings upon the heads of the dear ones.

The fate of the people of Grand Pre was the fate of all. The wrath of the English excited

against the French for their long and cruel warfare upon the frontier settlements of New England, with their savage allies, was poured out in full measure upon the heads of this innocent pastoral people, who had never voluntarily lifted sword nor spear nor firebrand to harm the English. Many, forewarned, tried to escape. A hundred families near Annapolis fled to the woods, where they were hunted by the troops like noxious wild beasts. Many were shot dead by watching sentinels. An English officer wrote in cool blood "Our soldiers hate these French Catholics, and if they can find a pretext to kill them, they will." Some hid in the forests and among the rocks in remote parts of the peninsula some found their way to Quebec, and many were sheltered from the English and fed in the wigwams of the so-called savages. But seven thousand were borne away by English ships, and scattered among the English colonies. To prevent their return, their villages and rural homes in Nova Scotia were, laid waste by flames, and their live-stock was used by English officials. A large, beautiful and fertile tract of country became a solitude and desolation - a precious offering upon the altar of greed, hatred, bigotry and fear.

The sufferings of the Acadians were acute in exile. Many families, separated at the outset by the cruel arrangements for their transportation, were never reunited, and the English colonial newspapers contained advertisements seeking information about parts of dismembered families. They were dropped along the shores of the colonies from the Penobscot to the Savannah without resources, and ignorant of the language of the people among whom they were cast excepting in South Carolina, where they received great kindness from the Huguenot families there. They abhorred the almshouse, and dreaded servitude in English families. They yearned for their native land with sadness as intense as that of the Hebrews on the borders of the rivers of Babylon and many wandered through the forests to Louisiana and Canada - men, women and children - sheltered by bushcamps and partaking of the hospitalities of the Indians, that they might rest under French dominion. Some families actually went to sea in open boats, to find their way back to Acadie, and coasting along the shores to New England, were there met by orders from Nova Scotia to stop all returning fugitives.

Many touching stories are told of parents seeking and finding children of children seeking and finding parents, and of the wanderings of lovers in search of each other, and of unexpected meetings. This portion of the history of these captive exiles lends beauty and pathos to many a page of Longfellow's *Evangeline*. When I was in Montreal, many years ago, the following well-authenticated story was told to me: A beautiful maiden, daughter of a wealthy citizen of Grand Pre, was to be married in the church there, to a son of the local magistrate of that village, on the day when Winslow pronounced the doom of the colony. They were dressed for the nuptials that were to be celebrated immediately after the conference with the English officers, in the presence of the old and young men and lads of ten years, there assembled. Alas the young man was among the prisoners then made and doomed to perpetual exile. As he passed to the ship in the sorrowful procession, he kissed the kneeling, weeping, heart-broken maiden, and said hurriedly: Adele, trust in God and all will be well. He was landed at the city of New York, and made his way to the St. Lawrence, where he became a trader with the Indians. The maiden and her mother followed a fortnight later, and were also landed at New York. They accepted the hospitalities of a Huguenot family far up the Hudson River. Soon afterward a band of Mohawks,

because of some affront, made a raid into the settlement, and the maiden was carried away captive by an old chief who led the band, into the deep wilderness of the Saeondaga.

Meanwhile Jean Baptiste Le Coeur, the young Acadian, had never lost his faith in the prophecy of his heart at parting, that he and Adele would meet again and be happy. He was now trading with some Mohawks at the French mission at Crown Point. One of the young barbarians told him that a beautiful French girl, the captive of an old chief who treated her tenderly as a daughter, was then in the Scarron (Schroon) Valley. Le Coeur was instantly impressed with the belief that she was his lost Adele. He accompanied the young Mohawk to the borders of Scarron Lake, where he found the lodge of the chief. As he approached it, in the shadows of the forest, he saw a young woman, with her back toward him, sitting on a mat at the door of the wigwam feathering some arrows. On her head was a French cap. Her neck was fair. He approached her gently. Their eyes met. The maiden sprang from the mat, and uttering a wild cry of Jean! she fell, fainting, in her lover's arms. It was a moment of supreme joy. The prophecy of Le Coeur's heart was fulfilled. The old chief touched with mercy and compassion, gave away his pale-faced daughter before the altar at Crown Point, where the affianced at Grand Pre were married by a revered priest of the beloved church, in the bosom of the wilderness. Descendants of Jean Baptiste and Adele now occupy a high social position in Montreal.

The English officials pursued the smitten Acadians with a rod of hatred after their expulsion. When Lord Loudon was commander-in-chief of the British forces in America, some of the Acadians, settled in Pennsylvania, ventured to address a respectful petition to him. The cold blooded earl, offended because the document was in the French language, brutally seized five of the leading men who signed the petition, and who had been persons of wealth and distinction in Nova Scotia, and sent them to England with a request that, to prevent their being troublesome in the future, they should be consigned to hard service as common sailors in the British navy. The king appears to have approved the measure and the Lords of Trade, when the exodus from and the desolation of Acadia was completed, congratulated the British monarch - the profligate Hanoverian - that the zealous endeavors of Lawrence [governor of Nova Scotia] had been crowned with entire success." The annals of the most barbarous nations can afford nothing more exquisitely cruel than the treatment these poor people received from their English conquerors. We have been true to our religion and to ourselves, yet nature appears to consider us only as objects of public vengeance," said some of them who remained in Nova Scotia, sadly in, in a petition to the local government for relief.

During these movements in the East, the expedition against Fort Du Quesne had begun and ended. Braddock, sanguine and dogmatic, had written to Newcastle from Williamsburgh, that he should be beyond the Alleghanies before the close of April. In an interview with Dr. Franklin at Frederick, Maryland, he told the statesman, in a boastful manner, what he should do elsewhere in America, after he had captured the Ohio fort. He saw no serious obstacles in his way. The philosopher, seeing how shallow was the general's knowledge of the impediments before him, ventured to say at the commander's dinner-table that the mountains were hard to pass with troops and their supplies, and that the Indians were dexterous in laying and executing ambushes. The

savages," said Braddock haughtily, may be formidable to your raw American militia upon the king's regulars and disciplined troops, it is impossible they should make any impression." This remark was a key to the secret of his subsequent misfortunes.

The army for the recovery of Fort Du Quesne assembled at Alexandria. Colonels Dunbar and Sir Peter Halket were Braddock's chief lieutenants. There Colonel Washington, who had been invited by Braddock to join his military family as aid, and retain his title, and had agreed to accept the position, but as a volunteer only, had his first interview with the general. The young Virginian joined the army at Will's Creek (Cumberland) in May, where it had been detained by lack of horses and wagons for transportation, which Dr. Franklin, when called upon, promptly supplied from Pennsylvania. The whole force gathered there, regulars and provincials, each in about equal numbers, was two thousand men. Braddock looked upon the latter with contempt, and wrote to ministers that he did not expect much from them because they had little courage or goodwill." In his petulance because of frequent breaches of promise on the part of contractors, he charged the whole American people with a want of ability, honor and honesty, and raved at times like a madman. Washington found him, as he wrote to William Fairfax, incapable of arguing without warmth, or giving up any point he asserts, be it ever so incompatible with reason or common sense."

The distance from Cumberland to Fort Du Quesne was about one hundred and thirty miles. At the close of May, five hundred pioneers were sent forward to clear the pathway and collect stores at Fort Necessity but the main army was not ready to move until the 10th of June. This delay gave the French time to gather their barbarian allies and well-prepare to receive the English. Washington was impatient and at the middle of June, he ventured to advise Braddock to detach a part of the army in light marching order, with the artillery, and send them forward, leaving the remainder to move more slowly. The general consented, and with twelve hundred men under Sir Peter Halket, he pushed forward on the 19th of June. The provincials in the advance were entrusted to the command of Washington, and were eager to press on, but were restrained by the regulars and it was the 8th of July before the advanced division of the army reached the forks of the Monongahela and Youghiogany rivers, where they rested until the morning of the ninth. They were then about a dozen miles from Fort Du Quesne.

The English forded the Monongahela on the morning of the 9th of July, and advanced along its southern shores. Washington knew the perils of their situation, for the troops were disposed in solid platoons, after the fashion of European tactics. He ventured to demonstrate with Braddock and advise him to dispose his army in open order, and employ the Indian mode of fighting in the forests. The colonel was silenced by the general angrily saying, What a provincial colonel teach a British general how to fight!"

The army moved on, re-crossed the Monongahela to the north side, and were marching in fancied security on the part of the regulars at about noon on that hot July day, when they were suddenly assailed by volleys of bullets and clouds of arrows on their front and flanks. They had fallen into an ambush against which Washington had vainly warned the haughty general.

De Beaujeu, the commander of a party of less than three hundred French and Canadians, and little more than six hundred Indians, had been sent from the fort by Contrecoeur to meet the advancing English. They came upon the latter sooner than De Beaujeu expected, but the ambush was quickly and skillfully formed. He fought bravely and fell in the first deadly onslaught between the combatants. The suddenness of the attack and the horrid war-whoop of the Indians, which the regulars had never heard before, so frightened them that they were disconcerted and thrown into confusion; and nothing saved the little army from total destruction or capture but the more skillful maneuvers of the provincials under Washington, who fought as the Indians did.

The British officers behaved nobly and did all in their power to encourage their men, until they were disabled but the regulars soon became unmanageable. Braddock, seeing the peril, was in the front of the fight rallying his recoiling troops, and inspiring them with what courage he might by his own example. For more than two hours the battle raged. Of the eighty-six English officers, sixty-three were killed or wounded among the former was Sir Peter Halket. One-half of the private soldiers was also killed or wounded. All of Braddock's aids were disabled and Washington alone was left unhurt, to distribute the orders of the general. Braddock had five horses shot and disabled under him, and finally a bullet entered his body, and he, too, fell mortally wounded. So bravely did the provincials maintain their ground that they were nearly all killed. Of three Virginia companies, only about thirty men were left alive. The dastardly behavior of those they call regulars," Washington wrote to his mother from Cumberland, exposed all others that were inclined to do their duty to almost certain death and at last, despite of all the efforts of the officers to the contrary, they ran, as sheep pursued by dogs, and it was impossible to rally them."

Washington, perceiving that the day was lost - his dying general carried from the field, and the British regulars running for their lives - rallied the provincial troops, and gallantly covered the retreat. The French and Indians did not follow. Colonel Dunbar, in the rear, received the broken army on the 12th of July. Then they all fled first to Fort Cumberland, which was abandoned, and thence marched to Philadelphia. Washington and the southern provincials went back to Virginia; and so ended the second expedition of the campaign of 1755.

The British had left their cannon and their dead on the battle-field; and the body of Braddock, from which life had departed three days after the conflict, was buried in the forest more than fifty miles from Cumberland. It was borne to the grave and interred by torch-light on the evening of the 15th of July, when Washington, surrounded by sorrowing officers, read the impressive funeral service of the Church of England. That grave may be seen near the National Road, between the 54th and 55th milestones.

The protection of Washington from harm during that battle was wonderful. I luckily escaped without a wound," he wrote to his mother, "though I had four bullets through my coat, and two horses shot under me." At one time an Indian chief singled him out for death by his rifle, and directed his followers to do the same. Fifteen years afterward, when Washington was in the Ohio country, that chief traveled many a weary mile to see the man at whom he said he had fired more than a dozen fair shots, but could not hit him. We felt that some Manitou guarded your life," said

the chief and we believed you could not be killed." By the all-powerful dispensations of Providence," Washington wrote to his brother John Augustine, I have been protected beyond all human probability or expectation. Death was levelling my companions on every side." At Cumberland, he heard a circumstantial account of his death, and his "dying speech." Washington was never wounded in battle.

Governor Shirley was appointed Braddock's successor in the chief command of the British forces in America. The expedition led by him to operate against Forts Niagara and Frontenac was not exposed to great perils nor suffered serious disasters. Nor did it accomplish much. After a very fatiguing march through the wilderness from Albany to Oswego on the southern shore of Lake Ontario, he arrived at the latter place in August, his little army of fifteen hundred men reduced by sickness and dispirited by the news of Braddock's disaster. The Assembly of New York had freely voted men and money for the expedition, and the Six Nations had promised many warriors but on the first of September, not more than twenty-five hundred able-bodied men were in camp at Oswego.

The energetic Shirley was not disheartened. There was a small, dilapidated fort at Oswego. He at once began to strengthen the post by erecting two stronger forts, one on each side of the Oswego River, which there enters the Lake between high banks. Fort Pepperell (afterward Fort Oswego), on the west side, had a strong stone wall, with square towers Fort Ontario on the east was built of huge logs and earth. Shirley also constructed vessels to bear his troops over the bosom of the Lake to their future destination. But reinforcements did not come. He waited all through September. Storm after storm swept over the Lake, threatening any flotilla that he might launch upon it with great peril, if not actual disaster. The breath of approaching winter began to be keenly felt, and, disappointed, he was compelled to abandon the expedition for a season. Leaving seven hundred troops to garrison the fort, the general marched back to Albany with the remainder, where he arrived late in October. There he made vigorous preparations for reinforcing and supplying the garrison at Oswego, for the Marquis de Montcalm, a distinguished French soldier, was then governor of Canada, and would be likely to pursue aggressive measures the following spring. Colonel John Bradstreet was appointed commissary-general at Albany, with Captain (afterward General) Philip Schuyler as his chief assistant. Then Shirley returned to Massachusetts, leaving William Alexander (Lord Stirling), his secretary, in New York.

In the meantime, the expedition entrusted to the leadership of William Johnson (then swaying immense influence over the Indians in the Mohawk Valley), and destined for wresting the strong post of Crown Point, on Lake Champlain, from the French, had been more successful than either that of Braddock or Shirley, although it did not achieve its intended object. His army consisted chiefly of New England militia and Indians - the former from Connecticut, Massachusetts and New Hampshire, and the latter from the Mohawk Valley. These were assembled at Albany, the New England men having Phineas Lyman for their chief commander. There were also some New York and New Jersey militia, with the army, when, in July, it was at the head of small-boat navigation on the Hudson, fifty miles above Albany, and numbering about six thousand able-bodied men. Among them were Putnam and Stark, who afterward became famous leaders in

the War for Independence.

General Lyman was a graduate of Yale College, an acute statesman and brave soldier. While waiting on the banks of the upper Hudson for Johnson to join him, he employed his troops in the construction of a strong fort of logs and earth, which they insisted upon naming Fort Lyman, in honor of their beloved commander. When Johnson came in August, he deprived the general of that honor, and gave it the name of Fort Edward, in compliment to a royal scion. That act has been attributed to the jealousy of Johnson, who doubtless did not relish the popularity of his lieutenant but it is more probable that it was done to gratify his passion for flattering royal persons. He took command of the troops on his arrival, and with the main body he marched to the head of a beautiful lake, more than a dozen miles distant, which the French had named Holy Sacrament, but which Johnson, in compliment to the king, named Lake George. There he formed a camp for five thousand men, protected on the north by the lake and on both flanks by impassable morasses and tangled forests. There the troops sat down in idleness waiting for the coming of wagons with stores and cannon for the expedition. It was a beautiful summer camp; but no trench was dug, no mound was raised, as a defence against an active and skillful foe. The three hundred Mohawk warriors, under King Hendrick," were allowed to roam the forests at pleasure, for Johnson did not dream that a French army, like a wily serpent, was stealthily moving toward his camp.

While the English provincials were thus making feeble preparations for seizing Crown Point, the French had been busy in the execution of measures to defend that post. Vaudreuil, the governor of Canada, had called to arms every able-bodied man in the vicinity of Montreal, and invited laborers from below to come up and gather the harvests. With these recruits, sixteen hundred strong, seven hundred regulars and as many savages (almost half of them emigrants from the Six Nations), the French were prepared to defend their fortress at Crown Point. A greater portion of them were placed under the command of the Baron Dieskau, who proceeded to the head of Lake Champlain, whence he intended to make a swift march upon Fort Edward, and capture it and its garrison by surprise. Four days, as secretly as possible, he traversed the woods, when it was found that his guides had lost their way, and that he was in the path to the head of Lake George, and four miles from Fort Edward. Indian scouts had told his savage followers of the great guns at Fort Edward, and that there were more in the camp on the borders of the lake. The barbarians, afraid of cannon, refused to attack the fort, but were willing to fall upon the exposed camp at the head of the lake.

-continent. When the citizens, by the lips of the mayor, pleaded their rights as Englishmen, his lordship, with a vulgar oath, said to the magistrate: If you don't billet my officers upon free quarters, this day, I'll order here all the troops under my command, and billet them myself upon the city." A subscription for the purpose was raised, the officers were billeted on the city, and Loudon won his first victory. A similar contest, with a similar result, occurred in Philadelphia, and there Loudon won his second victory.

In the meantime the provincials had won a substantial victory on the Alleghany River, in

Pennsylvania. We have observed that Dr. Franklin had superintended the construction of a chain of small posts along the Pennsylvania frontier, from the Delaware to the borders of Maryland, as a defence against hostile Indians. But the savages continued to harass the remote settlements, until, on the borders of Pennsylvania and Virginia, almost a thousand white persons had perished, and much property had been plundered or destroyed. Franklin was satisfied that he was not in his right place, and abandoned military life forever. Colonel John Armstrong, of Pennsylvania, took his position, and with three hundred men, accompanied by Captain Mercer of Virginia, he proceeded, in the night of the 7th of September, 1756, to chastise the hostile Delawares at Kittaning, one of their principal villages (now in Armstrong county), within thirty-five miles of Fort Du Quesne. Stealthily, Armstrong and his followers passed the Alleghany Mountains and took post not far from Kittaning, at midnight, when the savages were sleeping without a dream of danger near. It was a warm night, and some were reposing in the open air on the outskirts. Upon them the provincials came at dawn. The savages sprang to their feet, gave the war-whoop, and flew to the village, closely pursued by the provincials, who killed many of their chiefs and utterly destroyed the town. Not a vestige of a dwelling was left. The chastisement was effectual. It inspired the Delawares with such fear of the white man, that they were completely humbled, and the frontier had peace. So ended the campaign of 1756. The chief results of that campaign were a gain of strength and territory by the French two victories in battle over the common foe by the provincials, and the bloodless conquest of the unarmed English cities of New York and Philadelphia by Lord Loudon and his British regulars, the spoils of his victories being free food and lodging for a few months and the contempt of the people. Fifteen hundred volunteers and drafted militia, under Colonel Washington, were placed in stockades during the ensuing winter, for the defence of the frontiers of Pennsylvania and Virginia; and on the western borders of the Carolinas, several military posts were established as a protection against the Cherokees and Creeks, and their neighbors, among whom French emissaries were at work.

Chapter XLIII

Military Events at the Head of Lake George - Honors Wrongly Bestowed - An Opportunity for Success Lost - Perfidy of the British Cabinet - The Prophecy of John Adams and Its Fulfillment - Plans for the Campaign of 1756 - Franklin in Military Life - Washington's Embassy to Boston - His Love Affair in New York - Lord Loudon Commander-in-Chief - Abercrombie at Albany - His Folly and Supineness - Bradstreet's Expedition - The French Capture Oswego - Loudon's Imbecility Illustrated - The Results of the Campaign of 1756 - Loudon's Ignoble Victories.

IT was a beautiful evening, the 7th of September, 1755-when an Indian scout came to Johnson's camp, at Lake George, with the startling news that a French army had been seen landing at the head of Lake Champlain, near the site of the village of White Hall. This messenger was followed by another at midnight, with the more alarming news that French and Indians were making a rapid march toward Fort Edward. Early in the morning a council was held, and it was proposed to send out a small party in three divisions to meet the foe. The shrewd Mohawk sachem and chief King Hendrick, said If they are to fight, they are too few if they are to be killed, they are too many." Then taking in his hands three strong sticks, he said Put them together and you cannot break them take them separately and you can break them easily." His logic was apparent, and it was approved by the general, who ordered twelve hundred men in one body to hasten to the relief of Fort Edward. Colonel Ephraim Williams, of Massachusetts, was the chosen commander of the expedition, and with him went Hendrick and two hundred warriors of the Six Nations. Before their departure the white-haired chief whose snowy locks covered his shoulders, mounted a gun-carriage and harangued his braves with his powerful voice, in eloquent words, exhorting them to be strong and true to their allies. A provincial officer, Lieutenant-Colonel (afterward General) Pomeroy, who was present, declared that while he could not understand a word of the old warrior's language, such was the power of his voice, his gestures and his whole manner, that his speech affected him more deeply than any other he had ever heard.

The detachment had marched in fancied security to a defile at Rocky Brook, about four miles from camp, when they were assailed in front and flank by musketry and arrows. The French and Indians, who had been misled toward Johnson's camp, apprised by scouts of the march of the English, had formed an ambush in semi-circular shape, the centre cut by the path along which Williams' detachment was moving. The latter had fallen into the fatal trap. The attack was sharp and destructive. Williams and Hendrick were the only mounted men, and both were killed at the first volley. Williams fell dead, and Hendrick died soon afterward. The smitten detachment fled back to camp in a quick but orderly retreat conducted by Nathan Whitney, of New Haven, Connecticut. Colonel Williams was then about forty years of age. While he was passing through Albany on his way to join Johnson, he had made a will, by which he bequeathed his moderate estate to found and maintain a free school in Western Massachusetts. Such was the foundation of Williams' College, at Williamstown. When Hendrick's son heard of the death of his father, he placed his hand over his heart and said My father still lives here. The son is now the father, and stands here ready to fight." The travelers on the highway between Glenn's Falls and Lake George may see a monument near the road, erected to the memory of Colonel Williams, not far from the

spot where he fell.

With strange apathy Johnson had made no preparations for the defence of his camp. It was not until Williams had marched on the morning of the 8th, that he began to construct some breast works of felled trees, and placed two or three cannons upon them. The firing at the ambush had been heard at the camp, and three hundred men were sent to the relief of the first detachment. These met the flying provincials, and joining in the retreat, they all rushed pell-mell into the camp, pursued by the French and Indians, who had cast many of their slain foes into a slimy pool which is still known as Bloody Pond."

Dieskau intended to rush into the camp with the fugitives and capture it, but his Indians, fearing cannon, halted on the crest of a hill from which they could see the dreaded great guns. So likewise did the intimidated Canadians. Dieskau, whose armorial legend was, "Boldness wins," pressed forward with his regulars, and at near noon a battle began. The French had no artillery, and their musket-balls had no effect upon the breastworks. The Canadians and Indians tardily took positions in sheltered places on the flanks, and did little service. The New Englanders had only their fowling pieces. There was not a bayonet among them. They were good marksmen, and kept their enemies at bay during a conflict of more than four hours. Fortunately for the provincials, Johnson was slightly wounded in the thigh at the beginning of the action, and retired to his tent. He was not a skillful and experienced soldier like General Lyman who had just joined him, and into whose hands the conduct of the battle now fell. Lyman directed it with skill and bravery, until a greater portion of the French regulars were killed or wounded. A bomb-shell thrown by a howitzer from the provincial camp among the Canadians and savages had made them fly in terror to the woods, when the provincials, leaping over their breastworks, and clubbing their muskets, scattered the living remnants of the assailants. Dieskau, who had been three times wounded, would not retire, but sat upon a stump of a tree, with his saddle by his side, faint from loss of blood, when, from a musket discharged by a renegade Frenchman, he received an incurable wound. He was carried into the camp, where he was tenderly treated by General Johnson and his family. This kindness inspired the warmest gratitude in the breast of the baron, who, before he left America for France, presented an elegant sword to Johnson in token of that sentiment. The baron died in France, from the effect of his wounds in 1757.

This repulse was lauded in England as a great victory. Johnson had very little to do with it, personally. It was the work of General Lyman and his New England troops. Yet the services of Lyman were overlooked. Johnson did not even mention him in connection with the battle, in his despatch. The king created Johnson a baronet, and parliament voted him thanks and the sum of twenty-five thousand dollars wherewith to support the dignity of the title. The recipient being a nephew of Admiral Sir Peter Warren, the influential friends of that officer, at court, secured the honor for Johnson.

For reasons inexplicable just now, the provincial commander remained at the head of Lake George, instead of pursuing the shattered remnant of Dieskau's army and driving the French from Ticonderoga, which they were fortifying. It was possible also, immediately after the panic

produced by the repulse at Lake George, to drive them from Crown Point, the ultimate object of the expedition. General Lyman and others urged Johnson to pursue. The Mohawks were burning with a desire to be revenged for the loss of their beloved chief; and the Oneidas were willing to join them if immediate pursuit should be made. But Johnson refused to move. The Oneidas, three days after the battle, left him and returned home and the only harm which the French and their allies experienced after leaving the lost battle-field was a severe smiting by some New Hampshire militia under Captain McGinnes, and a small body of New York militia under Captain Folsom, who were making their way to the Lake from Fort Edward. They compelled the French to leave all their baggage and fly for their lives. In the affray McGinnes was mortally wounded, and his name was added to the list of the provincials, more than two hundred in number, who were killed that day. There were almost a hundred wounded. Among the four hundred lost by the French was M. de St. Pierre, the Knight of St. Louis, and the commander to whom Washington was sent on a mission at the close of 1753.

Johnson lingered at the head of Lake George all the autumn, and employed his men in the construction of a fort which he named William Henry. When the breath of approaching winter came from the north, he dismissed the New England militia to their homes, and leaving garrisons at Forts Edward and William Henry, he retired to his fortified stone mansion on the banks of the lower Mohawk, which he called "Fort Johnson." It is yet standing not far from the village of Amsterdam. So ended military operations in America in the year 1755.

France and England were still at peace with each other. The British cabinet was then controlled by absurd men, who were likely to embroil the nation in useless war at any time by their folly or by acts deserving a harsher name. They did so by rank perfidy. Secret orders were suddenly issued to the commanders of all British men-of-war to seize all French vessels, public or private. The British king's share of the spoils gathered under the operations of this order was three and a half million dollars and eight thousand French prisoners were made captives. What has taken place," indignantly exclaimed a French minister, is nothing but a system of piracy on a grand scale unworthy of a civilized people." He was right. Never," said the French monarch, "will I forgive the piracies of this insolent nation and in an autograph letter to the British king, he demanded full reparation for the insults offered to the French flag, and the injury done to the French people. But Great Britain then arrogantly claimed, and with reason, that she was 'Mistress of the Seas and Thomson had lately uttered the sentiments of the proud British nation in his stirring song, Britannia rules the Waves," saying boastfully; "When Britain first at Heaven's command, Arose from out the azure main, This was the charter of the land, And guardian angels sung the strain; Rule Britannia, Britannia rules the waves! Britons never shall be slaves." The exploit of the British ships-of-war in capturing so many French vessels was boasted of in the British parliament, and the people, rejoicing in their strength, were almost unanimously in favor of war with the French. That spirit prevailed for three-quarters of a century until the mistress ship of the seas was successfully contended for by the Americans in the War of 1712-15.

The home governments of the two nations now took up the quarrel. The campaign of 1755 had assumed all the features of regular war between their respective subjects. When the flowers

bloomed in the spring of 1756, the British ministry and people had resolved to make war, and the French were compelled to accept the issue. On the 17th of May, 1756, a declaration of war went forth from the British cabinet. This action was reciprocated by the French cabinet on the 9th of June following. The die was then cast. The peace solemnly guaranteed at Aux-la-Chapelle was ruthlessly broken to gratify a lust for power. While these two potential nations had been preparing, for several years, for the impending strife for dominion, the thoughtful men among the English-American colonists, who loved liberty more than power, had been musing upon the glorious probabilities of their future. John Adams, a school-teacher in Worcester in 1755, in a letter to Nathan Webb, wrote: "Mighty states and kingdoms are not exempted from change." Soon after the Reformation, a few people came over into this new world for conscience sake. This apparently trivial incident may transfer the great seat of empire into America. . . . If we can remove the turbulent Gallies, our people, according to the exactest calculations, will, in another century, become more numerous than in England itself. The united force of Europe will not be able to subdue us. The only way to keep us from setting up for ourselves, is to disunite us." This dream became a prophecy. Less than thirty years afterward, the dreamer stood before the monarch of England, as the representative of an American Republic where, only ten years before, were flourishing English colonies. And just a century after that dream, the number and strength of the people here exceeded the calculation of the dreamer. The population was more than double that of England; and while his country was fiercely torn by a savage civil war, its government defied the powers of Great Britain, France, Spain, the Papal States and other European nations whose rulers were the enemies of our free institutions. In the utterance of that defiance, a grandson of John Adams bore a conspicuous part. That government lives to enjoy the respect of the civilized world. In 1765, Lord Kames uttered a prophecy similar to that of young Adams.

Shirley, the commander-in-chief of the British forces in America, called a convention of royal governors at New York, late in 1755, when a plan for a splendid campaign in 1756 was arranged. It included the capture of Quebec, Forts Du Quesne, Frontenac, Niagara, Detroit, and other French posts in the northwest. They again urged the parliament to take vigorous measures for compelling the colonists, by a tax, to furnish a general fund for military purposes in America, and that body was disposed to do so, when the question assumed minor importance in the presence of grave dangers. The Indians were threatening the frontier settlements of Virginia, Maryland and Pennsylvania with desolation; and very soon whole families were flying back to the older settlements, leaving their dwellings and crops to the mercy of the savages. The authorities of those colonies took action to stay the flood of desolation surging upon their frontiers. Those of Virginia appointed Washington commander-in-chief of all her forces those of Pennsylvania gave Dr. Franklin the commission of colonel, with instructions to raise troops and construct a line of forts or block-houses along the frontier, which he did. Those of Maryland joined in measures for the common defence. But the selfish claims of the proprietaries of Pennsylvania, and the absurd and arrogant assumption of inferior officers commissioned by the crown, to superiority over provincial officers of much higher rank, stood in the way of efficient action. Delays were dangerous to the public good, and Washington was chosen by his brother provincial officers to go as an ambassador to General Shirley to seek a removal of the latter-named difficulty. Early in the month of February, 1756, he set out on a journey to Boston, five hundred miles distant, on

horseback, accompanied by Captains Mercer and Stewart, the former being his aide-de-camp. His fame had preceded him, and he received much attention in the several cities through which he passed. His mission to Shirley was successful, and at the end of seven weeks after his departure, he returned to Williamsburgh with a satisfactory arrangement for the future.

While he was on his way to Boston, Colonel Washington tarried a little in New York, where he was the guest of Beverly Robinson, son-in-law of the Lord of the Phillipse Manor on the Hudson. There he met Mrs. Robinson's sister Mary, who was young, vivacious, accomplished and beautiful. This maiden's charms made a deep impression on the mind and heart of the young hero. Her musical culture was displayed by the singing of sweet songs accompanied by a spinet and in every aspect of her character, she was a charming young lady. The day-dreams of the young Virginian, while on his way to Boston and back, were of her; and at their second meeting at Mr. Robinson's (where he was a guest on his return), he was still more deeply impressed with the charms of the heiress of money and broad acres. He left her with a resolution no doubt formed, but not expressed, to offer her his hand and heart. But a rival soon appeared in the person of Colonel Roger Morris, Washington's companion-in-arms in the field when Braddock fell, and he won the fair lady and her splendid fortune. All but the lady was lost in the fires of the Revolution that burst out twenty years later, for Morris was a Tory and so were his wife's family, and their property was swept away by remorseless confiscation. The colonel and his family were compelled to fly from the elegant mansion built on Harlem Heights (yet standing) with the money of Mary Phillipse, and it was used as headquarters by her Virginia lover in the autumn of 1776.

Shirley did not long remain commander-in-chief. The Earl of Loudon, a cold-hearted, bilious, indolent and inefficient peer, who was a zealous advocate of the prerogatives of the crown and despised republicanism, was appointed the successor of Shirley, and governor of Virginia. As an attempt to establish centralized royal government in America had failed, it was now determined to place the colonies under absolute military rule. The commission of Loudon and his instructions, carefully drawn by the Chancellor of England, did establish such rule throughout the continent, making it independent of and superior to the authority of the royal governors. This commission, so contrary to the spirit of the British constitution, remained a precedent for others until the general revolt of the colonies.

Procrastination marked every step of the campaign on the part of the English. Loudon did not send General James Abercrombie (his lieutenant) with troops until near the close of April. The ship with money was not dispatched until the middle of June, at which time Abercrombie arrived and the commander-in-chief did not reach our shores until past midsummer. The plan of the campaign called for ten thousand men to attack Crown Point six thousand to proceed against Niagara three thousand against Fort Du Quesne, and two thousand to cross the country from the Kennebec to the Chaudiere a feat performed by Arnold and a few followers, twenty years afterward - to attack some French settlements in Canada. Many of those destined for Crown Point and Niagara were already at Albany when Abercrombie arrived. He was not remarkable for either vigor or forethought. He loved his ease, and was a great stickler for the assertion of royal authority and instead of stimulating the provincials with hope and patriotism, he depressed them

with disappointment and disgust. Seven thousand troops were there, under General Winslow, impatient to be led to Lake Champlain and another party were anxiously awaiting orders to hasten to Oswego, for rumors came down through the forests from the St. Lawrence that the French were about to move in large force against the English frontiers.

But the Scotch general seemed more intent upon asserting royal authority by forcing the colonists to have the regular troops quartered upon them, than in pressing forward against the enemy; and he cast a firebrand into the army at Albany (composed of regular and provincial troops, about ten thousand strong), by compelling the officers of the latter to obey the commands of those of the former of equal rank. He and Mayor Sybrant Van Schaick had many stormy interviews about the billeting of regulars upon the people. On one occasion, there was an open quarrel between the lean Scotchman and the burly Dutchman, when the mayor, terribly excited, shook his fist at the general and exclaimed: "Go back again with your troops we can defend our frontiers ourselves." The general triumphed and he sent to his superiors, at a time when Crown Point should have been in his possession, and the garrison at Fort Niagara his prisoners, a shout of exultation because of his victory, saying: In spite of every subterfuge, the soldiers are at last billeted upon the town." This victory cheered the hearts of the Lords of Trade, who now believed that the absolute submission of the colonies was an event near at hand.

Abercrombie loitered in Albany, waiting for the arrival of Loudon, when he predicted mighty things would be done. He would go neither backward nor forward, but wasted strength there in constructing useless fortifications, when the best defence for that city would have been the security of the frontier posts. Meanwhile the brave and active Colonel John Bradstreet arrived from Oswego with the startling news that the French and Indians were threatening the forts there, and that a strong force was actually moving at the foot of Lake Ontario for the capture of the post. But Abercrombie was unmoved, and the ten thousand men, chafing with impatience and suffering from sickness, were kept at Albany.

Bradstreet had gained laurels at Louisburg eleven years before, and had been made lieutenant-governor of St. Johns, Newfoundland. Knowing his worth, Shirley had called him into active military service, and sent him from Albany, with a competent force, to provision the garrison at Oswego. With two hundred provincial troops and forty companies of boatmen, he crossed the country by way of the Mohawk River, Wood Creek, Oneida Lake and the Oswego River, and placed in the fort at Oswego provisions for five thousand troops for six months. He was accompanied by Captain (afterward General) Schuyler, as commissary.

Bradstreet had observed that his descent of the Oswego River had been watched by French and Indian scouts. He had gone only nine miles up that stream on his return, when he was attacked by a strong party of French regulars, Canadians and savages. The provincials drove some of them from an island in the river, and there Bradstreet made a defensive stand. One of the Canadians, too badly wounded to fly with his companions, remained, and a boatman was about to dispatch him, when young Schuyler saved his life. Soon afterward Bradstreet abandoned the island and drove the assailants back into the forest. Owing to accident, there was only one bateau

left at the island when the colonel ordered his men away. It was hardly sufficient to carry the commander and the little party with him. The wounded Canadian begged to be taken in, but he was refused. Then throw me into the river," he cried, and not leave me here to perish with hunger and thirst." The heart of Captain Schuyler was touched by the poor fellow's appeal, and handing his weapons and coat to a companion-in-arms, he bore the wounded man to the water, swam with him across the deep channel, and placed him in the hands of a surgeon. The soldier survived and nineteen years afterward, when Schuyler, at the head of the northern army of the Revolution, sent a proclamation in the French language into Canada inviting the inhabitants to join the patriots, that soldier, living, near Chambly, enlisted under the banner of Ethan Allen, that he might see and thank the preserver of his life. He went to Schuyler's tent, on the Isle aux Noix, and kissed the general's hand in token of his gratitude.

After a sharp fight in the forest near the Oswego River, Bradstreet dispersed his motley foe, and hastened to Albany with the startling news just mentioned. Meanwhile the more active French had been preparing for an attack on Oswego. So early as March, three hundred Frenchmen, led by Indian guides, had made their way on snow-shoes along the bases of the Adirondack Mountains, on the north and west, to the vicinity of Oneida Lake, destroyed a small English stockade there, called Fort Bull, and returned with thirty prisoners. Late in May, eight hundred men under De Villiers, pushed forward to Sandy Creek, at the eastern end of Lake Ontario, and from that party went the detachment that assailed Bradstreet. At about the same time, Field Marshal the Marquis de Montcalm arrived at Quebec as governor-general and commander-in-chief. He was small in stature, but very energetic in mind and body. He instantly surveyed the field of his future operations. By journeying night and day, he penetrated to Ticonderoga, where the French had built Fort Carillon. He saw the value of that position, as well as Crown Point, and hastening back to Quebec, he prepared an expedition, secretly, against Oswego. At the head of three regiments, he ascended the St. Lawrence to Fort Frontenac, and was joined at Montreal by a large body of Canadians and savages. With this force, about five thousand in number, he crossed the lake in bateaux and canoes, and anchored in what is now Sackett's Harbor, early in August.

Fort Oswego, on the west side of the river, was a strong work. Fort Ontario, on the east side, was weaker, and was considered an outpost to the other. Against Ontario, Montcalm led his forces. Behind Four-Mile Point, a long wooded cape eastward of Oswego, he landed his troops, unobserved by the English scouts, and was in full march through the woods before he was discovered. Colonel Mercer, the commander of the little garrison of one thousand men, at Ontario, prepared to receive the foe, who invested the fort in full force, with thirty pieces of cannon, some of which had been taken from Braddock the year before. Finding sharp resistance, Montcalm began a regular siege, and on the 14th of August, when he was about to storm the works, Colonel Mercer, who saw that further resistance would be useless, agreed to surrender the post to the French. One hundred and twenty pieces of artillery, six vessels of war, three chests of coin and a large quantity of ammunition and stores, were the spoils of victory. To allay the jealousy of the Six Nations, Montcalm destroyed both forts and the priests who accompanied him erected a cross, on which they placed the words, "THIS IS THE BANNER OF VICTORY."

Close by it they raised a wooden column, on which was placed the arms of France and the inscription: "BRING LILIES WITH FULL HANDS." Then Montcalm descended the St. Lawrence, with his prisoners, and sent the captured English flags to decorate the churches of Montreal and Quebec. The destruction of the forts at Oswego was an admirable stroke of policy on the part of the French commander. It pleased the savages, and, as he hoped, caused them to assume a position of neutrality toward the belligerents. French emissaries soon seduced the Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas and Senecas from the British interest.

Loudon arrived just in time to hear of the loss of Oswego, as the first military news that reached him. He congratulated the country because of its escape from greater disasters. If the attack had been made on the provincials alone," he said, it would have been followed with fatal consequences." He would not allow any merit in the character of a provincial soldier. For them he had nothing but contemptuous words. Notwithstanding the provincials had saved the remnant of Braddock's army, in spite of the cowardice of the regulars and the obstinacy of their general; had conquered Acadia defeated Dieskau, and had performed nearly all of the really useful military service against the French, he praised the British regulars and disparaged the Americans. Pleading the danger of another attack from the French, in greater force, as an excuse for his imbecility, he left the enemy to build a stronger work at Ticonderoga, dismissed the provincials to their homes, and placed the regulars in winter-quarters.

Under his instructions, Lord Loudon demanded of the city of New York, free quarters for himself his officers, and a thousand men. "Your demand is contrary to the laws of England and the liberties of America," said the mayor of the city. Free quarters are everywhere usual; I assert it on my honor, which is the highest evidence you can require," answered the haughty earl. The mayor was firm, and Loudon determined to make New York an example for the rest of the continent. When the citizens, by the lips of the mayor, pleaded their rights as Englishmen, his lordship, with a vulgar oath, said to the magistrate: If you don't billet my officers upon free quarters, this day, I'll order here all the troops under my command, and billet them myself upon the city." A subscription for the purpose was raised, the officers were billeted on the city, and Loudon won his first victory. A similar contest, with a similar result, occurred in Philadelphia, and there Loudon won his second victory.

In the meantime the provincials had won a substantial victory on the Alleghany River, in Pennsylvania. We have observed that Dr. Franklin had superintended the construction of a chain of small posts along the Pennsylvania frontier, from the Delaware to the borders of Maryland, as a defence against hostile Indians. But the savages continued to harass the remote settlements, until, on the borders of Pennsylvania and Virginia, almost a thousand white persons had perished, and much property had been plundered or destroyed. Franklin was satisfied that he was not in his right place, and abandoned military life forever. Colonel John Armstrong, of Pennsylvania, took his position, and with three hundred men, accompanied by Captain Mercer of Virginia, he proceeded, in the night of the 7th of September, 1756, to chastise the hostile Delawares at Kittaning, one of their principal villages (now in Armstrong county), within thirty-five miles of Fort Du Quesne. Stealthily, Armstrong and his followers passed the Alleghany Mountains and

took post not far from Kittaning, at midnight, when the savages were sleeping without a dream of danger near. It was a warm night, and some were reposing in the open air on the outskirts. Upon them the provincials came at dawn. The savages sprang to their feet, gave the war-whoop, and flew to the village, closely pursued by the provincials, who killed many of their chiefs and utterly destroyed the town. Not a vestige of a dwelling was left. The chastisement was effectual. It inspired the Delawares with such fear of the white man, that they were completely humbled, and the frontier had peace. So ended the campaign of 1756. The chief results of that campaign were a gain of strength and territory by the French two victories in battle over the common foe by the provincials, and the bloodless conquest of the unarmed English cities of New York and Philadelphia by Lord Loudon and his British regulars, the spoils of his victories being free food and lodging for a few months and the contempt of the people. Fifteen hundred volunteers and drafted militia, under Colonel Washington, were placed in stockades during the ensuing winter, for the defence of the frontiers of Pennsylvania and Virginia; and on the western borders of the Carolinas, several military posts were established as a protection against the Cherokees and Creeks, and their neighbors, among whom French emissaries were at work.

Chapter XLIV

Character of Lord Loudon - The Condition of England - Pitt Called to the Cabinet - His Dismissal from It - Plan of the Campaign of 1757 - Expedition Against Louisburg a Failure - Imbecility of Lord Loudon - Disgust of the Indians - Their Alliance with the French - Montcalm on Lake Champlain - Stark's Exploits - Fort William Henry Threatened - Capture of Fort William Henry by the French - A Massacre - Cowardice of General Webb - Public Discontent in England - Pitt Recalled to the Cabinet - His Policy and Its Effects - Preparations for the Campaign of 1758.

No better instrument could have been selected by the British government to render that government odious to the colonists than the Earl of Loudon. He was devoid of genius either civil or military. Imperious and undignified in his deportment; quick to threaten but slow to execute; possessing no semblance of public virtue; unsympathetic with any thing noble or generous in human character; always in a hurry and hurrying others, but excessively dilatory in the performance of duties, he excited the disgust, jealousy, dislike and contempt of the colonists. He could not understand how a public officer could be unselfish and honest. When Dr. Franklin urged him to reimburse money which the latter had spent for the public service, the earl told him he could afford to wait, as he had doubtless taken care to fill his own pockets in his public transactions. When Franklin repelled the insinuation by declaring his integrity, the corrupt earl spoke of it as a thing incredible. "I wonder much," wrote Franklin, "how such a man came to be intrusted with so important a business as the conduct of a great doing; but having since seen more of the great world, and the means of obtaining and motives for giving places and employments, my wonder is diminished." Referring to Loudon's hurry and tardiness, a person said to Franklin: "He is like St. George on a sign-post; always on horseback, but never goes forward."

Events equally disgraceful in England and America occurred during the year 1756. Quarrels, scandals, intrigues, corruptions and imbecility had marked the court and administration of the British monarch. The king's mistress governed the realm. Patriots trembled for the fate of their country. Satire and caricature assailed its governing ministers; and Hogarth arose in reputation. The only hope for the future of England, in the minds of thinking men, was given late in the year, by raising William Pitt, the great Commoner, to the dignity of Secretary of State. The English people were with the untitled minister; the English aristocracy were against him. The latter, in power, stood in the way of every wise and generous plan of Pitt. When he proposed to pursue a just and liberal course toward the American colonies, he was met by churlish cavils from the Lords of Trade, and demands for the taxation of the Americans. When he was pressed to recommend a stamp-tax for America, he replied "With the enemy at their back, and British bayonets at their breasts, in the day of their distress, perhaps the Americans may submit to the imposition." Pitt understood the Americans better, and had a clearer conception of justice and its wise policy, than any public man in England. He would not yield his country to the persuasion nor threats of the aristocracy he would not resign the office which he knew the English people desired him to fill; and in the spring of 1757, he was dismissed by the king, with other good members of the cabinet. The government of England was in a state of anarchy for several weeks, and Loudon was making infinite mischief in America.

In January, 1757, Loudon held a council in Boston. The governors of Nova Scotia and New England were there. The earl's behavior was that of an autocrat. His opinions, dogmatically expressed, swayed the council and determined its decisions. Better men acquiesced in his plans in violation of their wiser convictions, because they feared less injury from his imbecility than from his uncontrolled resentment. It was decided to confine the military operations of the campaign to the capture of Louisburg; an object of far less importance to Great Britain and her colonies at that time, than the expulsion of the French from the frontier posts and from Montreal and Quebec. The New England people were disappointed and alarmed, New Yorkers were amazed. Pennsylvanians and Virginians were distressed because of the exposed condition of their frontier settlers to the sanguinary visits of the savages and their allies. Yet the colonists responded generously to calls for men and supplies, and at the first of June, 1757, Loudon found himself at the head of an army of provincials who, alone, were competent, under a good commander, to crush French dominion in America.

The earl resolved to lead the expedition against Louisburg in person. His officers easily foretold the result. Before his departure he made precautionary provisions. He ordered Colonel Bouquet to watch the Carolina frontiers with a few troops. General Stanwix was ordered to guard the western frontiers with two thousand men and General Webb was sent with six thousand troops to defend Forts Edward and William Henry. Washington spent the summer with a few Virginia troops, in skirmishing with Indians and building a fort at Winchester, his headquarters.

The earl was ready for his eastern campaign late in June. Having exasperated the people of the whole country by impressing into the British service, at New York, four hundred men, he sailed from that port with a considerable force, and arrived at Halifax on the 30th of the month. There he was joined by ships under Admiral Holborne and six thousand troops commanded by George Viscount Howe. On the 9th of July he assembled his whole armament, composed of ten thousand soldiers, sixteen ships of the line, and several frigates and transports. It was supposed that an immediate attack upon Louisburg was intended, but the hope was delusive. The troops were landed. They were made to level the uneven ground for a parade; and for almost a month they were employed in the cultivation of a vegetable garden and exercises in sham fights and sieges. The army was dispirited, and the patience of the officers was exhausted. Major General Lord Charles Hay could no longer repress expressions of his indignation. One day while he was sitting under a tree near the seashore, discussing army matters with some fellow-officers, he sprang to his feet, and blazing with indignation, he said, as he pointed toward a noble ship lying near, and to the idle camp not far off "See how the power of England is held in chains by imbecility! Her substance is wasted by indecision With such ships and such men as we have here, led by an energetic and competent commander, Cape Breton and its fortress, and all this eastern region, might have been a part of the British empire a month ago." For these brave words, his lordship was arrested, sent to England and tried by courtmartial, and was acquitted. At that trial, there was a tragical event The President of the Board, while putting a question to Lord Hay, fell from his seat in an apoplectic fit, and died.

Stung by Lord Hay's remarks, Loudon bustled about a few days and embarked his troops as if

for Louisburg. During the delay at Halifax, that fortress had been reinforced, and ships had been added to the French fleet there. A reconnoitering vessel brought word to the earl that his enemy had one more ship than he; so his lordship abandoned the expedition and sailed for New York. The army was amazed and thoroughly disgusted. On the 10th of August, when the fleet had voyaged westward only two days, an express sloop was met. A messenger from her came in haste to Lord Loudon with a despatch, telling him that the French, in large numbers, had closely invested Fort William Henry, on Lake George. The earl immediately sent orders back for troops that he had left behind, to follow him to New York. When he arrived there at near the close of August, he was met with the news that the French were in possession of Fort William Henry and all northern New York. The province was trembling with alarm. That alarm was intensified fourfold when the stupid and stubborn earl proposed to encamp his forces on Long Island for the defence of the continental

For more than a year the English in America had acted so much "like women" that the Indians were disgusted. They admired the different spirit of the French, and warriors from more than thirty nations" were at Montreal at the beginning of the summer of 1757. Governor Vaudreuil told them of glory and plunder surely to be won by alliance with the French. Montcalm danced their wild war-dances with them; he sung their fierce war-songs with them, until their affection for him and enthusiasm for the cause of the French became intense, and they were ready to follow wherever that general might lead. He commanded them to meet his regulars and Canadians at St. Johns on the Sorel, for a voyage over the Lake. They went, in a wild, tumultuous march for Montreal, accompanied by priests who chanted hymns and anthems in almost every Indian dialect. In canoes and bateaux the motley army, led by Montcalm, went up Lake Champlain and landed at Ticonderoga. It was hot July. Under a wide-spreading oak high mass was celebrated, and voices chanting sacred hymns were mingled with the martial music of French instruments. Scouts were sent out and returned with prisoners and scalps. When Marin, who had destroyed the hamlet of Saratoga a dozen years before, came back from the hills near Fort Edward, and pointed to his canoe moored at the shore, in which lay a solitary prisoner and more than forty scalps, the savages set up a yell of exultation that awakened the echoes of Mount Defiance and Mount Independence, then bearing Algonquin names. Very soon the whole body of Montcalm's force moved to the foot of Lake George, for their destination was Fort William Henry, at the head of the Lake. His sailing," wrote Malartie from Montreal, when Loudon departed for Halifax, "is a hint for us to project something on this frontier." The expedition against Fort William Henry was the result of that hint.

During the previous winter, the Rangers commanded by Major Rogers, at Fort William Henry, had not been idle. The active and intrepid Lieutenant Stark (afterward the hero of Bennington), who commanded the Rangers when Rogers was absent, was frequently out, at the head of scouts, watching the foe and striking them a blow now and then near Fort Carillon - a name suggested to the French by the rushing waters of the outlet of Lake George, and which also suggested to the Indians their name of Che-on-de-ro-ga "Sounding Waters" - the origin of Ticonderoga. These Rangers glided over the frozen waters on skates, or traversed the pathless forests on snow-shoes. On one occasion a party of Frenchmen were traveling merrily on the lake between Ticonderoga

and Crown Point, on rude sledges drawn by Canadian ponies, when Stark and his followers rushed from the woods, and made some of them prisoners. Others were borne beyond danger by the frightened ponies, which fled over the ice with the fleetness of the wind. As Stark touched the shore with his prisoners, he was assailed by a large body of Indians at the edge of the woods. An unequal fight was kept up until dark, when Stark, leaving twenty of his men behind - killed, wounded, and missing - made his way back to the fort.

Meanwhile, fifteen hundred French regulars and Canadians followed the younger Vaudreuil from the St. Lawrence to Lake George, to capture Fort William Henry by surprise. They traveled on snow-shoes; their provisions were carried on small sledges drawn by dogs, and their beds were bear-skins spread upon the snow. Stealthily they went over the frozen lake, and appeared before the fort at midnight. The garrison were on the alert. The invaders set on fire the vessels there frozen in the ice, the store-houses and some huts, and escaped by the light of the conflagration. That was the night succeeding St. Patrick's day, in March, 1757. From that time until early in August, the garrison suffered very little molestation.

At the close of July, the garrison at Fort William Henry was composed of less than five hundred men under the brave Colonel Monro. A short distance from the fort, on a gentle rocky eminence, where may now be seen the ruins of the citadel of Fort George, seventeen hundred men lay entrenched.

A little more than a dozen miles distant was Fort Edward, where lay the timid General Webb, with about four thousand troops. At the same time Montcalm was at the foot of Lake George with six thousand French and Canadians, and about seventeen hundred Indians. There he held a grand council, and then he moved over the waters and along the western shore of Lake George. In a skirmish on the Lake, a great Indian warrior had been killed, and his body borne away by his comrades. Funeral honors were paid to it. It was dressed in full war-costume, and painted as if for the warpath. Brilliant ribbons, and glittering belts in which were his tomahawk and scalping-knife, and earrings and nose-jewels, adorned the dead body, which was placed upright on the green sward. In his hand was a lance; at his lips was a pipe, and by his side a filled bowl. In this presence there was an oration; then followed the death-dance and the death-song, accompanied by the low music of a softly-beaten drum and the tinkling of little bells. Then the body was placed in a grave, in a sitting posture, with plenty of food, and covered with earth; and the spirit of the warrior was dismissed to the happy hunting grounds beyond the setting sun.

On the 2nd of August, Montcalm, who had passed up the Lake with the main army, on bateaux, landed, with a heavy train of artillery, not far from the site of the village of Caldwell, and at once constructed siege batteries. La Corne, with Canadians, had landed on the east side of the Lake, and taken position across the road leading to Fort Edward; and De Levi, with French and Canadians, formed a camp northwest of La Corne.

This sudden appearance of so large a force was a surprise to the commander of the garrison. General Webb had come up from Fort Edward a day or two before, under an escort of Rangers

led by Major Israel Putnam. He examined the fort and the entrenched camp, and sent Putnam on a scout down the Lake, who discovered a large force of French and Indians. This fact Webb concealed from Colonel Monro, and immediately returned to Fort Edward, with the same scout. Not doubting the intention of his superior to give him all the aid in his power, the veteran, when, on the 4th of August, Montcalm demanded an instant surrender of the fort, refused compliance in a defiant tone. The siege was then prosecuted with vigor, but Monro held out, in continual expectation of aid from General Webb. Express after express was sent through by-ways to Fort Edward, imploring aid; but Webb, fearing an attack upon that post, would not spare a man. Finally, when Sir William Johnson was allowed to march with Putnam and his Rangers and some provincials to the relief of Monro, the whole force was recalled when within three miles of Fort William Henry. Instead of forwarding relief to the beleaguered garrison, Webb sent a letter to their commander, in which he gave an exaggerated estimate of the numbers of the French and Indians, and advised him to surrender to prevent the massacre of his whole force.

This letter was intercepted by Montcalm, at a moment when he was about to abandon the siege and return to Ticonderoga, for his ammunition and provisions had become almost exhausted during a siege of several days. He sent the letter in to Monro, with a summons for him to surrender. That commander perceived the hopelessness of his situation. His own means for defence were almost exhausted, and he could not expect aid from Fort Edward. He yielded reluctantly, after honorable terms had been agreed upon. The garrison were to march out with the honors of war, carrying with them their baggage and small arms, and one cannon in recognition of their gallant defence of the fort, Monro agreeing that his men should not bear arms against the French for the space of eighteen months also to deliver at Ticonderoga, all the French and Indian prisoners in the hands of the English. Montcalm pledged himself to furnish them with a strong escort half-way to Fort Edward. All this had been arranged at a council in which the Indians were represented. On the 9th of August, the French entered the fort and the English left it.

It was now near evening. Montcalm had kept intoxicating liquors from the savages, and admonished the English to do likewise. They did not heed the admonition, but supplied the Indians with rum. After a night's carousal, the savages were ready for any mischief. At daybreak they gathered around the English camp with hostile menaces. When the garrison began their march toward Fort Edward, the infuriated Indians fell upon them, plundered nearly all of them, murdered a large number of the soldiers and women, and made many prisoners. Montcalm and his officers did all in their power to arrest the fury of the savages. He and De Levi rushed in between them and their victims, at the peril of their own lives and finally stayed the massacre. The survivors were sent to Fort Edward under a strong escort, and the prisoners were afterward ransomed in Canada. The fort and all of its appendages were immediately destroyed by fire and pick, and its conquerors moved down the Lake the same day. Putnam, who visited the ruins as soon as the French had left, described the scene as appalling. He saw the bodies of murdered Englishmen scattered in every direction, many of them half-consumed among the dying embers. He counted the bodies of more than one hundred women shockingly mangled, and some of them scalped. The fort was never rebuilt. An irregular line of low mounds - the remains of Fort William Henry - might have been seen on the borders of the Lake until 1854, when the site was

covered by a large summer-hotel, already mentioned.

General Webb, at Fort Edward, with almost six thousand men, expecting to be attacked at any moment, sent off his private baggage to a place of safety, preparatory to a retreat to the Hudson Highlands. But his dreaded foe, having accomplished the chief object of his expedition, returned to Lake Champlain to rest upon his laurels. So ended Loudon's campaign in 1757. It was more inglorious than that of the preceding year. The British aristocracy had weakened British power and their representative in America had disgraced the British arms. The English had been expelled from the Ohio basin; they had been made powerless in northern New York, and contemptible in Nova Scotia; and the French bore undisputed sway over the St. Lawrence and the Great Lakes, and the Valley of the Mississippi. At that moment, French territory in America exceeded that of English full twenty-fold. The colonists were humiliated and exasperated. But they were learning, in a degree, the measure of their strength in union. It was a lesson of vast importance to them in their impending struggle with a power that sought to enslave them.

The position of American affairs alarmed the English people. "We are undone at home with increased expenses; abroad, by ill-luck and incapacity," exclaimed Chesterfield, one of the most enlightened of the English aristocracy. He uttered the opinions of the British nation outside of that aristocracy, and their rulers were soon compelled to listen. Light concerning the Americans was spreading over England. Thinking men saw justice in their demands for local self-government, and reason for their restiveness and irritation because they were continually plagued by the rapacity and haughty bearing of many of the royal governors and the unjust exactions of the British ministry. They saw the danger of the Americans being driven to the renunciation of their allegiance to Great Britain, if a more just policy toward them should not be speedily exercised and the English people became so clamorous for a change in the administration, that the alarmed king, after suffering England to be eleven weeks without a ministry, was compelled to recall Pitt to the cabinet in June, 1757, invested with powers which made him, in fact, prime minister of the realm. To him was intrusted the supreme direction of military and foreign affairs. He wielded his power with wisdom, and won glory for his country.

While Loudon was trying his best to conquer the Americans by overawing their assemblies and bringing the people into submission to the royal will, Pitt was devising plans for conciliating them by just and generous treatment. When, late in the year, Bostonians refused to submit to the billeting of royal soldiers upon them, the imperious earl sent a manifesto to the authorities of that city, saying: I have ordered the messenger to wait but forty-eight hours in Boston; and if on his return, I find things not settled, I will instantly order into Boston the three regiments from New York, Long Island and Connecticut and if more are wanted, I have two in the Jerseys at hand, besides three in Pennsylvania." When that message was on its way to the New England capital, another from Pitt was crossing the Atlantic for the recall of Loudon, for the minister could "never hear from him, and did not know what he was about." So the Americans were relieved.

"Give me your confidence," Pitt said to the king, "and I will deserve it." The monarch replied: "Deserve any confidence and you shall have it." Upon this foundation Pitt began his brilliant

administration, in the summer of 1757. American affairs demanded and received his early attention. General Abercrombie was appointed the successor of Loudon in chief military command in America. Relying upon the cheerful patriotism of the colonists, Pitt invited them to raise as many men as possible for an expedition against Montreal and Quebec. He assured them that England would provide arms, ammunition and tents, and that nothing would be required of them but the levying, clothing and pay of the men, for which expenditures the king would recommend parliament to grant a proper reimbursement. By order of the king, he sent instructions for all provincial officers no higher than a colonel to have equal command with officers of the same rank commissioned by the crown, according to the date of their respective commissions. These were cheering omens for the Americans, and they prepared for the campaign of 1758 with alacrity. In these liberal schemes Pitt was opposed by the aristocracy, because they yielded to the notions of independence cherished by the Americans, and the law-lords opposed the concessions as being contrary to the spirit of the British Constitution. The great Commoner met their decisions with this telling maxim "The lawyers are not to be regarded in questions of liberty."

Preparations for the campaign of 1758 were pressed with vigor. A strong naval armament was placed under the command of Admiral Boscawen, and twelve thousand additional English troops were allotted to the service of America. Equal vigor and more enthusiasm was observed in the colonies. Pitt asked for twenty thousand provincial troops. An excess of levies soon appeared. New England, alone, raised fifteen thousand. In Massachusetts the zeal of the people was unbounded, and the sacrifice of personal interest for the public good was marvelous. Public and private advances in that colony amounted to more than a million dollars, during the year 1758. In order to raise money, enormous taxes were levied and cheerfully paid. In many instances the tax was equal to two-thirds of the income of the taxpayer. It was levied by their own chosen representatives, and the people were content.

New York furnished twenty-seven hundred men; New Jersey, one thousand Pennsylvania, three thousand, and Virginia, two thousand. Some came from the more southern provinces; but to the people of that region was intrusted the defence of their frontiers, and, if opportunity should offer, the expulsion of the French from Louisiana. When Abercrombie took command of the army in May, 1758, he found fifty thousand men at his disposal - a number about equal to the entire masculine French population in America at that time.

The plan of the campaign was a renewal of that of General Shirley for 1756, spoiled by Loudon. It included expeditions against Louisburg, Fort Du Quesne, the strong posts on Lake Champlain, and Montreal and Quebec. To Sir Jeffery Amherst, a veteran soldier then about forty years of age, with the accomplished James Wolfe, ten years his junior, as his lieutenant, was intrusted the leadership of the expedition against Louisburg, in connection with Boscawen's fleet. General Joseph Forbes was placed in command of the troops that were to attempt the conquest of Fort Du Quesne and the Ohio Valley; and General Abercrombie, with young Lord Howe as his lieutenant, was directed to sweep the French from Lake Champlain, and attempt to expel them from Montreal and Quebec. To Wolfe and Howe Pitt looked for success, more than to Abercrombie and Amherst. They were both young men; experienced in military life; judicious,

magnetic, and full of energy.

Chapter XLV

The Siege and Capture of Louisburg - Expedition Against Ticonderoga - Capture of Fort Frontenac - Activity of the French - Adventures of Putnam - Expedition Against Fort Du Quesne - Washington's Deeds and Marriage - Plan of the Campaign of 1759 - Wisdom of Pitt - The French in Canada - Expedition Against Crown Point - Expedition Against Fort Niagara - Expedition Against Quebec - Arrival of the English There, and Their Operations.

THE campaign of 1758 opened with the siege of Louisburg. Admiral Boscawen arrived at Halifax early in May, with a fleet of most forty vessels, bearing an army of ten thousand effective men led by Sir Jeffery Amherst, with General James Wolfe as his chief lieutenant. At near the close of May the whole armament left Halifax for Cape Breton, and landed on the shores of Gabarus Bay, not far from Louisburg, on the 8th of June. The surf was running high and breaking in foam on the rugged shore. Wolfe, at the head of the first division, ventured among the turbulent waters before the dawn. Several of his launches bearing troops were upset or shattered. When he reached shoal water, the impatient young general leaped into the sea waist-deep, drew his sword, and in the morning twilight led his soldiers against breastworks and abatis in the face of a sharp fire from batteries. The French were driven from their outworks into the fort, and the siege immediately began. It lasted almost fifty days.

The garrison at Louisburg was composed of twenty-five hundred regulars and six hundred militia, under the command of Chevalier de Drucourt. In the harbor were several ships of the line and some frigates and vessels were sunk at the entrance of the harbor to prevent the ingress of an enemy. Wolfe was the soul of the expedition. Four days after the landing, he led some infantry and Highlanders to the capture of a battery on the northeast side of the harbor; and smaller works were soon secured. The English cannon were placed in battery and soon began to play upon other outworks, the fort, the town, and the vessels in the harbor. Four of the latter were burned and one was carried off by the English, late in July. The town of Louisburg was then reduced to a ruin. Almost all of the cannon of the fort had been dismantled by English shot and shell; and the French were compelled to capitulate on the 26th of the month. The next day the English took possession of the fort and town, with the islands of Cape Breton and Prince Edward; and all the coast nearly to the mouth of the St. Lawrence passed into the possession of Great Britain. The spoils of victory were about five thousand prisoners and a large quantity of munitions of war. After that victory, the French power in America began to wane. The attempt to capture Quebec was deferred until another year, and Wolfe returned home and received the plaudits of the nation.

Activity now prevailed throughout the colonies. The generous voice of Pitt had inspired the Americans with hope and enthusiasm. While Amherst and Wolfe were conquering in the East, Abercrombie and young Lord Howe were leading seven thousand regulars and nine thousand provincials through the forests of the upper Hudson, and over Lake George, against Ticonderoga. At the beginning of July, the whole armament, fifteen thousand strong, were at the head of Lake George.

Like Wolfe in the East, Lord Howe was the soul of the expedition in the North. He was a military Lycurgus, and introduced sweeping reforms. He abolished ornament in dress; caused the hair of his men to be cut short to prevent maladies engendered by wet locks; shortened the muskets to make them bore convenient in tangled woods, and had their barrels painted black to prevent discovery by their glitter; made his men wear leggings, like the Indians, 'to ward off briars and insects, and forbade the carrying of chairs and tables and other useless things. In these reforms his lordship led by his personal example. One day he invited officers to dine with him. He received them cordially in his tent. The ground was covered with bear-skins. For each guest was a log for a seat, such as his lordship occupied. Oily pork and beans were served. He drew a sheath-knife and gave one to each of the officers, and told them to eat. His example was cheerfully followed.

Early on the 5th of July, 1758, Abercrombie's army moved down Lake George in more than a thousand bateaux and whale-boats, accompanied by artillery on rafts. Just at twilight they landed on a long, grassy cape for rest and refreshments, after a sultry day. It was Saturday evening. The soldiers strolled over the cape, and Lord Howe spent hours in his tent in consultation with Stark and other provincials, who knew the country well, concerning the situation of Ticonderoga and the region between it and Lake George. At a little before midnight, the soldiers were re-embarked. A most inspiring scene was presented. Howe, in a large boat, and surrounded by Rangers as a guard, led the van of the flotilla. The regulars occupied the centre; the provincials, the wings. The sky was starry and serene. Not a breeze ruffled the waters sleeping quietly in the shadows of the mountains. The oars were muffled and so silently did the army move over the waters in the darkness, that not a scout upon the hills observed them. Day dawned just as they were abreast the Blue Mountain, four miles from their landing-place and the first intimation which the outposts of the enemy there had of the approach of the English, was the apparition of scarlet uniforms as the boats swept around a point and the army prepared to land.

In four columns - the regulars in the centre - the army moved forward as soon as they were landed, leaving their provisions, artillery and baggage behind. They were soon in a dense forest with incompetent guides. Suddenly the advanced guard, led by Lord Howe, fell in with a party of French soldiers, who had lost their way. A sharp skirmish ensued, and Howe was killed by a musket-ball. The whole army fell into confusion because of his death, and Abercrombie led them back to the borders of the Lake. The next day pioneers, under the command of the brave Colonel Bradstreet, opened the way to the Falls, and on the morning of the 8th, Abercrombie moved forward with his whole force, leaving his artillery behind, to attack the outworks of the French at Ticonderoga. That fort was then occupied by Montcalm with about four thousand men.

Relying more upon the reports of his own officers than upon those of the despised provincials, Abercrombie was deceived concerning the outworks and the men behind them. His troops, moving in three columns, were ordered to scale the woks, without cooperating artillery. Four hours they were endeavoring to cut their way through felled trees, and attempting to gain the entrenchments, in the face of a heavy fire, when they were compelled to retreat. Back to Lake George, Abercrombie fled, leaving two thousand men (chiefly regulars) dead or wounded in the

forest. He had kept himself away from danger during the struggle, and when he was needed to soothe and lead his defeated troops, he could not be found. Montcalm had been continually with his men, conducting every movement in the contest. The alarmed Abercrombie did not cease flight until his whole army had reached their old encampment at the head of Lake George. From that point Colonel Bradstreet was allowed, after earnest solicitation on his part, to lead three thousand men against Fort Frontenac (on the site of Kingston, Canada), which they captured late in August, with the shipping there. The garrison surrendered on the 27th of that month; and so English dominion over Lake Ontario was secured. Bradstreet lost only three men in the fight, but five hundred were destroyed by a fearful camp-fever that broke out soon afterward. With the remainder he assisted in building Fort Stanwix, on the site of the village of Rome, on the upper Mohawk. Meanwhile, Abercrombie, after garrisoning Fort George, which had been built near the head of the Lake, returned with the remainder of his troops to Albany. The body of Lord Howe was conveyed to that city by Captain Philip Schuyler, and placed in his family vault. When, in after years, the remains were removed to their final resting-place, under St. Peter's Church in Albany, it was found that his lordship's hair, which was short when he fell, had grown several inches in length, and was smooth and glossy.

Montcalm did not follow the retreating English, but he was not idle. He strengthened Ticonderoga, and sent out scouting parties to annoy the English and capture their foragers. These parties were watched by Major Rogers, of New Hampshire, and his Rangers, of which Israel Putnam was second in command. They were often actors in exciting scenes. On one occasion, not long after the attack on Ticonderoga, a party of French and Indians, under Captain Molang, captured a convoy of English wagoners. Rogers and Putnam hastened to intercept them on their return. Not far from the present village of Fort Ann, they fell into an Indian ambush, and a severe skirmish ensued. Putnam and some of his party, separated from the rest, were made prisoners. His comrades were scalped, but he was reserved for a more cruel fate. His captor bound him to a tree, where he remained during the rest of the fight, and his clothes were riddled with bullets by the cross-firing of the combatants. Before he was released, a young warrior amused himself in throwing his keen tomahawk as near Putnam's head as he could without hitting it. When the major was unbound, he was led deeper into the forest, and tied firmly to a tree. Faggots were piled around him a torch was applied, and the flames were crackling, when a furious thunderstorm burst over the country. The rain almost extinguished the fire, but it was soon revived with greater intensity. The victim had lost all hope, when Molang, who had heard of the scene, rushing through the band of Indians, released Putnam and conducted him to Ticonderoga.

Putnam had many other hair-breadth escapes from death in that region. He spent the winter of 1756-7 on an island in the Hudson, near Fort Edward. The barracks of the fort took fire. The flames spread rapidly toward the magazine, in which were three hundred barrels of gunpowder. Putnam hastened from the island to assist in putting out the fire. Nearer and nearer it crawled toward the magazine, when the intrepid major mounted to the roof and ordered buckets of water to be handed up to him. His labor seemed vain. The fire was charring the external planks of the magazine, and Colonel Haviland, the commander of the garrison, ordered Putnam to come down from his place of imminent danger. But the major persevered and put out the fire. He was several

weeks recovering from the burns he then received. It was at this post, and just before this occurrence, that Putnam had his famous duel with a regular officer. That officer challenged the major to fight. As the challenged had the right to choose weapons and methods, Putnam proposed that each should be seated upon a keg of gunpowder with a fuse attached that the fuse of each should be lighted at the same time, and that he who should sit longest should be regarded as the bravest man. Two kegs were brought from Putnam's quarters. The principals were seated upon them, and the fuses lighted by the seconds. The fire flashed along the trains for a few moments, when the British officer arose in haste and fled from the fatal keg. Putnam walked leisurely to his antagonist's fuse and put it out, and then seated himself again on his own keg, with perfect unconcern, cheered by his comrades. The kegs contained nothing more destructive than onions.

When Amherst, at Cape Breton, heard of the disaster at Ticonderoga, he sailed for Boston with four regiments and a battalion, and made forced marches across New England to Albany. He reached the camp of Abercrombie in October, and the following month he received a commission appointing him commander-in-chief. Abercrombie returned to England, and to divert public censure from himself he roundly abused the provincials.

While disaster was attending the army in the North, General Joseph Forbes had gathered about six thousand men at Fort Cumberland, in Maryland, preparatory to a march against Fort Du Quesne. Washington was there with about two thousand Virginians; and Colonel Bouquet had come up from the Carolinas with over a thousand Highlanders, three hundred royal Americans, and a body of Cherokee Indians. It was known that Fort Du Quesne was feebly garrisoned, and Washington advised an immediate advance over Braddock's road. It was then July. In less than thirty days the fort might have been taken. But other counsels prevailed, and Forbes, who was so ill that he was carried on a litter, determined to construct a new road for his troop over the Alleghanies. It was an almost fatal mistake. When autumn came, and it was known that the capture of Frontenac by Bradstreet had discouraged the Indians and caused many of them to leave the French, the army was yet creeping slowly over the mountains. Washington was impatient and indignant and he wrote to the Speaker of the Virginia Assembly, saying: See how our time has been misspent! Behold how the golden opportunity has been lost, perhaps never more to be regained !"

At about that time Bouquet was sent forward, with two thousand men to Loyal Hanna, in Westmoreland county, Pennsylvania, to build a fort. Bouquet, anxious to win renown, sent out Major Grant, with eight hundred Highlanders and some Virginians under Captain Bullitt, to reconnoiter Du Quesne. Grant took post on a hill near the fort, and dividing his force, tried to draw the garrison out into an ambush. They made a sortie in force, for four hundred men had lately been added to the garrison. They kept the English divided and defeated them in a severe skirmish, killing and wounding many, and taking some prisoners. As in the case of Braddock's defeat, the regulars gave way on this occasion, and the little army was saved from total destruction or capture only by the gallantry of Captain Bullitt and his provincials. The French, elated with their successes, proceeded to attack Bouquet at Loyal Hanna, but after a fight of four

hours, they were repulsed with considerable loss.

Washington had anxiously desired to be in the advance. He was now sent forward to Loyal Hanna, where he was placed at the head of a brigade composed of a thousand provincials, and ordered to move in front of the army. But it was November before General Forbes, with the artillery and main body, reached that point, and full fifty miles of rugged way lay between the army and Fort Du Quesne. A council of war was held, when it was decided that the lateness of the season made it prudent to defer the attack upon Fort Du Quesne until another season. Fortunately Washington, just at that time, heard of the desertion of the French by their Indian allies, and the weakness of the garrison at Fort Du Quesne. He obtained permission to push on with his brigade. The main army followed. The provincials, inspired with the zeal of their young leader, overcame every obstacle with alacrity, and very soon they stood upon a hill overlooking the object of their destination. The garrison, only five hundred in number, alarmed at their approach, set fire to the fort that night and fled down the Ohio in boats by the light of the conflagration. The ruins were entered the next day (November 25, 1758), and over the charred remains the British standard was unfurled. In honor of the great English statesman, the name of Fort Pitt was given to Fort Du Quesne, and the little village that soon grew around it was called Pittsburgh. Two Virginia regiments were left there as a garrison, and the main army returned to the borders of civilization. The great object of the war in the middle colonies was accomplished. The basin of the Ohio was secured to the English.

Washington marched the remainder of his troops to Williamsburg, where he took leave of them with the intention of quitting military life. He had been elected a member of the Virginia Assembly, and was affianced to the charming widow of Daniel Parke Custis, who was about his own age - twenty-six years. They were wedded at the White-House, the residence of the bride, on the 17th of January (6th, Old Style), 1759, by the Rev. David Mossom, for forty years rector of St. Peter's Church, New Kent, near by. Then Washington took his seat in the Assembly at Williamsburg; and at about the close of their honey-moon, the Speaker of the House, by its order, rising from his chair, thanked the young colonel in the name of Virginia for his public services. Washington, surprised, arose to reply, but could not summon words. His face flushed with confusion, when the Speaker relieved him by saying: "Sit down, Colonel Washington your modesty is equal to your valor, and that surpasses the power of any language I possess." That Speaker was Mr. Robinson, father of Beverley Robinson of New York, at whose house Washington met Mary Phillipse about ten years before.

With the expulsion of the French from Fort Du Quesne, the campaign of 1759 was ended. It had been a successful one for the English. They had captured three of the most important of the French posts Louisburg, Frontenac, and Fort Du Quesne. The faith of the Indians in the Invincibility of the French was eclipsed and at a great council held at Easton, on the Delaware, in the autumn of 1758, several powerful tribes were present, and joined the Six Nations in making treaties of friendship and neutrality with the English. The right arm of French power was thus paralyzed, and peace was secured to the frontiers of Pennsylvania and Virginia. The people of Canada were discouraged. Their resources were almost exhausted, and they cried for peace.

Montcalm wrote to Vaudreuil I am not discouraged, nor are my troops; we are resolved to find our graves under the ruins of the colony."

The final struggle for dominion in America was now at hand. Pitt had studied the geography of North America with diligence, and based his plans upon its teachings. Encouraged by the results of the campaign in 1758, in America and in Europe (where the victorious Frederick the Great of Prussia, who had opened the Seven Years War on the continent in 1756, was the ally of the English), Pitt conceived a magnificent scheme for conquering all Canada, and crushing French power in America forever. That dominion was now confined to the region of the St. Lawrence, for the settlements in the West and South were cut off from cooperation with the Canadians.

Pitt had the rare good fortune to possess the confidence of all parties at home and in the colonies. The English people were dazzled by his real greatness the colonists were deeply impressed by his justice. He had promptly reimbursed all the expenses of the last campaign incurred by the colonial assemblies, amounting to about a million dollars, and they as promptly seconded his scheme of conquest, which had been communicated to them under an oath of secrecy. Whatever he asked for he obtained. When he asked for sixty million dollars, and an immense force for service on sea and land in 1759, in Europe and America, the parliament almost unanimously granted his request. He declares only what they would have them do, and they do it," wrote Chesterfield.

The general plan of operations against Canada was similar to that of Phipps and Winthrop., almost seventy years before. A strong land and naval force, under the command of General Wolfe and Admiral Saunders, were to ascend the St. Lawrence and attack Quebec. Another force, led by Amherst, was to drive the French from Lake Champlain, seize Montreal and join Wolfe at Quebec; and a third expedition, commanded by General Prideaux, was to take possession of Fort Niagara, and then hasten over Lake Ontario and down the St. Lawrence to Montreal. To General Stanwix was intrusted the task of completing the occupation of the posts in the West from Fort Pitt to Lake Erie.

Pitt would not listen to the vicious twaddle about enforcing royal authority in America, that fell from the lips of the Lords of Trade. We want the limited cooperation of the Americans," said the wise minister, "and to have it we must be just and allow them freedom." These words ran like an electric thrill through the hearts of the colonists, and there was eagerness everywhere to manifest loyalty and to help the cause. Men and money were freely given while the French in Canada, growing poorer and diminishing in numbers, received scanty aid and little encouragement from France. The king relies on your zeal and obstinacy of courage," the French minister wrote to Montcalm. Without unexpected good fortune or blunders on the part of the English," the general plainly replied, Canada must be lost this campaign, or certainly the next." But France could do no more for her distant colony, for her wars nearer by had exhausted her treasury. With these relative prospects, the belligerents entered upon the contest in the early summer of 1759.

Late in June, Amherst was at the head of Lake George with about twelve thousand men,

regulars and provincials in equal numbers. There he lingered for about a month, and then passed over that beautiful sheet of water with banners flying and martial music resounding, for he felt strong and did not seek concealment. On the 22nd of July, he appeared before Fort Camillon, at Ticonderoga, with about eleven thousand men. BURLAMARQUE the French commander there, had just heard that Wolfe and Saunders were before Quebec. Seeing no chance for successful resistance nor reinforcements, he actually destroyed the fort and fled with his garrison down the lake to Fort Frederic, on Crown Point, on the 26th. Amherst pursued, and on his approach on the 1st of August, the French abandoned that post also and fled to Isle-Aux-Noix in the Sorel River, the outlet of Lake Champlain. Amherst took possession of Crown Point, without opposition; and if he had still pursued as he intended to do, he might have unfurled the British flag in triumph over the walls of Montreal before the close of September. The country between Lake Champlain and the St. Lawrence had been shorn of men to reinforce Montcalm at Quebec, who called loudly for troops to avert impending danger there. Old men, women and children were compelled to gather in the harvests near Montreal, to avoid starvation, and the Indians with the French army had deserted their allies. But Amherst, deceived by reports of the strength of the French at the foot of the Lake, and of a strong-armed flotilla there, lingered at Crown Point until October, causing repairs to be made to the fort at Ticonderoga, and constructing a new one on the promontory where he was encamped. He had, meanwhile, been building vessels to transport his troops down the Lake. On these he embarked his army at the middle of October, when heavy storms sweeping over the waters, and a message from Quebec, caused him to turn back and put his army into winter quarters at Crown Point. Captain Loring, with a little squadron of armed vessels, defying the storms, went down the Lake and destroyed the French flotilla, and so gained the mastery over that important sheet of water. The troops at Crown Point built there that strong fortification whose picturesque ruins still attract the attention of the summer tourist on Lake Champlain.

Prideaux's little force, destined to capture Fort Niagara, sailed from Oswego on the first day of July, leaving Colonel Haldimand to repair the works there. The troops that embarked consisted of two New York battalions, one of Royal Americans, two British regiments, a detachment of artillery, and Indian auxiliaries under Sir William Johnson. They moved slowly along the southern shores of Lake Ontario, and on the 15th of July, landed six miles east of Fort Niagara without opposition. The siege was commenced immediately. The fort stood near the bank of the Lake at the mouth of the swift-flowing Niagara River, where La Salle planted his stockade. The garrison was composed of a little more than six hundred soldiers. The commander, aware of danger, had sent for forces to be drawn from the posts between there and Fort Du Quesne and from the South, and they were on the way, almost three thousand strong, of whom one-half were Indians.

At the beginning of the siege, Prideaux was killed by the bursting of one of his own cannons, and the command devolved on Sir William Johnson. He disposed his force so as to meet the approaching army for the relief of the fort. They came in collision on the 24th of July. A severe fight occurred, when the French and their allies were defeated and dispersed, leaving their killed and wounded lying in the forest. On the following day the fort and its dependencies, with the garrison, were surrendered to the English, and British dominion was immediately extended along

Lake Erie to Presque Isle, now Erie. The connecting link between Canada and Louisiana was now broken, never to be restored.

Sir William was so encumbered with his prisoners, and being unable to procure a sufficient number of boats for transportation, he could not proceed to Montreal, according to the original plan, to co-operate with Amherst, so he garrisoned Fort Niagara and returned with the remainder of the troops to Oswego, and thence to Albany. These events drew De Levi, Montcalm's second in command, from Quebec, with a body of troops to prevent the Americans descending the St. Lawrence. For awhile he watched the passes at the rapids below Ogdensburg, when he returned to Quebec.

The great event of the campaign was impending while those just described were occurring. The fleet of Admiral Saunders (whose lieutenant was Admiral Holmes), consisting of twenty-two line-of-battle ships and as many frigates and smaller vessels, and bearing eight thousand troops under General Wolfe, ascended the St. Lawrence as soon as the ice had left that stream, and anchored off the beautiful island of Orleans, a few miles below Quebec, and in full view of the city. Upon that island the troops landed on the 27th of June. Among the subordinate naval officers was James Cook, who afterward circumnavigated the globe and discovered the Sandwich Islands. Among the commanders of land troops were General Robert Monckton, afterward governor of New York; the impetuous Col. Murray; General George Townshend, who soon became a peer of the realm Colonel Guy Carleton, in command of grenadiers, and Lieutenant Colonel William Howe, a leader of light infantry, both of whom were conspicuous in the royal service in our War for Independence.

Quebec was partly on a high rocky promontory at the confluence of the St. Lawrence and St. Charles rivers, and upon a plain on the borders of the latter. The upper town was surrounded by a strong wall with five gates. Two of these opened out upon an elevated plateau, on the southwestern side, called the Plains of Abraham, whose border on the St. Lawrence is marked by steep declivities. The shores of that river were lined with batteries above and below the city, and the town was strongly garrisoned. Along the St. Lawrence between Quebec and the Montmorency River, a distance of some miles, lay Montcalm, with a force of French Canadians and Indians, in an entrenched camp, a larger portion of the former having been impressed into the service.

Wolfe prepared for a siege with amazing skill and vigor. On his left lay his proud fleet at anchor, and the beautiful island was dotted with the white tents of his army. During the day after his arrival, clouds gathered in ominous blackness. The evening was dark and tempestuous, lighted only, until about midnight, by flashes of lightning. Suddenly a lurid glare shot across the billows as a fleet of fireships went blazing down the river in wrath toward the English shipping. The skillful British seamen caught each vessel as it came, and turned it away from the English ships. Their flames expired in darkness far below Orleans, as they drifted on the current.

The English, under General Monckton, now proceeded to take possession of Point Levi,

opposite Quebec. There, on the 30th of June, they began to erect batteries within a mile of the town. From there red-hot cannon balls and blazing bomb-shells were hurled upon the city. These set fire to fifty houses in one night in the lower town, but the citadel, crowning Cape Diamond, the highest part of the promontory, was beyond the reach of their missiles, and the real military strength of Quebec remained untouched. It was upon this natural strength of the position that Montcalm relied for final victory, more than upon his exhausted troops and unwilling conscripts. Wolfe knew this, and resolved to attack the French commander in his fortified camp, and for that purpose he first landed a strong force, under Generals Murray and Townshend, below the Montmorency on the 10th of July, and formed an entrenched camp there. But when he looked for a place to cross that stream, he found the only fordable spot three miles from its mouth, and the opposite bank, Steep and wooded, strongly fortified by the vigilant Montcalm.

The impatient Wolfe now reconnoitered the shores from the Montmorency to Quebec, and along the craggy base of the Plains of Abraham far up toward Sillery. Everywhere military preparations for defence met his eye. He returned to the Montmorency chafing with zeal, but conscious that he had made no advance toward the capture of the walled city which he had threatened for almost a month. Fire-ships again came blazing down the river, but were again turned away harmless. He saw danger in delay, and resolved to risk more so, at the close of July, he ordered Monckton to cross over with his regiments, grenadiers and other troops, and land upon the beach at the foot of the cataract of Montmorency, where that stream, after passing for a mile over a rocky bed in continuous roaring rapids, leaps into a dark chasm, at one bound, two hundred feet below.

Murray and Townshend were now ordered to force a passage across the Montmorency below the falls at low tide, and co-operate with Monckton, on his arrival, in an attack upon the French lines. Wolfe selected the spot for the landing and attack. A signal was given, and boats from the fleet went swiftly across the St. Lawrence from Point Levi, and first landed grenadiers and Royal Americans, under cover of a fire from some of the English vessels. Monckton's regiments followed. Owing to confusion in landing, there was delay, when the grenadiers, impatient, would no longer wait for the troops across the Montmorency, who were to support them, and rushed up the acclivity to penetrate the French camp. Already their foes had kept up a sharp fire of musketry and great guns for some time; now they were concentrated, and poured such a destructive shower of lead and iron upon the assailants, that the English were repulsed with much slaughter. They fell back in confusion to the shelter of a battery and block-house on the beach. Wolfe ordered a retreat, but a terrific thunder-shower that burst upon them at that moment detained them until darkness came, when the tide came roaring up against the current of the St. Lawrence, threatening to submerge the troops on the narrow beach. Monckton, with great coolness, embarked the shattered army in boats, and most of them were saved. They had lost between four and five hundred of their companions in the contests of the day.

When news of these events reached England, conservative men shook their heads and declared that Wolfe was mad. "Mad! exclaimed the king, Wolfe mad! I wish he'd bite some of the other generals."

Chapter XLVI

Wolfe's Illness and Despondency - Preparations to Attack Quebec - Battle, and Death of Wolfe and Montcalm - Surrender of Quebec - Attempt to Recapture It - Surrender of Montreal and All Canada - Rogers' Expedition to Detroit - Interview with Pontiac - Capture of Detroit - War with the Southern Indians - War Continued abroad - Treaty of Paris - Discontent of the Indians - Conspiracy of Pontiac and Its Effects - Fate of Pontiac.

WOLFE soon heard, with joy, news of the capture of Fort Niagara and the expulsion of the French from Lake Champlain. He now listened eagerly for the drums of Amherst, for he expected that general would speedily join him. He sent Murray above Quebec to destroy the French shipping, and open communication with Amherst. But that general did not appear, for reasons already mentioned.

Chagrin because of his failure at Montmorency, fatigue, anxiety, disappointed hopes, and the extreme heat of the weather, prostrated Wolfe with fever and dysentery. For almost a month his life was in great peril. Early in September he was able to hold a council of war at his bedside, and on the 9th he wrote a desponding letter to the Earl of Holderness, in which he mentioned the critical situation of the army and of himself. "My constitution," he wrote, "is entirely ruined, without the consolation of having done any considerable service to the state, or without any prospect of it. But he had told the earl that a council of war had decided that his shattered army should attack the foe. His letter reached London at the middle of October. The result of the promised attack was awaited with intense anxiety, for the young commander's epistle had created anger and consternation in England. It was followed three days later by news of that result, and the hearts of Wolfe's countrymen throbbed quickly with emotions of joy and grief.

It was determined to land a large body of troops above Quebec, for the purpose of drawing Montcalm from his entrenchments into an open field fight, in which the English would have the advantage. Wolfe, with some companions, in a boat, reconnoitered the shores, and selected the cove that yet bears his name for the landing place. From that cove a narrow path through a ravine tangled with vines and brambles led up to the Plains of Abraham; and along that perilous way it was resolved the troops should climb stealthily in darkness, if possible. The fleet was prepared to cooperate with the army, and on the 12th of September (1759) everything was ready for the execution of the dangerous and even desperate enterprise.

In the afternoon of that day, a feint was made in the direction of Montcalm's camp by the ships and some troops, to divert the attention of the foe from the real point of attack. At nine o'clock in the evening Wolfe and his main army were embarked on flat-boats above Point Levi, and floated up the river with the flood-tide, some distance above the selected landing-place, followed by the ships. There was joy in Quebec and the French camp, for it was believed the English were retreating.

The evening was warm and star-lit. Wolfe seemed in better spirits than usual, and at the

evening mess, with a glass of wine in his hand, and in the light of a lantern, he sang impromptu that little campaigning song which has been often chanted in the tents of British soldiers since, beginning - "Why, soldiers, why, Should we be melancholy, boys? Why, soldiers why, Whose business 'tis to die!" But a cloud of presentiment that his end was near evidently shadowed the young hero's thoughts; and when, at past midnight, black clouds had gathered in the sky, and the boats were floating silently back, with muffled but unused oars, upon the ebb tide, to land the troops under cover of the darkness at the selected place, he repeated, in a low musing tone to the officers around him, that touching stanza in Gray's "Elegy in a Country Churchyard" - "The boast of heraldry, the pomp of power, And all that beauty, all that wealth e'er gave, Await, alike, the inevitable hour - The path of glory leads but to the grave."

"Now, gentlemen," said Wolfe, as he closed the verse, "I would prefer being the author of that poem to the glory of beating the French to-morrow."

In the darkness, sixteen hundred troops landed at Wolfe's Cove, and others speedily followed. The general led the way, with Monckton and Murray, and Lieutenant-Colonel Howe. They hastened up the acclivity in the face of shots from startled sentinels along the brow of the cliff and reached the Plains of Abraham at early dawn, three hundred feet above the St. Lawrence. At sunrise, about five thousand British troops were standing in battle array, on the open plain before Quebec. News of the surprising apparition had gone into the city like the wind, and thence to Montcalm at Beaufort. He supposed, from the first account received, that it was only a small party who had come to burn a few houses and retire; but when later information reached him, he marched a greater portion of his army from his camp to attack the British, saying: If it is necessary to fight them, it is necessary to crush them."

At ten o'clock the two armies stood face to face on that lofty plateau, the French on the higher ground near the city wall. Neither party had much artillery - the English only a six-pounder, which some sailors had dragged up the ravine. They were stronger than Montcalm imagined. He sent a messenger to his camp for fifteen hundred reserves, and another after a detachment that had gone up the river. The two armies were about equal in numbers then, and the impatient Montcalm began the attack without waiting for his reinforcements. Wolfe was at the head of the grenadiers who had been repulsed at the Montmorency. They burned with a desire to wipe out the stain of that event, for their beloved commander had censured them for their rashness. He ordered his soldiers to double-shot their muskets and reserve their fire until the enemy should be very near.

A short and severe battle now ensued. Terrible were the volleys of the double-shotted muskets at close quarters. The French were thrown into confusion, when they were attacked by the bayonet so terrible in the hands of English soldiers. The general was urging on the bayonet charge, when a bullet slightly wounded him in the head. Another soon wounded him in the abdomen; and a third pierced his breast with deadly effect. "Support me," said the general to an officer near him; "Do not let my brave soldiers see me drop; the day is ours - keep it." He was borne to the rear in a dying condition, when the officer, on whose shoulder he was leaning, cried

out, "They run! they run! "Who run? feebly inquired Wolfe. The enemy, sir; they give way everywhere," said the officer. The general then gave an important order for a movement to cut off the fugitives, and feebly said: Now, God be praised. I die happy! He never spoke again, and soon afterward expired. Montcalm had also been mortally wounded, and died the next morning. His body was buried in the grounds of the Ursuline Convent at Quebec. In its chapel a small mural tablet commemorates him and there I saw, a few years ago, the skull of that French commander, its base covered with a blue velvet and gold-laced military coat collar. Wolfe's remains were taken to England, and his grateful government erected a monument to his memory in Westminster Abbey. Almost seventy years afterward an English governor of Canada caused a noble granite obelisk to be reared in the city of Quebec, and dedicated To the Memory of Wolfe and Montcalm."

General Townshend succeeded Wolfe in command of the army. With unparalleled selfishness and meanness, he tried to arrogate to himself the glory of the victory. He did not even mention Wolfe's name in his narrative of the battle. But others did, and public justice was quick to award honor where honor was due, and Townshend disappeared in a peerage. Five days after the battle, Quebec was surrendered to the English. The news reached England a month afterward - three days after Wolfe's desponding letter to Holderness, as we have observed. The joy of the people was intense; then grief because of the death of the hero was deep and heartfelt. They despaired, they triumphed, they wept," wrote Horace Walpole, for Wolfe had fallen in the hour of victory! Joy, grief curiosity astonishment were painted on every countenance; the more they inquired the higher their admiration rose." Exultation stirred every heart in the colonies. Illuminations, bonfires, cannon-peals and oratory everywhere expressed the general joy, and thanksgivings were uttered by every lip.

It was the 18th of September, 1759, when the city of Quebec, its fortifications, shipping, stores and people, passed into the control of the English, and General Murray with five thousand troops occupied it. The English fleet, with prisoners, sailed for Halifax. The campaign was ended, but Canada was not conquered.

De Levi succeeded Montcalm in command of the French forces. Early in the spring of 1760, Vaudreuil, governor of Canada, sent him to recover Quebec. Murray, boastful and rash, marched out to meet him and at Sillery, three miles above the city, they met and fought one of the most sanguinary battles of the war. De Levi led nearly ten thousand men Murray was at the head of over six thousand men. The English were defeated with the loss of a fine train of artillery and a thousand soldiers, and fled back to the walled town. The French besieged the city, and the condition of the English was perilous, when, early in May, a British squadron with provisions and reinforcements, sent by the sagacious and provident Pitt, ascended the St. Lawrence. Two of the ships that arrived first at Quebec destroyed the French shipping there. De Levi supposed them to be the vanguard of a large armament, and at the middle of May he raised the siege, abandoned most of his artillery and stores, and fled with the greatest celerity toward Montreal. Murray pursued, but could not overtake the fugitives. Montreal was now the last remaining stronghold of the French on the continent; Amherst might have had possession of it before De Levi besieged

Quebec, but he spent the whole spring and summer in preparations for a regular invasion of Canada. Meanwhile Vaudreuil had collected all of his available forces at Montreal for the final struggle.

Amherst, though slow, was sure. He moved three armies against Montreal with so much precision that they arrived there almost simultaneously. With about ten thousand men he marched to Oswego, where he was joined by a thousand warriors of the Six Nations, under Sir William Johnson. He went over Lake Ontario and down the St. Lawrence, and appeared before Montreal on the 6th of September, having taken Fort Presentation at Oswegatchie (now Ogdensburg) on the way. On the same day General Murray arrived there from Quebec with four thousand troops, and on the following day Colonel Haviland appeared on the St. Lawrence, opposite Montreal, with three thousand soldiers. He had marched from Crown Point, and had driven the French from a Isle-aux-Noix. Within the space of thirty hours, over seventeen thousand English troops had gathered around the doomed city. Vaudreuil saw that resistance would be foolish and vain, and he surrendered. On the 8th day of September, 1760, all Canada passed under the dominion of Great Britain, with no stipulations for civil liberty. The pleasure of the king was the law of the land. That king - George the Second - died suddenly a few days after the glorious news of the conquest of Canada reached London, when he was seventy-seven years of age, and was growing blind and deaf. He left England the foremost nation of the world in military fame and moral grandeur.

General Gage was made military governor of Montreal, and General Murray was sent to garrison Quebec with four thousand men. Joy spread over the English American colonies, for peace in the future seemed to be secured. The people everywhere assembled to utter public thanksgiving to Almighty God for the great deliverance. But there was something yet to be done to make the conquest complete. The flag of France yet waved over the fort at Detroit, and other places in the West. Amherst could not allow the French lilies, emblazoned on that flag, to be seen anywhere in the conquered domain. A few days after the surrender of Montreal, he sent Major Rogers, with two hundred Rangers, to plant the British standard at Detroit and elsewhere. They went by the way of Frontenac, and along the northern shores of Lake Ontario around to Niagara. At the latter place they furnished themselves with a costume suitable for the wilderness, and voyaged over Lake Erie in the chilly days of October and November. At the mouth of a river on its southern shore, they met a deputation of Ottawa chiefs, who told them to remain there until Pontiac, their emperor, should arrive, for he desired to see them with his own eyes.

Pontiac soon came. He was a fine specimen of a North American Indian, and was ruler over a magnificent domain in Ohio and Michigan. His people (the Ottawas) revered him, and the tribes over whom he reigned admired him for his wisdom and bravery. He met Rogers with a princely air, and demanded why he had entered his dominions without his leave. Rogers explained that the English had conquered Canada, and that he came only to drive out the French, their common enemy, and then gave the emperor a belt of peace. Pontiac returned it, saying: "I stand in the path until morning." Turning on his heel, he left Rogers in doubt concerning the chief's intentions. His men kept watch for treachery all night. In the morning, Pontiac sent them some food. He soon

followed, and gave Rogers assurances of his friendship. He had been the ally of the French, but was too shrewd to adhere to a waning cause. He was willing to court the favor of the English; so he and Rogers sat upon a log and smoked the calumet. He sent word to the tribes south and west of Lake Erie that the strangers had his permission to cross his dominions. Rogers marched on, and on the 29th of December, 1760, he unfurled the British flag at Detroit. The garrison were made prisoners, but the French settlers were allowed to remain on the condition of taking the oath of allegiance to the British crown.

When Canada was falling prostrate at the feet of British power, the storm of war lowered darkly along the Carolina frontiers. There had been strife with the Indians there for years. The Cherokees, the treaty friends of the English, strove hard to maintain peace. They were the hardiest and most enlightened of the savages in that region. These mountaineers, occupying the hill country of Georgia, exerted a powerful influence over the surrounding tribes. But their patience was exhausted by wrongs which they and their friends had suffered at the hands of frontier Virginia Rangers, and the treachery of the royal governor of South Carolina, and in the spring of 1760, they flew to arms with the tribes of Tennessee, Alabama and Georgia as allies. In the space of a few weeks the western frontiers of the Carolinas were swept with the fiery besom of desolation. French emissaries had worked powerfully upon the Indian mind, and military stores had been sent to the Cherokees from Louisiana. The smitten and menaced people called loudly for help. Amherst heeded their supplications, and early in April, he detached Colonel Montgomery (afterward Lord Eglinton) from the army of Stanwix, with six hundred Highlanders and as many Royal Americans, to strike the Cherokees. He was accompanied by Colonel Grant, who had been assailed by the garrison of Fort Du Quesne a few months before. In the western part of South Carolina, beyond the Saluda, they were joined by seven hundred Carolina Rangers, among whom was Moultrie, who afterward figured in the American War for Independence.

On the first of June the English were ready to apply the scourge. They penetrated the beautiful Valley of the Keowee, on the western borders of Anderson District, in which well-built houses and cultivated fields gave tokens of a semi-civilization. That valley they plundered, and desolated it with fire, driving the families to the wooded hills, where they looked down upon their possessions utterly ruined. Onward the English marched over the hills and the headwaters of the Savannah to the Valley of the Little Tennessee. Down that valley they marched, compelled to fight almost every inch of their way in the heart of the Southern Alleghany Mountains. The whole country was aroused. The patriotism of the Cherokees gave intensity to their anger. The English were in serious peril, and Montgomery wisely retraced his steps. This movement left the English garrison at Fort Loudon, on the Tennessee, at the mercy of the savages, who murdered a part of them after they had surrendered, and scattered the remainder, as prisoners of war, among the tribes. Montgomery hastened to Charleston, and regardless of the prayers of the people, who feared the ire of the exasperated Cherokees, he embarked for Halifax.

The Cherokees were not subdued, but were more fiercely inflamed against the English. They prepared for the war-path the next year, when Colonel Grant appeared with a stronger force, and compelled them to stand on the defensive. He burned their villages, desolated their fields, and

killed many of their warriors. Finally, the nation, dispirited, humbly sued for peace in June, 1761, and a treaty to that effect was made.

Although the war had ceased in America, the French and English continued it upon the ocean and among the West India islands, with almost unbroken success by the latter. It was ended by a treaty of peace negotiated in 1762, and signed at Paris on the 10th of February, 1763. By its terms France ceded to Great Britain all her claimed territory in America eastward of the Mississippi River, north of the latitude of the Iberville River, a little below Baton Rouge. New Orleans, and the whole of Louisiana, was ceded by France to Spain, at the same time and so her entire possessions in North America, for which she had labored and fought for more than a century, were relinquished. Spain, with whom the English had been at war for a year previously, ceded East and West Florida to Great Britain, at the same time. Now the English held undisputed possession (excepting by the Indians) of the whole continent from the shores of the Gulf of Mexico to the Frozen Sea, and by claimed prescriptive right, from ocean to ocean. The domain wrested from the French had been procured at a cost to Great Britain and her American colonies of five hundred and sixty million dollars.

The storm in the south had scarcely ceased when another, more portentous, was seen gathering in the northwest. All over the land from the Shenandoah Valley to Lake Superior, from Western New York and the line of the Alleghany Mountains stretching into the Carolinas, to the Mississippi River, a deep-rooted jealousy of the English appeared among the Indians after the conquest of Canada. They regarded the English as a nation of amazing power, who were ready to rob them of their lands and destroy their race. The treatment of the natives by the English was so cold and unfriendly when compared with the French, that the savages could feel no real friendship for the British, and it was only fear or policy that caused the Indians to make treaties with them. The chiefs were treated with contempt by the British officers, and so their pride was wounded; they treated the people as children or slaves, and so lost their respect. Traders cheated them and aroused their anger. In every way they were made to feel, by contrast with the conduct of the French, the meanness and wickedness of the English. The jealousy of the savages was crystallized into implacable hatred, and in 1761, they began to form confederacies and plotted conspiracies for the destruction of their English masters.

When, after the treaty of Paris in 1763, the tribes were informed that France had ceded the country to Great Britain, without asking their leave, there was wide-spread indignation among them. The arrogance of Amherst in his official intercourse with them fanned the flame, and a vast confederacy was formed for the purpose of attacking all of the English forts on the frontiers on the same day, to destroy their garrisons and to desolate their settlements, westward of the Alleghanies.

At the head of this conspiracy was the great Ottawa chief Pontiac, then about fifty years of age. He was conspicuous for courage, resolution, energy, and magnetic attraction and vehement ambition, and ruled many tribes with almost despotic power. He had fought on the side of the French in the war just ended, and was their friend until his interview with Major Rogers. He

trimmed his sails so as to catch the favoring breeze of the power he held to be the most potential, but his pride was soon deeply wounded by the arrogance and neglect of the English. He saw his race divided, weak, and powerless before a great nation. He saw the English rapidly spreading their settlements over the hunting-grounds of the Indians, and driving them steadily toward the setting sun. In his horoscope of the future, he saw the last of his race, naked and famishing, driven into the Pacific Ocean, of which he had vague ideas. Ambition and patriotism urged him to lead a conspiracy for the salvation of his country and his race. He did so, with marvelous skill and energy.

Late in 1762, Pontiac sent ambassadors to the tribes around the lakes, and all over the country southward far toward the Gulf of Mexico. Each bore the wampum war-belt and a hatchet painted red 'in token of hostilities. Each delivered the stirring words of Pontiac, calling them to the defence of their country and their lives and everywhere his words were approved. He called a general council at a spot near Detroit, designated by him, and there the tribes were assembled in April, 1763 - the Ottawas, Miamis, Wyandotts, Chippewas, Pottawatomies, Mississaugas, Shawnoees, Foxes, Winnebagoes and Senecas - the latter the most warlike of the Six Nations. Pontiac was there with his squaws and children, and the meadow in which the council was held presented a gay and animated scene. The idle young warriors gathered in groups to feast, smoke, gamble, and tell stories; many of them bedizened with beads, feathers, hawks' bills, and other tokens of foppery. Here, too," says Parkman, "were young damsels radiant with bears' oil, ruddy with vermilion, and versed in all the arts of forest coquetry, shriveled hags, with limbs of wire, and the voices of screech-owls and troops of naked children, with small, black, mischievous eyes, roaming along the outskirts of the woods."

The council was convened on the 27th of April. All were seated on the grass in a wide circle, row within row, a grave and silent assembly. When pipes had been lighted and passed from hand to hand, Pontiac arose, plumed and painted, in full war-costume, and with loud voice and impassioned manner, addressed the multitude. He recounted the wrongs of the red race, and spoke of the danger to be apprehended from the sovereignty of the English. He held out a long and broad belt of wampum, which, he said, he had received from the king of the French, and that the fleets and armies of that monarch would soon come back to reconquer Canada, when the Indians would once more fight by their side. He appealed to the superstition of his hearers by reciting an Indian legend, and in various ways he excited them with a burning desire for immediate action.

Treachery was to be the first movement of Pontiac and his followers in the execution of the sanguinary scheme. He was to begin the tragedy at Detroit. Under the pretext of holding a friendly council with Major Gladwin, the commander of the fort, he entered it in May, with about three hundred warriors, each carrying a knife, tomahawk and short gun, concealed under his blanket. When Pontiac should arise and show the green side of a belt, the massacre of the garrison was to begin. A friendly Indian had warned Gladwin of the danger the day before, and it was averted by the appointment of another conference. The gates were shut upon Pontiac after he and his warriors had retired, and he began a siege of the fort that continued more than a year.

By similar acts of treachery, or by sudden and unexpected assaults, every post west of Oswego, excepting Niagara, Fort Pitt and Detroit, fell into the hands of the dusky confederates within a fortnight afterward, for the work was performed at different points almost simultaneously.

At Michilimackinac, Indians came to the fort at the close of May, as if to trade. Every day they engaged in the exciting pastime of ball-playing on the plain near the fort. On the 2nd of June their squaws came with them, entered the fort, and stayed there. The commander and a lieutenant, unsuspecting of any danger, stood just outside the gate, watching the game. At length the ball was sent near the gate, and two or three Indians pursuing it, went behind the officers, seized them, and carried them off to the woods. The other Indians rushed into the fort, seized hatchets which the squaws carried under their blankets, and murdered a part of the garrison, making prisoners of the remainder.

Captain Dalyell, aide-de-camp to General Amherst was sent in a vessel with reinforcements and supplies for the garrison at Detroit. They ran up the river in the night at the close of July, and succeeded in getting both into the fort. Dalyell at once proposed to make a sally from the fort and attack the besiegers, who lay about a mile up the river. Gladwin thought it would be imprudent. Dalyell persisted, and with two hundred and forty chosen men, he marched in the darkness at three o'clock in the morning of the 31st of July, to surprise Pontiac. The chief was on the alert, and at a small stream at the northern verge of the city of Detroit, the English, furiously assailed, were forced to make a precipitate retreat, leaving twenty of their comrades killed and forty-two wounded, on the borders of the brook, which, to this day, bears the name of Bloody Run. Dalyell was slain while trying to carry off the wounded, and his scalp was an Indian's trophy.

This victory encouraged the Indians, and they swarmed around Detroit and Fort Pitt. For the relief of the latter, Colonel Bouquet was sent with a force of regulars from Pennsylvania. Early in August he approached the fort, when the besieging savages attacked him. He had two desperate fights with them, in which he lost about one-fourth of his command and all of his horses, but he drove the assailants away and entered the fort with the remainder. Detroit was relieved the next summer by a force under Colonel Bradstreet. The power of the Indian Confederacy was now broken, and chiefs of the hostile tribes sued for pardon and peace. The haughty Pontiac would not yield. He tried to rally the confederate tribes, but in vain. He went to the Illinois country where no Englishman had been, and where the French flag yet waved. Among the tribes there he exerted his eloquence to induce them to make war on the English. He sent an ambassador to New Orleans to ask the French to aid him. His efforts were vain. The cause that lay next to his heart was ruined. Afterward we find him holding a friendly conference with Sir William Johnson at Oswego; then he is seen at St. Louis trying to arouse the French people there to drive the English out of the Illinois country, which they had seized. At last, in 1769, this haughty Indian prince - this Catawba prisoner adopted by the Ottawas - who had swayed almost unbounded power over thousands of square miles of territory, was slain near Cahokia. A strolling Indian was bribed by an English trader to murder him. That savage, for the gift of a barrel of rum stole softly behind Pontiac in the forest and buried his hatchet in his brain.

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Chapter XLVII

Accession of George the Third - His Unfortunate Choice of Advisor - Designs Against the American Charters - Writs of Assistance Denounced by Otis - His Influence and His Misfortunes - Preparations for Conflict - Pitt and the Cabinet - Honors Conferred on Pitt's Wife - Bute Cricatured and Satirized - Grenville, Prime Minister - Right to Tax the Colonies Affirmed - Opposition in Massachusetts - Townsend's Schemes - Grenville Proposes a Stamp Tax - John Huske - Samuel Adams - Address of the Town of Boston - Otis's Pamphlet in England.

ON a bright morning late in October, 1760, the air cool and bracing, young Prince George, grandson of the reigning sovereign of England, was riding near Kew palace with his tutor and favorite companion, the Earl of Bute, when a messenger came in haste with the startling news that the king was dead. That "temperate, methodical old man," rose that morning at six o'clock, as usual, and after drinking a cup of chocolate went into a small closet. His German valet, who always kept near his person, presently heard a noise in the closet as of one falling, and going into the apartment found his master lying upon the floor dead. The ventricle of his heart had bursted, causing instantaneous death. "Full of years and glory," wrote Horace Walpole, "he died without a pang, and without a reverse. He left his family firmly established on a long-disputed throne, and was taken away in the moment that approaching extinction of sight and hearing made loss of life the only blessing that remained desirable."

Prince George remained at Kew during the day and night after the king's death. He was his grandfather's successor to the throne, and was so proclaimed. William Pitt, then at the head of the ministry, immediately repaired to Kew to console and consult with the new monarch. On the following day the king went to St. James palace, where Pitt again waited upon him and presented a sketch of an address to be made by the monarch at a meeting of the Privy Council. The minister was politely informed that a speech was already prepared, and that every preliminary was arranged. Pitt perceived, what many had suspected, that the Earl of Bute, who was the special favorite of the young king's mother, was to be a leading spirit in the administration. The pride of the great commoner was touched, and he left the royal presence with clouded brows. A year later

he retired from public life.

The young king, who was to occupy the British throne for fifty years - the period in English history the most interesting to Americans - was a son of the dead Frederick Prince of Wales. His mother was the beautiful Princess Augusta of Saxe-Gotha. He was born in London in 1738, and was regarded with special favor by the people of England, because he was a native prince. His tutor and confidential adviser, the Earl of Bute, was a gay Scottish nobleman of handsome person, pleasing address, possessed of moderate mental endowments, and was narrow in his political views. The Princess Augusta seemed fond of him, and scandalous things were suggested concerning their intimacy. Such was the man - a sort of needy adventurer at the English court, at first - without valid claims to the character of a statesman, whom the young monarch unfortunately chose for his counsellor and guide, instead of the wise and sagacious Pitt, who had done so much to glorify England during the reign just closed. Like Rehoboam, George "forsook the counsel which the old men gave him, and took counsel with the young men that were brought up with him, that stood before him."

This was a mistake that led to lasting disasters to the realm. The unwise policy advised by Bute, concerning the English-American colonies, engendered much of the ill-feeling toward the mother country that led to a revolutionary war and the dismemberment of the British empire. Discontents rapidly appeared in England, when it was seen that the great Pitt was discarded, and that the young king was to be ruled by his unpopular mother and the Favorite. Murmurs of discontent soon became audible and some body had the boldness to fasten upon the front of the Royal Exchange in London, this placard in large letters: "No petticoat government - no Scotch minister - no Lord George Sackville!"

Bute's idea concerning the American colonies was that they should be brought into absolute subjection to the British Parliament, by force if necessary, and to do this, he advised the employment of measures for reforming the colonial charters. Acting upon the advice of Bute, the king sent secret agents over the sea to travel in the colonies; make the acquaintance of leading men collect information about the character and temper of the people, and bring together facts and conclusions that would enable ministers to judge what regulations and alterations might be safely made. The agents came, they made superficial observations, and returned to England with erroneous conclusions which led to trouble. They entirely mistook the character and temper of the Americans, and their reports were fallacious. The colonists saw through their thin disguise as travelers for their own pleasure, and became more watchful than ever. They knew that the Board of Trade had proposed to annul the colonial charters, and to make the people submit to royal government and taxation and they looked with distrust upon all parliamentary legislation bearing upon the colonies.

A crisis soon came. The officers of customs asked for writs of assistance - warrants to empower them to call upon the people and all officers of government in America to assist them in the collection of the revenue, and to enter the stores and houses of the citizens at pleasure, in pursuit of their vocation. These writs were granted, and the people seeing the great peril to which

their liberties were thereby exposed, resolved to openly resist the measure. It was contrary to the cherished theory of English liberties, that "every man's house is his castle," when the meanest deputy of a deputy's deputy" might enter his dwelling at will. There was also a scheme on foot for establishing the ritual of the Church of England or the state mode of worship in the colonies, and this rekindled the smoldering fires of Puritan zeal in defence of the right of conscience. In these propositions the kind and the aristocracy of Great Britain were the exponents of the feudalism which still moulded the policy of rulers in Europe, but which was entirely incompatible with the more advanced and enlightened ideas of human liberty which then prevailed in America.

The writs of assistance were first issued in Massachusetts. Their legality was questioned, and the matter was brought before a court held in the old Town Hall in Boston, in February, 1761. There were calm men there, and there were fiery men there. The calm advocate of the crown (Mr. Gridley) argued that as Parliament was the supreme legislature for the whole British realm, and had authorized the writs, no subject had a right to complain. The calm Oxenbridge Thacher, an eminent lawyer, answered his arguments with keen legal reasoning, showing that the rule in English courts was, in this case, not applicable to America. The fiery James Otis, one of Gridley's pupils, in a speech full of telling logic, expressed with eloquence and impassioned manner, also replied to the attorney-general. He denounced the writs as the worst instruments of arbitrary power the most destructive of English liberty and the fundamental principles of law." No act of Parliament," he said, can establish such a writ even though made in the very language of the petition, it would be a nullity. An act of Parliament against the constitution is void." Referring to the arbitrary power of the writ, he said A man's house is his castle and whilst he is quiet, he is as well guarded as a prince in his castle. This writ, if it should be declared legal, would totally annihilate this privilege. Custom-house officers may enter our houses when they please; we are commanded to permit their entry. Their menial servants may enter, may break locks, bars, and everything in their way; and whether they break through malice or revenge, no man, no court may inquire. "I am determined," he said, to sacrifice estate, ease, health, applause, and even life to the sacred calls of my country, in opposition to a kind of power, the exercise of which cost one king his head and another his throne."

These words of Otis went forth with amazing power. They stirred the hearts of the people through all the provinces. The speech and event constitute the opening scene of resistance in America to British oppression. On that day the trumpet of the Revolution was sounded the seeds of patriots and heroes were then and there sown and when the orator ex claimed, "To my dying day I will oppose, with all the power and faculties God has given me, all such instruments of slavery on one hand and villainy on the other, as this writ of assistance is," the independence of the colonies," John Adams afterward said, was proclaimed." But absolute independence was not then desired. Even Otis deprecated the idea. The colonists were proud of their political connection with Great Britain. They asked only for justice and equality, and the privilege of local self-government as British subjects. The topic of American representation in Parliament, which assumed large proportions about two years afterward, was not then discussed.

When Otis left the Town Hall that day, he was greeted by loud huzzas from the populace, who

threw up their hats in token of their delight and from the day of that remarkable event in our history, that unflinching patriot, then six-and-thirty years of age, led the van of the phalanx of revolutionists in Massachusetts for several years. His eloquence and presence were magnetic. He was the incarnation of courage and independence. He had resigned the office of advocate-general of the colony that he might, with a good conscience, wield the sword of opposition. The royalists feared and hated him. His election to a seat in the Massachusetts Assembly in the spring of 1761, alarmed them. "Out of this," wrote the tory Timothy Ruggles, a faction will arise that will shake this province to its foundations." The Governor (Bernard), fearing the influence of his tongue, exhorted the new legislature not to heed declamations tending to promote a suspicion of the civil rights of the people being in danger. Such harangues might well suit in the reign of Charles and James, but in the time of the Georges they are groundless and unjust," he said. At that very moment the perfidious governor was secretly promoting the scheme of the Board of Trade for taking away the colonial charters.

The public career of Mr. Otis was ended before the tempest of the Revolution which he had helped to engender burst upon the colonies. In 1769, his bright intellect was clouded by a concussion of the brain, produced by a blow from a bludgeon in the hands of a custom-house officer whom he had offended. Ever afterward he was afflicted by periods of lunacy. At such times, thoughtless or heartless men and boys would make themselves merry in the streets at his expense. It was a sad sight to see the great orator and scholar so shattered and exposed. His ready use of Latin was remarkably illustrated one day. He was passing a crockery store, when a young man who was familiar with that language, standing in a door of the upper story, sprinkled some water upon him from a watering-pot he was using, saying: *Pluit tantum, nescio quantum. Scis ne tu?* "It rains so much. I know not how much. Do you know?" Otis immediately picked up a large stone, and hurling it through the window of the crockery-store, it smashing everything in its way, exclaimed: *Frigi tot nescio quot. Scis ne tu?* "I have broken so many. I know not how many. Do you know?"

After the memorable argument in the Town Hall in Boston, the triumphs of the popular will in America began. Few writs of assistance were issued, and these were ineffectual. The Americans prepared for the impending conflict with the British ministry, animated by a prophecy of success because their warfare would be just. They measured the strength of that ministry by true standards, and found them generally weak. Bute, in 1762, became Premier, with George Grenville, who prided himself on his knowledge of the science of finance, as his chancellor of the exchequer. Pitt, who had become disgusted with the ignorance and assumptions of Bute, had left public employment the previous year and retired to his country seat at Hays, in Kent. There, though tortured by gout, he watched the drift of public affairs with intense interest, and equally intense anxiety, for he trembled at the thought of the possible fate of his country, whose destinies were held by such incompetent hands.

When Pitt resigned the seals of office into the hands of the king in the autumn of 1761, the public discontent was unmistakable. Bute, in a reply to a letter from Lord Melcombe congratulating the former on being delivered of a most impracticable colleague (Mr. Pitt), said:

My situation, at all times perilous, is become much more so for I am no stranger to the language held in this great city - Our darling's resignation is owing to Lord Bute, and he must answer for all the consequences. The king, too, felt unpleasant forebodings concerning the future; and when the great statesman laid the seals before him, his majesty expressed his deep concern at the loss of so able a minister. The king showered kind words so profusely that Pitt, acknowledging the royal condescension, burst into tears. The king offered to confer a title of honor upon the retiring statesman, but Pitt was "too proud to receive any mark of the king's countenance and favor," he wrote to Bute, and declined it. He intimated, however, that he should be happy could he see those dearer to himself "comprehended in that monument of royal approbation and goodness" with which his majesty should condescend to distinguish him. The king acted upon this hint, and conferred upon Pitt's wife the honorary title of Baroness of Chatham, with a pension for Lady Chatham, her husband and their eldest son, of fifteen thousand dollars a year. With these marks of royal approbation, Pitt remained in retirement, maintaining his popularity and appearing in Parliament only when great questions came up, until 1766, when he was elevated to the peerage with the title of Viscount Pitt and Earl of Chatham. His acceptance of the title damaged his popularity. Chesterfield said: Pitt has gone to the hospital for incurable statesmen"-the House of Lords.

When Bute became prime minister, the opposition press attacked him without mercy, and innumerable caricatures appeared: some of the latter were coarse and indecent. Intoxicated by power, the minister lavished offices upon his countrymen in profusion, as did James the First. This called out many caricatures. One of these represents a northern witch on an enormous broomstick conveying Scotchmen through the air to the land of promotion. Another entitled "The Royal Dupe," represents the Princess of Wales seated on a sofa, lulling the young king to sleep in her lap, while Lord Bute is stealing his sceptre, and another is picking his pockets. Caricatures and satires concerning Bute's private relations with the princess were highly libellous and sometimes obscene. In the spring of 1763, his administration, which was founded on prerogative and power, was ended. He suddenly resigned, for causes never clearly understood, and was succeeded by George Grenville, Pitt's brother-in-law.

The new minister was an honest statesman, rigid in his morals, an indefatigable worker and possessed of great political knowledge but, according to Burke, his mind could not extend beyond the circle of official routine, and was incapable of estimating the result of untried measures. He found an empty treasury and the national debt increased by the expenses of the war then just ended, nearly seven hundred million dollars. Increased taxation was necessary. That burden upon the English people was then very great, and, viewing the temper of the public mind then, he dared not increase its weight so he looked to the Americans for relief and formed schemes for drawing a revenue from them. He did not doubt the right of Parliament to tax them, and he knew they were able to pay. At about the same time there was a warm debate upon the subject of an act for imposing an excise on cider, and which worked in a partial manner in England. It was odious to a large portion of the people, and especially to the country members of the House of Commons, and Pitt, who was in that House, denounced it as intolerable." Grenville defended it, and turning toward Pitt, said: I admit that the impost is odious, but where can you lay another tax? Let him

tell me where - only tell me where? Pitt, who was not much given to joking, hummed in the words of a popular song: "Gentle Shepherd, tell me where?" The House burst into laughter, and Grenville was ever afterward called the Gentle Shepherd. At the same time Pitt, with the most contemptuous look and manner, rose from his seat, as Grenville stood to reply, and bowing to the chairman walked slowly out of the House.

The subject of the right to tax the Americans, they not being represented in Parliament, had been debated in the House of Commons in March (1763) for the first time, when it was determined in the affirmative by a unanimous vote. When the news of that debate and vote reached Massachusetts, the Assembly of that colony, then in session, immediately resolved "That the sole right of giving and granting the money of the people of this province is vested in them, as the legal representatives and that the imposition of taxes and duties by the Parliament of Great Britain upon a people who are not represented in the House of Commons is absolutely irreconcilable with their rights. That no man can justly take the property of another without his consent; upon which principle the right of representation in the same body which exercises the power of making laws for levying taxes, one of the main pillars of the British Constitution, is evidently founded." These ideas were speedily formulated into the maxim - Taxation without representation is tyranny and upon that principle the Americans thereafter rested in opposing the taxation schemes of the mother country.

Charles Townshend, who had been Secretary of War, was made First Lord of Trade two months before Grenville became Premier. He was a thorough aristocrat and stickler for the royal prerogative, and was disposed to act with more rigor in restraining popular liberty in America than any of his predecessors. He advocated the substitution of royal authority for the colonial charters, and a new territorial arrangement of the provinces. The conclusion of peace with France, then very near, was to be the time when these vigorous measures against the Americans were to be put into operation; and as preliminary thereto, Townshend proposed making crown officers in the colonies independent of the people for their salaries, and maintaining a standing army there at the expense of the inhabitants for their own subjugation. He also proposed a stamp tax, which Bute had suggested to Parliament on the recommendation of his secretary Charles Jenkinson; and when, soon afterward, Jenkinson became Secretary of the Treasury, he proposed the measure to Grenville. The latter, at about the same time, with short-sightedness equal to Townshend's, introduced a bill for enforcing the navigation laws, which empowered every officer and seaman of the British navy to act as custom-house officers and informers, and so subjecting to search and seizure every American vessel on sea or in port. These measures for enslaving and plundering the colonists were proposed, and partially put into operation, at the moment when peace was established and the loyal colonies were rejoicing because of the honor and dominion which the war just ended had won for the British crown. Otis, at a town-meeting in Boston, expressed the feelings of the Americans, when he said: "We in America have abundant reason to rejoice. The heathen are driven out and the Canadians conquered. The British dominion now extends from sea to sea, and from the great rivers to the ends of the earth. Liberty and knowledge, civil and religious, will be co-extended, improved and preserved to the latest posterity. No constitution of government has appeared in the world so admirably adapted to

these great purposes as that of Great Britain. Every British subject in America is, of common right, by act of Parliament, and by the laws of God and nature, entitled to all the essential privileges of Britons. By particular charters particular privileges are justly granted, in consideration of undertaking to begin so glorious an empire as British America. Some weak and wicked minds have endeavored to infuse jealousies with regard to the colonies; the true interests of Great Britain and her plantations are mutual, and what God in his providence has united let no man dare attempt to pull asunder." These words rebuked the Lords of Trade, who were continually assailing the royal ear with stories about the aspirations of the American colonies for absolute independence and they were also a significant demand upon Charles Townshend to keep his hands off the American charters.

In the spring of 1764, Grenville read, in the House of Commons, a series of resolutions declaring the intention of the government to raise a tax in America by a duty on stamped paper. A stamp duty had been proposed in 1732, during Walpole's administration, but that sagacious minister said: I will leave the taxation of America to some of my successors, who have more courage than I have." Sir William Keith, governor of Pennsylvania, proposed such a tax in 1739. Franklin thought it just, when in the convention at Albany in 1754. But when it was proposed to Pitt in 1759, he said: I will never burn my fingers with an American stamp act." Early in 1764, Mr. Huske, a native of Portsmouth, New Hampshire, then residing in England, and holding a seat in Parliament, desirous of showing his excessive loyalty, arose in his place, alluded to Franklin's opinion in the Albany convention, and delighted the House of Commons with the assurance that the Americans were able to pay a liberal tax. He recommended that one should be levied that would amount annually to two and a half million dollars. Encouraged by these precedents and this assurance, Grenville, a few weeks afterward (March 9, 1764), presented his Stamp Act scheme, asking for a million dollars. On his own motion the consideration of it was postponed, and it slept for almost a year. For the part which he played in the matter, John Huske incurred the hot resentment of his countrymen, and he was hung in effigy on Liberty Tree in Boston, with the following inscription on his breast: Question. What, Brother Huske? Why this is bad! Answer. Ah, indeed but I'm a wicked lad; My mother always thought me wild. "The gallows is thy portion, child," She often said behold, 'tis true, And now the dog must have his due; For idle gewgaws, wretched pelf, I sold my country, d---d myself; And for my great, unequalled crime, The d---l takes H---e before his time. But if some brethren I could name, Who shared the crime should share the shame, This glorious tree, though big and tall, Indeed would never hold 'em all." The agents of the colonies in England remonstrated with Grenville concerning the proposed stamp tax, when he told them that if they could devise a better scheme for raising a revenue, he would be satisfied. The revenue must be raised, and he knew of no better method than the one proposed. In the House of Commons he made similar remarks, and stated that the consideration of the subject had been postponed, because there were some doubts about the right of Parliament to levy such a tax. He asserted the right, and called upon the Opposition to deny it if they thought it fitting. No one spoke but Mr. Beckford, who said: As we are strong, I hope we shall be merciful." As the right was not denied, the matter resolved itself into a question of method.

The subject excited great feeling in the colonies. Public and private discussions ran high.

Great questions that lie at the foundations of civil and natural rights were pondered thoughtfully. The people became divided in opinion, and the party names, afterward so familiar, of Whigs, Patriots, and Sons of Liberty on one side, and Loyalists and Tories on the other, now first came into vogue. Men and women, in every social condition, were found on each side in the division, and all professed loyalty to the crown and adherence to the British Constitution. Thoughtful men saw in the measure prophecies of great changes in America. If the colonist is taxed without his consent, he will, perhaps, seek a change," said Holt's New York Gazette, in May, 1764. It is a menace of the rights of man a challenge to a conflict for inalienable rights," said a writer in the Virginia Gazette. The ways of Heaven are inscrutable. This step of the mother country, though intended to secure dependence, may produce fatal resentment and be subversive of that end," wrote Richard Henry Lee of Virginia, who, twelve years afterward, offered in the Continental Congress the resolution that the colonies were free and independent States." The agent of Connecticut (Mr. Dyer), then in England, wrote: If the colonies do not now unite, they may bid farewell to liberty, burn their charters, and make the best of thralldom." In Massachusetts, the voice of that stern Puritan and conscientious Christian gentleman, Samuel Adams, who was then a little more than forty years of age, was lifted up, with words of logic and defiance, against the measure and he wrote the address of the citizens of Boston to the Massachusetts legislature, saying:

"There is no room for delay. Those unexpected proceedings may be preparatory to more extensive taxation for if our trade may be taxed, why not our lands and everything we possess If taxes are laid upon us in any shape, without our having a legal representation where they are laid, are we not reduced from the character of free subjects to the miserable state of tributary slaves? This annihilates our charter right to govern and tax ourselves. We claim British rights, not by charter only we are born to them. Use your endeavors that the weight of the other North American colonies may be added to that of this province, that by united application all may happily obtain redress."

So the Bostonians denied the right of Parliament to tax the colonies, and looked to the power of union for a redress of grievances. The patriots in other colonies were in accord with those of Massachusetts, and there was an universal expression of the sentiment: If we are taxed without our consent - if we are not represented in the body that taxes us, and we submit, we are slaves." The resolution to resist took deep root in the hearts of multitudes of men and women in the colonies; and when the subject of a stamp tax was again presented to Parliament, there was very little difference of opinion in America concerning its unrighteousness. The words of Otis had again gone forth to electrify the American people, and put leading men in England into a thoughtful mood. With wonderful power and clearness of language he enunciated great principles, declared the loyalty of the colonies, and defined natural rights. The following sentences from the extraordinary pamphlet that contains them will give an idea of its character:

"There can be no prescription old enough to supersede the law of nature and the grant of God Almighty, who has given all men the right to be free. If every prince since Nimrod had been a tyrant, it would not prove a right to tyrannize. The administrators of legislative authority, when

they verge towards tyranny, are to be resisted if they prove incorrigible, they are to be deposed. . .
. Nor do the political and civil rights of the British colonists rest on a charter from the crown.
Old Magna Charta was not the beginning of all things nor did it rise on the borders of chaos out
of the unformed mass. A time may come when Parliament shall declare every American charter
void but the natural, inherent, and inseparable rights of the colonists as men and as citizens would
remain, and, whatever became of charters, can never be abolished till the general conflagration. . .
. The world is at the eve of the highest scene of earthly power and grandeur that has ever been
displayed to the view of mankind. Who will win the prize is with God. But human nature must
and will be rescued from the general slavery that has so long triumphed over the species."

Thus spake the prophet. Lord Mansfield rebuked those in England who spoke of his
utterances with contempt. They answered, "The man is mad." What then answered the great
jurist. "One madman often makes many. Masaniello was mad; nobody doubted it yet, for all that,
he over turned the government of Naples."

Chapter XLVIII

Correspondence Between the Colonial Assemblies - Petitions and Remonstrances - Boldness of the New York Assembly - Franklin Sent to England - He is Consulted by Leading Men - The King Recommends a Stamp Tax - A Stamp Act in Parliament - Speeches of Townshend and Barre - Stamp Act Passed - Franklin's Letter to Townshend - The Act and Barre's Speech in America - Patrick Henry and His Resolutions - Stamp Distributors Scorned and Badly Treated - The Stamp Act Congress - Operations of the Act - Non-Importation Agreements.

THE Boston resolves and Otis's pamphlet, entitled "Rights of the British Colonies Asserted and Proved" stirred the American people most profoundly, and created a burning zeal for freedom. A committee of correspondence, appointed by the Massachusetts Assembly, had sent a circular letter to the assemblies of other colonies on the subject of resistance to taxation. A like committee in Rhode island sent a letter to the Pennsylvania Assembly, in which it was urged that if all of the colonies would unite in an expression of views, and present them to Parliament through their agents, the end sought for might be obtained. The Pennsylvania Assembly, delighted with the suggestion, took action accordingly. So also did those of several other provinces and petitions and remonstrances against the proposed stamp tax were soon on their way to England, bearing wise thoughts and bold assertions. They were a series of able state papers sent from Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, Pennsylvania, Virginia, and South Carolina. That from New York was the boldest of all. An exemption from ungranted and involuntary taxation, said that Assembly, must be the grand principle of every free state. Without such a right vested in themselves, exclusive of all others, there can be no liberty, no happiness, no security, nor even the idea of property. Life itself would be intolerable. We proceed with propriety and boldness to inform the Commons of Great Britain, who, to their infinite honor, in all ages asserted the liberties of mankind, that the people of this colony nobly disdain the thought of claiming that exemption as a privilege. They found it on a basis more honorable, solid and stable they challenge it, and glory in it, as a right."

Late in October (1764) the Pennsylvania Assembly chose Dr. Franklin (then fifty-eight years of age) agent of that province in England. He was then involved, as a leader of the popular party against the Proprietary government of Pennsylvania, in a bitter political dispute, and his appointment was vehemently opposed by his antagonists. It was made in spite of their remonstrances and protests, and he sailed on a mission the result of which powerfully affected the destinies of nations. The agents of some of the other colonies appearing lukewarm on the subject of a stamp tax, their powers were transferred to Franklin, and he became a sort of national representative of the British colonial empire in America. All bad confidence in his integrity, ability, statesmanship and knowledge of the character, temper and views of the American people, and much was expected from the influence of his well-known name in England. "His appointment," afterward wrote Dr. Smith, provost of the College of Philadelphia, "appears to have been a measure provided by the councils of Heaven."

Soon after Franklin's arrival in England, he was waited upon by Grenville and other politicians,

and consulted about the stamp tax. Pitt, in retirement at Hayes, sent for the philosopher, and also consulted him on the subject. Franklin told everybody that it was an unwise measure that the Americans would never submit to be taxed without their consent and that such an act, if attempted to be enforced, would endanger the unity of the empire. But the wise counsels of Franklin, and the voices from the colonists in America protesting against being sheared by The Gentle Shepherd, were of no avail. Grenville was determined to have a revenue from America. Unwilling to incur the whole odium of the measure, he adroitly placed it upon the general grounds of whig policy, and so committed the party to the scheme.

On the assembling of Parliament after the Christmas holidays (January 10, 1765), the king, in his speech, presented the American question as one of "obedience to the laws and respect for the legislative assembly of the kingdom." The stamp tax was to be the test. He seemed to be insensible to the danger to his realm of the storm then gathering in America. He recommended the carrying out of Grenville's scheme, and assured the Parliament that he should use every endeavor to enforce obedience in the colonies. So assured, Grenville, on the 7th of February, introduced his famous motion for a stamp act, composed of fifty-five resolutions. It provided that every skin or piece of vellum, or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, used for legal purposes, such as bills, bonds, notes, leases, policies of insurance, marriage licenses, and a great many other documents, in order to be held valid in courts of law, was to be stamped, and sold by public officers appointed for the purpose, at prices which levied a stated tax on every such document. The bill made all offenses against its provisions cognizable in the courts of admiralty. To the odiousness of the tax itself was added the provision for its collection by arbitrary power under the decrees of British judges, without any trial by jury.

When the Stamp Act, framed in proper order by a commissioner, came up for debate, Charles Townshend, the most eloquent man in the House in the absence of Pitt, made a speech in defense of it, which was concluded in the following words: "And now, these Americans, children planted by our care, nourished up by our indulgence until they have grown to a degree of strength and opulence, and protected by our armies, will they grudge to contribute their mite to relieve us from the heavy weight of that burden which we lie under?"

Colonel Barre, who had shared with Wolfe the dangers and fatigues of the campaign against Quebec, and who, having lived in America, knew the people well, instantly sprang to his feet, and with eyes flashing with indignation, and with outstretched arms, delivered an unpremeditated phillippic of extraordinary power, in which most wholesome truths were uttered. He exclaimed with scorn: 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 to which human nature is liable, and among others to the cruelties of a savage foe the most subtle, and I will take upon me to say the most formidable, of any people on the face of God's earth yet, actuated by principles of true English liberty, they met all hardships with pleasure compared with those they suffered in their own country from the hands of those who should have been their friends. They nourished up by your indulgence! They grew by your neglect of them. As soon as you began to care about them, that care was exercised in

sending persons to rule over them in one department and another, who were, perhaps, the deputies of deputies of some member of this House, sent to spy out their liberties, to misrepresent their actions, and to prey upon them - men whose behavior on many occasions has caused the blood of those Sons of liberty to recoil within them - men promoted to the highest seats of justice some who, to my knowledge, were glad, by going to a foreign country, to escape being brought to the bar of justice in their own. They protected by your arms They have nobly taken up arms in your defense; have exerted a valor amid their constant and laborious industry, for the defense of a country whose frontier was drenched in blood, while its interior parts yielded all its little savings to your emoluments. And believe me - remember I this day told you so - that the same spirit of freedom, which actuated that people at first, Will accompany them still; but prudence forbids me to explain myself further. God knows that I do not at this time speak from motives of party heat what I deliver are the genuine sentiments of my heart. However superior to me in general knowledge and experience the respectable body of this House may be, I claim to know more of America than most of you, having seen and been conversant in that country. The people, I believe, are as truly loyal as any subjects the king has; but a people jealous of their liberties, and who will vindicate them if ever they should be violated. But the subject is too delicate. I will say no more."

The House remained in silent amazement for a few moments after this impassioned utterance of truths. The members were generally too ignorant of America and its people to comprehend Barry's speech. The intelligent Horace Walpole confessed that he knew almost nothing about the colonists. The members of the House knew that Great Britain was strong and believed the colonies were weak and without being "merciful," as Beckford had suggested, they passed the obnoxious bill on the 27th of February by a vote of two hundred and fifty against fifty. In the Lords it received very little opposition, and on the 22nd of March, the king made it a law by signing it. A few days afterward the monarch was crazy. It was the first of four attacks of the dreadful malady of insanity which afflicted him during his long life, and finally deprived him of the power to rule.

So was produced the principal wedge which cleaved asunder the British empire. The infatuated ministry openly declared that it was intended to establish the power of Great Britain to tax the colonies." On the night of the passage of the act, Dr. Franklin wrote to Charles Thompson, afterward the Secretary of the Continental Congress: "The sun of liberty is set the Americans must light the lamps of industry and economy."

News of the passage of the Stamp Act, and a report of Barry's speech by Ingersoll, the half tory agent of Connecticut, reached the colonists at the same time. The former excited the hot indignation of the people the latter was applauded, printed, and sent broadcast over the land. Barry's title of Sons of Liberty, given to the patriots, was eagerly adopted, and the name soon became familiar on the lips of Americans. Everywhere the act was denounced. The people in villages and cities gathered in excited groups and boldly expressed their indignation. The pulpit thundered condemnation and defiance in the name of a righteous God; at public gatherings the orators denounced it the newspapers teemed with seditious essays, and the colonial assemblies

rang with rebellious utterances. Among the foremost of those who boldly denounced the act in almost treasonable language was Patrick Henry, then about twenty-nine years of age. He had lately been elected a member of the Virginia House of Burgesses, who were in session at that time in the old Capitol at Williamsburg. When the news was published to that body by the Speaker, a scene of wild excitement ensued. Henry calmly tore a blank leaf from an old copy of Coke upon Littleton, on which he wrote five resolutions and submitted them to the House. The first declared that the original settlers brought with them and transmitted to their posterity all the rights enjoyed by the people of Great Britain. The second affirmed that these rights had been secured by two royal charters granted by King James. The third asserted that taxation of the people by themselves, or by persons chosen by themselves, was the distinguishing characteristic of British freedom, and without which the ancient constitution could not exist. The fourth maintained that the people of Virginia had always enjoyed the right of being governed by their own Assembly in the article of taxes, and that this right had been constantly recognized by the king and people of Great Britain. The fifth resolution, in which was summed up the essentials of the preceding four, declared That the General Assembly of this colony have the sole right and power to levy taxes and impositions upon the inhabitants of this colony; and that every attempt to vest such power in any other person or persons whatsoever, other than the General Assembly aforesaid, has a manifest tendency to destroy British as well as American freedom."

These resolutions, so spontaneous and so bold, filled the members with astonishment. Had a thunderbolt fallen among them, they would not have been more amazed. The boldest were astounded timid ones were alarmed, and the few royalists in the House were startled and indignant. Some, whose hearts and judgments Mere with Henry, and who afterward appeared in the forefront of revolution, hesitated, and even opposed the fifth resolution as being too radical and incendiary. The resolutions were seconded by George Johnson of Fairfax, and a violent debate ensued. Threats were uttered and the royalists abused Mr. Henry without stint. He defended the resolutions, the fifth one particularly, with vigorous logic delivered in eloquent words. With pathos and denunciatory invective, he excited the sympathy, the fears and the anger of that Assembly, in a most remarkable degree. He played upon their passions as a skillful musician would touch the keys of his instrument. They were borne upon the tide of his eloquence, which was now calm, now turbulent, passive and yielding, until, in his clear bell-tones, he exclaimed, Caesar had his Brutus, Charles the First his Cromwell, and George the Third when Mr. Robinson, the Speaker, springing to his feet and striking his desk violently with his gavel, interrupted him by crying out - "Treason Treason!" This word was shouted back from all parts of the House by the royalists, and the Assembly was in the greatest confusion. Henry never faltered, but rising to a loftier altitude and fixing his flashing eyes on the Speaker, whom he knew to be a defaulter at that moment, he finished his sentence saying - "may profit by their example; if that be treason, make the most of it!"

When Henry sat down, Peyton Randolph, the king's attorney, and others arose and denounced the fifth resolution as disloyal and dangerous to the public welfare. Again Henry took the floor, and his eloquence and logic, like a rushing avalanche, swept away the sophistries of his opponents. The resolutions were carried the fifth by a majority of only one. That evening Mr.

Henry left Williamsburg for his home. Some of those who voted for the fifth resolution under excitement became alarmed after reflection and the next morning, in the absence of Henry, the House reconsidered and rejected it. So the vitality of the resolutions as a revolutionary agent was destroyed. Manuscript copies of them had been sent to Philadelphia and the east. News of the rejection of the fifth immediately followed. Ardent patriots somewhere, anxious to have the political voice of Virginia sounding throughout the land the sentiments of Patrick Henry, caused the four resolutions which were actually adopted to be rewritten in slightly changed form, and two more to be added, which gave out trumpet-tones of revolution in the following manner:

"35. Resolved, That his Majesty's liege people, the inhabitants of this colony, are not bound to yield obedience to any law or ordinance whatsoever, designed to impose any taxation whatsoever upon them other than the laws and ordinances of the General Assembly aforesaid.

"36. Resolved, That any person who shall, by speaking or writing, maintain that any person or persons other than the General Assembly of this colony have any right or power to lay any taxation whatsoever on the people here, shall be deemed an enemy to this his Majesty's colony."

These resolutions, so full of bold, revolutionary force, were first published in Boston as the actual resolves of the Virginia legislature on the 29th of May, 1765. They flew upon the wings of the press and the letters of committees of correspondence all over the provinces, and gave the first decisive impulse toward united resistance. Within a fortnight after they were published, Massachusetts, on the recommendation of Otis, sent out an invitation to all the colonies to meet her by delegates in a general Congress in New York the following autumn. In the beautiful month of June, the Virginia resolves and the Massachusetts circular reached all the colonies, and everywhere they met a hearty response. The Sons of Liberty were very active: and yet there were many wise and patriotic men, knowing that Great Britain had made provision for enforcing the Stamp Act by quartering troops on the colonists, if necessary, prepared not only to submit, but to profit by the measures. Richard Henry Lee of Virginia, whose patriotism no man ever doubted, perceiving that the office would be very lucrative, applied for the appointment of stamp-distributor; and even Dr. Franklin, considering the colonies too weak in numbers then to resist the arms of Great Britain, advised Ingersoll, the agent for Connecticut then in England, to accept the same office, and added: "Go home and tell your countrymen to get children as fast as they can," so intimating that by increase in population the Americans might secure their liberties. It was a cunning scheme of Grenville to appoint Americans to the office of stamp-distributors. He thought they would be more acceptable to their countrymen than foreigners. He was mistaken. They were regarded as accomplices in the plot against liberty. If the ruin of your country is decreed, are you free from blame for taking part in the plunder?" indignantly exclaimed Daggett, of New Haven and he spurned Jared Ingersoll as a public enemy.

The Stamp Act was to go into effect in the colonies on the first day of November, 1765. Ingersoll arrived at Boston at the beginning of August, bearing commissions for stamp-distributors, and on the 8th of that month their names were published. They immediately became objects of public resentment and scorn. There was a general determination not to allow

them to exercise the functions of their office. Manifestations of hostility to them instantly appeared. Andrew Oliver, secretary of the province of Massachusetts, who had been appointed stamp-master for Boston, was the first to feel resentment. A large elm tree, standing at the edge of the town, had been a shelter for the Sons of Liberty at their out-of-town meetings during the summer. It was called "Liberty Tree," and the ground under it, "Liberty Hall." At dawn on the morning of the 14th of August, an effigy of Oliver, with emblems of Bute and Grenville, was seen hanging upon that tree. Crowds went to view it. Hutchinson, chief justice of the province, ordered the sheriff to take it down. "We will remove it ourselves at evening," quickly said the populace, and the sheriff kept his hands off the effigy.

At twilight a great multitude gathered around Liberty Tree. The effigy was taken down, laid on a bier, and was borne by the populace through the old State House directly under the Council Chamber, shouting Liberty, Property, and no Stamps. That multitude, at first orderly, now became a riotous mob. They tore down a building which Oliver was erecting for a stamp office, and made a bonfire of it. They shouted, "Death to the man who offers a piece of stamped paper to sell and rushing toward Oliver's house, they there beheaded the effigy, and would doubtless have killed him if they could have caught him. He had escaped by a back way. They broke into his house, and in brutal wantonness destroyed his furniture, trees, fences and garden and after saluting the governor with three cheers, they dispersed. Believing his life to be in danger, Oliver resigned his office the following morning, and the town was quieted. The cowardly Bernard, after ordering a proclamation for the discovery and arrest of the rioters, fled to the castle on an island in Boston harbor. "The prisons would not hold them long," said the Rev. Jonathan Mahew of the West Church, whose voice had been heard in favor of the people more than a dozen years before. "We have sixty thousand fighting men in this colony alone," he said. Twelve days afterward, at night, another mob burned all the records of the admiralty court, ravaged the house of the comptroller of the customs, and splitting open the doors of Chief-Justice Hutchinson, whom they regarded as a secret public enemy, they broke his furniture, scattered his plate and the contents of his valuable library, and left his house a wreck. He and his family had barely time to escape. The better class of citizens frowned upon these proceedings, and the officers of the crown, terror-stricken, were very quiet. The mob spirit was manifested in several colonies, for the people were much exasperated against those who had accepted the office of stamp-distributors. In Providence, Rhode Island, after destroying the house and furniture of an obnoxious citizen, a mob compelled the stamp-officer to resign. At New Haven, in Connecticut, Ingersoll was denounced as a traitor; and the fact that the initials of his name were those of Judas Iscariot was publicly pointed out, and he was compelled to promise that he would not sell stamps or stamped paper. He was finally forced to resign by a multitude who threatened him with personal violence. Cadwallader Colden, a venerable Scotchman, then eighty years of age, was acting-governor of New York. He was a liberal-minded man, but duty to his sovereign and his own political convictions compelled him to oppose the popular movements. James McEvers was appointed stamp-distributor for New York. The Sons of Liberty demanded his resignation. The governor protected him. When, late in October, stamps arrived, McEvers, alarmed, refused to receive them, and they were taken to the fort at the foot of Broadway for safety. The garrison was strong, and the governor had strengthened the works. This covert menace exasperated the

people. Although armed British ships were riding in the harbor, and the guns of the fort were pointed toward the town, the Sons of Liberty were not afraid. They appeared in large numbers before the fort, and demanded the stamps. A refusal was answered by defiant shouts. An orderly procession soon became a roaring mob. Half an hour after the refusal, the governor was hung in effigy on the spot where Leisler, the democrat, was executed seventy-five years before. Then the mob went back to the fort, dragged Colden's fine coach to the open space in front of it, and tearing down the wooden railing that surrounded the Bowling Green, piled it upon the vehicle, and made a bonfire of the whole. Then they rushed out of town to the beautiful dwelling-place of Major James, of the artillery (at the present intersection of Worth street and West Broadway), where they destroyed his fine library, works of art and furniture, and desolated his beautiful garden, leaving his seat, called Ranelagh, a ruin. After parading the streets with the Stamp Act printed on large sheets and raised upon poles, with the words, "England's Folly and America's Ruin," the populace dispersed to their homes.

In New Jersey, Coxe, the stamp-officer, fearing violence, resigned. At Annapolis, in Maryland, the excited populace pulled down a house that Zachariah Hood, a stamp-officer, was repairing for the purpose, they thought, of selling stamps in it, and the governor dared not interfere. General alarm prevailed among the officers of the crown. They saw that the Americans were thoroughly aroused and very strong. In other colonies not here named, there was equal firmness, but less violence, in preventing the sale of stamps and when the first of November arrived, the law, so far as its enforcement was concerned, was a nullity.

The invitation of Massachusetts for the colonies to meet in a representative convention in New York was promptly responded to favorably, and the famous Stamp Act Congress," so called, assembled at New York on the 7th of October. Twenty-seven delegates were present, representing nine colonies, namely, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, and South Carolina. Timothy Ruggles of Massachusetts, a rank tory at heart, was chosen to preside, and John Cotton was appointed secretary. Communications were received from the assemblies of New Hampshire, Virginia, North Carolina and Georgia, saying they would agree to whatever might be done by the Congress. That body continued in session fourteen days, and the whole subject of the rights and grievances of the colonies was fully discussed. John Cruger of New York, was deputed to write a Declaration of Rights. Robert R. Livingston of New York, prepared a Petition to the King, and James Otis of Massachusetts, wrote a Memorial to both Houses of Parliament. These were adopted, and have ever been regarded as able state papers. They embodied the principles that governed the men of the revolution that broke out ten years afterward. The proceedings were signed by all but the President and Robert Ogden of New Jersey, both of whom thus early manifested their defection from a cause which they afterward openly opposed. Ruggles was censured for his conduct by a vote of the Massachusetts Assembly, and was reprimanded, in his place, by the Speaker. He afterward became a bitter Tory, and took up arms for the king. In Mrs. Mercy Warren's drama called *The Group*, Ruggles figures as Brigadier Hate-all. Ogden was also publicly censured for his conduct was burned in effigy, and at the next meeting of the New Jersey Assembly was dismissed from the Speaker's chair, which honorable post he held at the time

of the Congress. These men had insisted in that body that resistance to the act was treason, and they, in turn, were denounced as traitors to the rights of man.

On the first of November, 1765, the Stamp Act became a law in America. It had been ably discussed by the brightest intellects in the land, and generally denounced, sometimes with calmness, sometimes with turbulence. It was manifest to all that its enforcement was an impossibility yet its existence was a perplexity. No legal instrument of writing was thereafter valid without a stamp, by a law of the British realm. But on that day there remained not one person commissioned to sell a stamp, for they had all resigned. The royal governors had taken an oath that they would see that the law was executed, but they were powerless. The people were their masters, and were simply holding their own power in abeyance.

The first of November was Friday. It was a "black Friday" in America. The morning was ushered by the tolling of bells. A funeral solemnity overspread the land. Minute-guns were fired as if a funeral procession was passing. Flags were hoisted at half-mast as if there had been a national bereavement. There were orations and sermons appropriate to the occasion. The press spoke out boldly. The press is the test of truth the bulwark of public safety; the guardian of freedom, and the people ought; not to sacrifice it," said Benjamin Mecom, of New Haven, in his Connecticut Gazette, printed that morning, and filled with patriotic appeals. This was the spirit of most of the newspapers. Such, also, was the spirit of most of the Congregational pulpits. Patriots everywhere encouraged each other and a yearning for union was universally felt. Nothing will now save us but acting together," wrote the sturdy Gadsden of South Carolina. The province that endeavors to act separately must fall with the rest, and be branded besides with everlasting infamy."

As none but stamped paper was legal, and as the people had determined not to use it, all business was suspended. The courts were closed, marriages ceased, vessels lay idle in the harbors, and the social and commercial operations in America were paralyzed. Few dared to think of positive rebellion. The sword of British power was ready to leap from its scabbard in wrath and a general gloom overspread society. Yet the Americans did not despair nor even despond. They held in their hands a power which might compel the British Parliament to repeal the obnoxious Act. The commerce between Great Britain and the colonies had become very important, and any measure that might interrupt its course would be keenly felt by a large and powerful class in England, whose influence was felt in, Parliament. The expediency of striking a deadly blow at that trade occurred to some New York merchants, and on the 31st of October - the day before the obnoxious Act went into operation - a meeting was held in that city; and an agreement entered into not to import from England certain enumerated articles after the first of January next ensuing. The merchants of Philadelphia and Boston readily entered into a similar agreement. So also did retail merchants agree not to buy or sell goods shipped from England after the first of January. In this way was begun that system of nonimportation agreements which hurled back upon England, with great force, the commercial miseries she had inflicted upon the colonies.

The patriotic people co-operated with the merchants. Domestic, manufactures were commenced in almost every family. Forty or fifty young ladies, calling themselves "Daughters of Liberty," met at the house of Rev. Dr. Morehead, in Boston, with their spinning-wheels, and spun two-hundred and thirty-two skeins of yarn during a day and presented them to the pastor. There were upwards of one hundred spinners in Mr. Morehead's society. "Within a month," wrote a gentleman from Newport, Rhode Island, some time afterward, four hundred and eighty-seven yards of cloth and thirty-six pairs of stockings have been spun and knit in the family of James Nixon, of this town." Other families were mentioned in which several hundred yards of cloth were made. Another from Newport said: "A lady of this town, though in the bloom of youth, and possessed of virtues and accomplishments, engaging, and sufficient to excite the most pleasing expectations of happiness in the married state, has declared that she should rather be an old maid than that the operations of the Stamp, Act should commence in these colonies." The wealthiest vied with the middling classes in economy, and wore clothing of their own manufacture. That wool might not be scarce, the use of sheep flesh for food was discouraged. One source of British prosperity was thus dried up. When firm but respectful appeals went to the ears of the British ministry from America, the merchants and manufacturers of England seconded them, and their potential voices were heeded.

Chapter XLIX

Pitt Attempts to Form a New Cabinet - Duke of Cumberland's Ministry - American Affairs in Parliament - Pitt's Great Speech - Repeal of the Stamp Act - The Declaratory Act - Pitt Caricatured - Joyful Proceedings in England and America - Pitt Made a Peer and Becomes Unpopular - Pitt's Cabinet - British Troops in New York - The Liberty-Pole - Taxation Measures Adopted by Parliament - Indignation of the Americans - Hopes of the French - They Send an Emissary to America - Preparations for Resistance.

IN the early summer of 1765, Grenville found his administration embarrassed by conflicting political interests, and the king was dissatisfied with what his minister failed to accomplish. The monarch, influenced by men of greater minds than his own, had resolved on a change. The public were loudly clamoring for the restoration of Pitt to the premiership. The king was not unwilling, and in June he summoned that statesman to an audience. Pitt was shy; he would not commit himself until he knew what lines of policy were to be pursued. The king yielded much. Among other things he agreed to a repeal of the English cider tax and a change in the American stamp tax, and then Pitt consented to form a new ministry. He bent for his brother-in-law, Lord Temple, to whom he offered the seals of the treasury. Temple declined. He was influenced by Grenville, and Pitt was thwarted. Then the Duke of Cumberland attempted to form a ministry. He well knew the value of Pitt, and the importance of having him a leading spirit in the cabinet. To accomplish this end, he visited the great commoner in person, at Hayes, where Pitt was laid up with the gout, but he failed in his mission, and made up an incongruous cabinet. This visit to Hayes drew forth a caricature that was inspired by the ministers out of office. The Duke of Cumberland is seen as a courier riding in hot haste to consult the gouty foot of the statesman, which is seen projecting from the door of a country inn, and swathed in flannels. On a sign-board over the door is an inflated bladder inscribed "Popularity," and under it the initials of Pitt - W. P.

In the new cabinet, the Marquis of Rockingham, a friend of the Americans, took the place of Grenville. General Conway, another friend, was appointed Secretary of State with the management of the House of Commons, assisted by the Duke of Grafton. This office concerned the Americans more than any other, for its incumbent dealt directly with them. These, with other members of the cabinet, formed such a motley group of men of conflicting political views, that its early dissolution seemed inevitable. Lord Chesterfield wrote to his son: "It will either require repairs or a keystone next winter and that keystone will and must necessarily be Mr. Pitt." Such was the tendency and such was the expectation all the autumn - that memorable autumn when the tempest of opposition to the stamp tax raged in America. At the same time Mr. Pitt's health gradually improved. At the close of November, he wrote to his wife from Bath: I have been airing in the coach to-day for the second time, nearly three hours, and come untired, wanting nothing but dinner, and the sight of my love and of my children. I can stand with the help of crutches, and hope soon to discard one of them. Who knows, in time, what may become of his companion? My left hand holds a fork at dinner with some gentleness, and my right, as you see, a pen." The statesman's health continued to improve, and when Parliament assembled after the Christmas holidays, he was in his place, and indulged a feeling of confidence in Rockingham.

Meanwhile public sentiment had been deeply stirred in England by events in America, while strange apathy marked the conduct of the king and Parliament. In his speech, when the latter assembled at the middle of December, and when the conduct of the Americans and their petitions and remonstrances were made known, the monarch barely alluded to unpleasant occurrences in the colonies that might demand the attention of the legislature. That body seemed quite as indifferent to the news from beyond the sea as the king, and almost immediately adjourned. But when they reassembled in January, 1766, the ministry were fully alive to the necessity of prompt and vigorous action. The king, after alluding to the disturbances in the colonies, assured the legislature that no time had been lost in issuing orders to his governors in America, and to the commander of his military forces there, for the exertion of all the powers of government in suppressing riots and tumults, and in the effectual support of lawful authority." The rest he left to the wisdom of Parliament.

The debate on American affairs opened with a discussion of the speech of the king, which, by Grenville and others, was considered altogether too lenient toward the rebellious Americans. Pitt, who was in his place in the House, with his legs swathed in flannels, arose, and leaning upon his crutches, made one of the most remarkable speeches ever heard in the House of Commons. After a brief review of his own career as premier, he animadverted upon the tardiness of the ministry in laying an account of the disturbances in America before Parliament, and declared that, in his opinion, the government of Great Britain had no right to tax the colonists. "They are subjects of this kingdom," he said, equally entitled with yourselves to all the natural rights of mankind and the peculiar privileges of Englishmen; equally bound by its laws, and equally participating in the constitution of this free country. The Americans are the sons, not the bastards of England. Taxation is no part of the governing or legislative powers. Taxes are the voluntary gift or grant of the Commons alone.

When, therefore, in this House, we give and grant, we give and grant what is our own. But in an American tax, what do we do? We, your majesty's Commons for Great Britain, give and grant to your majesty, what? Our own property? No; we give and grant to your majesty the property of your majesty's Commons of America. It is an absurdity in terms There is," he continued, an idea that the colonies are virtually represented in this House. I would fain know by whom an American is represented here. Is he represented here by any knight of the shire, in any county of this kingdom? Would to God that respectable representation was augmented to a greater number Or will you tell him that he is represented by any representation of a borough - a borough which, perhaps, its own representative never saw?" Then, with a prophetic glance at future parliamentary reform, he said: This is what is called the rotten part of the constitution. It cannot continue a century; if it does not drop, it must be amputated."

When Pitt sat down, the House, awed into silence by his brilliant declamation, remained so for a few minutes, when General Conway, of the cabinet, arose and declared that his sentiments were consonant with those of the orator. Grenville took the floor and defended his measure as right in itself. He complained of the delay of ministers in giving notice of the disturbances in America. "They began," he said, "in July, and now we are in the middle of January. Lately they were only

'occurrences,' they are now grown to 'disturbances,' to 'tumults,' and to 'riots.' I doubt they border on open rebellion; and if the doctrines of this day be confirmed, that name will be lost in revolution." Then fixing his eyes sharply on Pitt, he exclaimed with emphasis: The seditious spirit of the colonies owes its birth in this House. Gentlemen are careless of the consequences of what they say, provided it answers the purpose of opposition."

This thrust from his brother-in-law brought Pitt and others to their feet. There was a cry, Mr. Pitt Mr. Pitt when all but the great orator sat down. He then fell upon Grenville, and told him that since he had challenged him to the field, he would fight him on every foot of it. He tells us that America is obstinate - America is in open rebellion," said Pitt. I rejoice that America has resisted. Three millions of people so dead to all the feelings of liberty as to voluntarily submit to be slaves, would have been fit instruments to make slaves of the rest." Alluding to the alleged strength of Great Britain and the weakness of America, he said: It is true that in a good cause, on a good ground, the force of this country could crush America to atoms; but on this ground, on this Stamp Act, many here will think it a crying injustice, and I am one who will lift up my hands against it. In such a cause your success would be hazardous. America, if she fall, would fall like the strong man she would embrace the pillars of the state, and pull down the constitution along with her."

Pitt then proposed an absolute, total and immediate repeal of the Stamp Act, at the same time declaring the absolute sovereignty of Great Britain over the colonies. His proposition was warmly seconded, and Edmund Burke, then thirty-six years of age and who was sitting in Parliament for the first time, made two remarkable speeches in favor of repeal. They were so logical and brilliant in expression that he immediately took a front rank among the orators of the House of Commons. A repeal bill was introduced, and on the 18th of March it was passed by the House by a large majority. It was accompanied by Pitt's declaratory act, so called, which affirmed the right of Parliament to bind the colonies in all cases whatsoever" - an act intended by the great statesman to soothe the feelings of some who might, by their votes, defeat the repeal bill. In the House of Lords it was stoutly opposed as a relinquishment of the sovereign power of the government. Lord Camden was favorable to repeal, but he was opposed to the declaratory act. Planting himself firmly on the maxim that taxation without representation is tyranny, I will maintain it to the last," he said.

The position is founded in the law of nature. It is more it is, itself an eternal law of nature." On the day of its enactment (March 18), the repeal act became a law by receiving the reluctantly-given signature of the king.

The repeal of the Stamp Act produced great joy in England and America. In London the event was celebrated by bonfires and illuminations. The merchants had sweet dreams of reviving trade with the Americans. To Pitt was ascribed all the honor of the measure, and he was idolized. When he left the lobby of the House of Commons, the populace gathered around him with the most extravagant demonstrations of joy. The aristocracy, on the other hand, were offended and alarmed. "The king is made to bow to subjects," they said. British power is set at naught the foundation of the British empire is sapped." demagogue seeking popularity. Pitt was lampooned

and caricatured as a One of the pictures entitled The Colossus, represents Pitt raised on very lofty stilts, his gouty leg resting on the Royal Exchange in London, which is surrounded by bubbles inscribed "War," "Peace," etc. This stilt is called Popularity." The other, called Seditious," he stretches over the sea toward New York, seen in the distance, and fishing for popularity in the Atlantic Ocean. He rests on a long staff entitled Pension." Above Pitt's head hangs the broad hat of the common-wealth; and in the air, on one side, is seen Lord Temple occupied in blowing bubbles which support the "great Commoner's fame. This picture, and the lines below which accompanied it, show the spirit of that day:

"Tell to me if you are witty, Whose wooden leg is in de city, En bien drole, 'tis de great pity. Doodle doo."

"De broad-brim hat he thrust his nob in, De while St. Stephen's throng are throbbing. One crutch in America is bobbing. Doodle doo."

"But who be yonder odd man there, sir! Building de castle in de air, sir? Oh 'tis de Temple one may swear, sir! Doodle doo."

"Stamp act, le diable! dat's de jot, sir, Dat stamp't it in de stilt-man's nob, sir, To be America's nabob, sir. Doodle doo."

"De English dream vid leetle vit, sir; For de French dey make de Pit, sir, 'Tis a pit for dem who now are hit, sir. Doodle, noodle, doo."

Equal joy was manifested in America, when news of the repeal came over the Atlantic. Pitt, the King, and the Parliament shared in the honors - of congratulatory cannon-peals, oratory, bonfires, illuminations, and great meetings of citizens. In Boston, the Sons of Liberty gathered under the Liberty-Tree and adopted the most laudatory resolutions concerning the immediate participants in the measures that brought about the repeal. A day was set apart for celebrating the event. The dawn was ushered in by the roar of artillery and the ringing of bells. John Hancock, a leading patriot and wealthy merchant of Boston, opened a pipe of wine in front of his fine mansion on Beacon street and at the suggestion of a "fair Boston nymph," the liberal citizen raised funds and ransomed and set at liberty every prisoner for debt in the jail of the New England metropolis, that they might participate in the general joy. All the great houses were illuminated, and many feasts were given. The local government dined at the Province House, where many loyal toasts were drunk. Past animosities were forgotten, and the 16th of May, 1766, was a happy day in Boston.

In New York there were equal demonstrations of joy. Pitt, the King, and Parliament were praised and honored. The news of the repeal reached that city on the 6th of May. Bells rang out a merry peal. Cannons shook the city, and placards were scattered over the town calling the people to assemble the next day to celebrate the joyous event. It was a beautiful May day, and everybody was in the open air. A long procession of citizens was formed at the Bowling Green

and marched to The Fields" (the site of the City Hall and Post-office), where a royal salute of twenty-one guns was fired. The Sons of Liberty had a great feast, whereat twenty-eight loyal and constitutional toasts were drank." The city was illuminated at evening, and bonfires blazed on every corner. Again, on the king's birthday (June 4), there was a celebration under the auspices of Governor Moore. That magistrate, the council, military officers and the clergy dined at the King's Arms," on the west side of Broadway, opposite the Bowling Green, where General Gage had his headquarters. There were great rejoicing among the people in The Fields, where an ox was roasted whole twenty-five barrels of beer and a hogshead of rum were opened for the populace; twenty-five pieces of cannon were ranged in a row and gave a royal salute, and in the evening twenty-five tar barrels, hoisted upon poles, were burned, and gorgeous fire-works were exhibited at Bowling Green.

The Sons of Liberty also feasted together, and under the sanction of the governor they erected a tall mast in The Fields in front of Warren street. which they called a Liberty-Pole. Upon it they placed the inscription: 79 His Most Gracious Majesty George the Third Mr. Pitt, and Liberty. At a meeting of citizens a fortnight later, a petition was numerously signed, praying the Assembly to erect a statue of Mr. Pitt. The Assembly complied; and on the same day that body resolved to set up an equestrian statue of the king. The former, made of marble, was placed at the intersection of Wall and Smith (now William) streets, in New York, and the latter, made of lead and gilded, was erected on a pedestal in the middle of the Bowling Green. These were set up in the year 1770. Within six years afterward, the statue of the king was pulled down and destroyed by republicans, and that of Pitt was mutilated by royalists soon afterward. In Philadelphia, Charleston, and other places, also, there were great demonstrations of joy and loyalty. That loyalty, so manifestly sincere, was developed by a single act of justice, and even that was qualified. If the British ministry had been wise, they might have easily conciliated the Americans and ushered in an era of peace and prosperity on both sides of the Atlantic. But they were not wise.

In the midst of the rejoicing, there were wise, thoughtful and patriotic men who shook their heads ominously, and whose voices seemed to many like the croaking of the raven. While the bells were ringing, cannons thundering and bonfires were blazing in Charleston, South Carolina, and the legislature were voting to erect the fine statue of Pitt yet standing in the southern city, Christopher Gadsden collected some of his political friends under a great live-oak tree, and warned them not to be deceived by the show of justice, for the fangs of the dragon of oppression, by Pitt's declaratory act, had been left untouched. Similar warning was given in other colonies; and very soon there was a reaction in the public mind. The liberal press of England denounced the act, and Pitt's plea of expediency could not save him from very severe censure by the Americans when they gravely considered the matter. It was perceived, by sagacious observers, that the repeal bill was only a truce in the war upon the liberty of the Americans. They watched every movement of the government party with suspicion. Within a few months, there came from the serpent's egg - the declaratory act - a brood of obnoxious measures which kindled the fiery indignation of the colonists.

When, in the summer of 1766, the popular Rockingham ministry was dissolved, and the king

called Pitt to create a new ministry out of such material as he pleased, the liberal party in England watched the movement with some anxiety, for they knew how obstinately the monarch clung to the royal prerogative. When the king offered Pitt a peerage with the title of Viscount Pitt and Earl of Chatham, and he accepted the honor, his popularity fell suddenly to zero, and it never again went up to summer heat. There was a prevailing opinion that Bute and the Princess of Wales were still a power behind the throne, and fears were entertained that Pitt in his old age, eager for honors and emoluments, would be the puppet of the despised Scotch nobleman and the king's mother. In making up his cabinet, Pitt seems to have failed in sagacity. It was composed of such discordant materials that neither party knew what confidence to repose in it. It was largely composed of friends of the king, but the colleagues whom he assorted at the same boards," wrote Burke, stared at each other and were obliged to ask, Sir, your name? Sir, you have the advantage of me Mr. Such-a-one, I beg a thousand pardons. I venture to say that it did so happen that persons had a single office divided between them who had never spoken teach other in their lives until they found themselves, they knew not how, pigging together, heads and points, in the same truckle-bed." It was an administration utterly unsafe to touch and unsure to stand upon. Pitt's shattered health would not permit him to control the cabinet. Frequent fits of gout confined him at his country-seat much of the time, when his opposers and political enemies, whom, to please the king, he had clothed with power, devised and put into operation schemes for taxing the Americans, directly contrary to his well-known principles of action. It was during his administration of two years and four months that seen of the most obnoxious acts of Parliament concerning the Americans became laws, under the fostering care of the ministry. Troops had already been sent to America, in accordance with the provisions of a military act passed when news of the stamp-act disturbances in the colonies reached Parliament. A large portion of the House of Lords, the whole bench of bishops and many of the Commons, who did not doubt the right of the government to tax the colonies, urged the ministry to use coercive measures against them. A certain number of bishops are entitled to a seat in the House of Lords, with the same political powers of the peers, and the two classes compose the "Lords spiritual and Lords temporal" of the kingdom.

Troops were sent to New York with power, under the law, to break into houses in search of deserters. The royal governor demanded of the Assembly an appropriation for the subsistence of these avowed instruments of oppression. The people were indignant. The Sons of Liberty were aroused to action, and they resolved to oppose the measure to the utmost of their ability. Angry feelings were excited between the troops and the citizens. The former, insolent and overbearing, became objects of intense dislike; and when, three months after the Liberty-Pole was erected with so much harmony and loyalty, the soldiers, to show their power, cut it down, the indignation of the people almost drove them into an armed rebellion. They set up the pole again the next evening, in defiance of the soldiery, with whom they had a fracas, when some blood was shed. A month later the troops again prostrated the pole, and again the people re-erected it, and from its top unfurled the British banner which they loved so well. They bound the pole with iron to resist the axes of the mercenaries, and set a guard to watch it. The soldiers came with loaded muskets, fired some random shots into a house where the Sons of Liberty were assembled, and tried to drive the people from the fields. Fearful retaliation would have followed this act had not the

governor, alarmed by the popular indignation, ordered the troops to refrain from further aggressive acts. That was in the spring of 1767. This defense of the Liberty-Pole in New York was applauded throughout the colonies, and was a manifestation of the spirit of the people everywhere.

Charles Townshend, chancellor of the exchequer, was a ruling spirit in the cabinet in the absence of Pitt. He and Grenville coalesced in devising new schemes for taxing the Americans. The latter proposed direct taxation to a considerable amount. In June (1767), a bill, proposed by Townshend, for levying duties on tea, glass, paper, painters' colors, and other articles imported by the colonists, was adopted by Parliament. In July, another bill was passed for the establishment of a board of revenue commissioners in the colonies, with their seat at Boston, to be independent of colonial legislation also for creating resident commissioners of customs to enforce the revenue laws. Another was adopted a few days later, forbidding the Assembly of New York to perform any legislative act whatever, until they should comply with the requirements of the mutiny act in regard to the subsistence of the troops.

These taxation schemes were properly regarded as direct blows against the liberties of the Americans, and they excited almost as violent opposition as did the Stamp Act. The colonial assemblies boldly protested against them. The Assembly of New York disregarded the disabling act, while the royal governors, with their numerous retainers, as blind as their masters, elated by the prospect of being independent of the colonial assemblies, eagerly promoted the schemes of the ministry and so fostered opposition among the people. A warm discussion in Parliament, concerning the rebellious acts of the colonies, revealed the fact to the world that the Americans were on the eve of open rebellion. In the course of the debate they were charged with a design to revolt and set up an independent government. They were called rebels, and traitors." Even the cautious Lord Mansfield drew a picture of the folly and wickedness of the American incendiaries," and the fatal effects upon England which the deplorable event of the separation of the colonists from the mother country might produce.

The prospect of disruption delighted the French ministry. Ever since the conquest of Canada, by which the French had been shorn by the English of a vast domain in America, the pride of that nation had been humbled at the feet of British power. There was a deep-seated determination to strike a deadly retaliatory blow when opportunity should offer. From the time of the treaty of Paris in 1763, the French government, seeing disaffection in the colonies, cherished the hope that it would grow into an open rupture which would lead to the withdrawal of those colonies from the government of Great Britain. That dismemberment of the empire was looked forward to by the French as the consummation of their wishes, and they resolved to help the Americans whenever they should enter upon a struggle, with arms, for their independence. That struggle now seemed to be near, and the chief French minister, Choiseul, resolved to send an emissary to America to spy out the real intentions of the colonists, if possible. That emissary was the Baron De Kalb, a colonel from the Franco-German province of Alsace, who was afterward a general in the American army of the Revolution, and fell a martyr, near Camden, in South Carolina. He was instructed to ascertain the wants of the Americans in respect to engineers and artillery officers,

and munitions of war and stores the strength of their purpose to withdraw from Great Britain their resources in troops and fortifications the plan of their projected revolution, and the character of their leaders, civil and military. The French minister did not comprehend the real loyalty of the Americans, nor their power of endurance and patience under provocation. The baron performed the service, but his report did not warrant Choiseul in hoping for an immediate rupture. From that time it was the cherished policy of the French government to foster the quarrel, and to give aid to the Americans whenever they should strike a blow for freedom. They did so, as we shall observe hereafter, for the sole purpose of injuring Great Britain and restricting her power.

Meanwhile the colonists were preparing for resistance to the taxation schemes. The common danger had thoroughly united them, and a feeling of nationality was budding in their hearts. The committees of correspondence kept each colony fully acquainted with the sentiments and acts of the others. The assemblies and people took the broad view expressed by James Otis, that "taxes on trade, if designed to raise a revenue, were just as much a violation of their rights as any other tax." The colonial newspapers, then about thirty in number, were becoming tribunes of the people, and in them the principles of liberty and the rights of the colonists were ably discussed in short essays. Among the most effective of these were a dozen Letters of a Farmer of Pennsylvania to the Inhabitants of the British Colonies," which were published in a Philadelphia newspaper in the summer and autumn of 1767. In a style of great simplicity, vigor and animation, their author (John Dickinson, an eminent lawyer of Philadelphia) portrayed the unconstitutionality of the conduct of Great Britain, the imminent peril to liberty in America which existed, and the fatal consequences of a supine acquiescence in ministerial measures - more fatal as precedents than by the immediate calamities they were calculated to produce. Votes of thanks were given to Dickinson at public meetings; and in May, 1768, an association in Philadelphia, called the Society of Fort St. David, presented an address to him "in a box of heart of oak," with suitable inscriptions. On the top was represented the Phoenician cap of liberty on a spear, resting on a cipher of the letters J. D. Underneath the cipher, in a semi-circular label, were the words "Pro Patria." Around the whole, the following: Theif of the Governor and Society of Fort St. David to the author of THE FARMER'S LETTERS, in grateful testimony to the very eminent service thereby rendered to this country, 1768." On the inside of the lid was the following inscription: The Liberties of the British colonies in America asserted with Attic eloquence and Roman spirit, by John Dickinson, barrister-at-law."

The immediate and subsequent effects of these letters were wonderful. The colonial assemblies noticed them, and upon the broad grounds of right and justice laid down in these essays, they denounced the acts of Parliament. Non-importation associations which had been dissolved on the repeal of the Stamp Act were reorganized, and that powerful machinery almost destroyed the commerce with England. Dr. Franklin caused the Letters to be republished in London, with a preface written by himself, in 1768. They were also translated into French and published in Paris.

Chapter L

The Americans Resolve to Resist - Violence Deprecated - Views of Leaders - Folly of the Ministry - The Massachusetts Circular - Acts of Crown Officers - The Issue - Hillsborough's Instructions - Temper of the Other Colonies - A Prophecy - A Warlike Menace - Seizure of the "Liberty" - Exciting Scenes at Boston - Firmness of the Citizens - Action on Rescinding by the Assembly - A Theological Controversy.

At the beginning of 1768, the Americans, educated by a long series of moral and political contests with the government of Great Britain, and assured by recent experience and observation of their own sound and potent physical and moral strength derived from numbers and the justice of their acts, stood in an attitude of firm resolve not to submit to the new schemes of the ministry for their enslavement. They were determined to maintain home rule inviolate in their political affairs, yet they were willing to bear with patience the pressure upon their industrial enterprise of old acts of Parliament then unrepealed. They were still eminently loyal, and were proud of the honor of being British subjects in its broad sense of nationality. But to the eye of a superficial observer the Americans, at that time, were in a state of open revolt. Their representative assemblies, uttering the voices of the people, were defying the power of Great Britain which threatened to impose unjust and unconstitutional laws upon them, and to enforce them with ball and bayonet. The nonimportation agreements, working disastrously against British commerce, were again in full force and the spirit of resistance was rife among the people.

But the leaders of American opinion, deprecating the spasmodic violence seen in opposition to the Stamp Act, counseled moderation, and condemned any but legal, just, and dignified measures. They saw that a crisis was at hand, when statesmanship of the highest order would be needed in the popular representative assemblies, and wise and judicious men were wanted as popular leaders of the people. When, in Boston, a placard appeared, calling on the Sons of Liberty to "rise and fight for their rights," and declaring that they would be joined by legions, James Otis, in a town-meeting, denounced that spirit. "Were the burdens of the people ever so heavy," he said, "or their grievances ever so great, no possible circumstances, though ever so oppressive, could be supposed sufficient to justify private tumults and disorders, either to their consciences before God or legally before men that their forefathers, in the beginning of the reign of Charles I, for fifteen years together, were continually offering up prayers to their God, and petitions to their king, for redress of grievances, before they would betake themselves to any forcible measures and to insult and tear each other in pieces was to act like madmen." John Dickinson wrote: "Our cause is a cause of the highest dignity; it is nothing less than to maintain the liberty with which Heaven itself has made us free. I hope it will not be disgraced in any colony by a single rash step. We have constitutional methods of seeking redress, and they are the best methods." Like sentiments were expressed by other patriotic leaders; and their advice to stand in an attitude of defence and not of aggression - to make the king and his ministers the real revolutionists if revolution should occur - was heartily endorsed by the people. It was a new, a benign, and a thoroughly American method of resisting the oppressions of an imperial government - a method having its foundations on law, enlightened public opinion, and social order.

Had the king and his ministers been wise, and simply respected the natural and chartered rights of the colonists, the climax of revolution toward which events were rapidly tending might have been indefinitely postponed. But they were not wise. The pride of power would not brook resistance or even opposition to its wishes and its will. The three estates of the realm - King, Lords, and Commons - esteeming themselves collectively the absolute masters of America, resolved to teach the colonists that implicit obedience was their birthright and their natural and legal tribute to that master. Leaning upon the acknowledged power of Great Britain to execute the will of the King and Parliament in America, that government resolved to effect a thorough revolution in the colonial governments by military force; to establish a vast consolidated empire under absolute royal rule, and to lay the foundations of a great American revenue. When the suggestion was made to Charles Townshend that the troops might be safely withdrawn from America, and by so lessening the expenses might lessen the need of a revenue and causes for discontent, the imperious minister replied: I will hear nothing on that subject; the moment a resolution shall be taken to withdraw the army, I will resign my office and have no more to do in public affairs. I insist it is absolutely necessary to keep up a large army there and here. An American army and consequently an American revenue are essential."

At that time Massachusetts, and particularly Boston, was regarded as the focus of sedition, and consequently had become the objects of the suspicion and wrath of the ministry. That Massachusetts was the "head center of opposition to ministerial and parliamentary injustice, cannot be truthfully denied. At the opening of the Assembly of that province at the beginning of 1768, the several obnoxious acts then recently passed were read and referred to a committee on the state of the province. That committee submitted a Letter addressed to the agent of the colony in England, but intended for the ministry. It set forth the rights of the Americans their equality with British subjects as free citizens, and their right; to local self-government. It expressed loyalty, and disclaimed a desire for independence; opposed the late acts as unconstitutional remonstrated against the maintaining of a standing army in America as expensive, useless, altogether inadequate to compel obedience, and as dangerous to liberty. It objected to the establishment here of commissioners of the customs; expressed alarm because of the attempt to annihilate the legislative authority of New York, and indicated the intention of Massachusetts to defend its rights. After much debate the Letter was adopted with other epistles to distinguished men in England; also a petition to the king couched in beautiful and touching language, in which a brief history of the settlements of the colonies was recounted the story of their investment of rights by the revolution of 1688 was told, and the principles of the sacred right of being taxed only by representatives of their own free election were laid down. All of these documents were the production of the teeming brain and facile pen of Samuel Adams, one of the soundest, purest, most inflexible and incorruptible men of his time; poor in purse, but rich in principle; of whom Governor Hutchinson said, He is of such an obstinate and inflexible disposition that he could never be conciliated by any office or gift whatever."

In February, a Circular Letter, also written by Samuel Adams, was sent to the several colonial assemblies, informing them of the contents of the Letter to the agent of the province, and the petition to the king, and inviting them to join the people of Massachusetts in maintaining the

liberties of America."

This Circular was fearlessly laid before Governor Bernard, for the patriot had nothing to conceal. It excited his fears and indignation. He wrote a letter to the Earl of Hillsborough, the Secretary of State for the colonies, in which he grossly misrepresented the temper and sentiments of the Circular, and declared that the Americans were aiming at independence. The board of commissioners of the revenue at Boston, who had lately been appointed, wrote in like manner, declaring their belief that their persons were not safe that the seeming moderation of the Americans was illusory; that the colonists were uniting to throw off the yoke of dependence; complaining that at the town-meetings in the province the lowest mechanics discussed the most important points of government with the utmost freedom," and said: "We have every reason to expect that we shall find it impracticable to enforce the execution of the revenue laws until the hand of government is properly strengthened. At present there is not a ship-of-war in the province, nor a company of soldiers nearer than New York." Massachusetts said to the ministry: "Touch not our local government, and relieve us of taxation without representation," and asked her sister colonies to join in the just demand. The crown officers said to the ministry: "Send us a fleet and army that we may destroy the local governments and tax the people without their consent." This was now the issue. To this complexion it had come at last; and the crown officers, wishing to have troops sent over, that the work might be speedily accomplished, wrote alarming letters home about concerted insurrections and of danger to the commissioners of customs. They pretended that the anniversary of the repeal of the Stamp Act was the day fixed for unlawful proceedings; and they tried to excite the people to some violent act to justify their accusations, by causing the effigies of two revenue officers to be seen hanging on Liberty-Tree on that morning. The Sons of Liberty" quietly took them down, and celebrated the day in a temperate manner. Not even a bonfire was lighted in the streets at night; and only a few men, women and children gathered with harmless demonstrations of joy. The false Bernard wrote that there was great disposition to disorder that "hundreds paraded the streets with yells and outcries that were quite terrible."

When, at the middle of April, the Circular and the misrepresentations of Bernard and other crown officers reached Hillsborough, he sent instructions to the governor to call upon the General Assembly of Massachusetts to rescind their resolutions, the substance of which was embodied in their Circular, and in case of refusal to dissolve them. Meanwhile responses to the Circular had come to Boston from the other assemblies, expressing cordial approbation of its sentiments. Individuals also sent approving letters, and patriots issued appeals to the people through the medium of newspapers and pamphlets. Courage, Americans! wrote William Livingston (it is supposed, an eminent Presbyterian lawyer in New York), in the American Whig, No. V. "Liberty, religion, and science are on the wing to these shores. The finger of God points out a mighty empire to your sons. The savages of the wilderness were never expelled to make room for idolaters and slaves. The land we possess is the gift of Heaven to our fathers, and Divine Providence seems to have decreed it to our latest posterity. So legible is this munificent and celestial deed in past events, that we need not be discouraged by the bickering between us and the parent country. The angry cloud will soon be dispersed, and America advance to felicity and

glory with redoubled activity and vigor. The day dawns in which the foundations of this mighty empire is to be laid by the establishment of a regular American constitution. All that has hitherto been done seems to be little beside the collection of materials for the construction of this glorious fabric. 'Tis time to put them together. The transfer of the European part of the great family is so swift, and our growth so vast, that before seven years roll over our heads the first stone must be laid. Peace or war, famine or plenty, poverty or affluence - in a word, no circumstance, whether prosperous or adverse, can happen to our parent - nay, no conduct of hers, whether wise or imprudent - no possible temper on her part, will put a stop to this building." So ran the prophecy in 1768. At the end of seven years its fulfillment began in earnest.

With his instructions to Bernard, Hillsborough sent a letter to the other royal governors, describing the Massachusetts Circular as of a most dangerous and factious tendency," and directing them to use their influence to induce their respective assemblies to treat it "with the contempt it deserved." The governors were also instructed, in case the assemblies gave any countenance to the seditious paper," to immediately dissolve them. By these means the Secretary hoped to induce the other assemblies to oppose the bold measure proposed by Massachusetts, and so isolate that province. The result did not justify his hopes. By this attempt to control their action, the assemblies were irritated, and their zeal in the cause in which Massachusetts was leading was increased. Meanwhile orders had been given to General Gage at New York to hold a regiment in readiness there to send to Boston, for the assistance of the crown officers in executing the laws. The admiralty was also directed to send a frigate and four smaller vessels-of-war to Boston harbor for the same purpose, and directions were given for the repairing and occupancy of Castle William on an island in that harbor. This measure was regarded by the Americans as a virtual declaration of war, yet they resolved to keep the sword of resistance in the scabbard as long as possible.

The commissioners of customs and the master of a sloop-of-war which, at their request, had come to Boston from Halifax, now assumed the utmost insolence of manner and speech toward the people. New England men were impressed into the British naval service, and in June, the sloop 'Liberty', belonging to John Hancock, whom the crown officers cordially hated because of his opposition to them, was seized under peculiar circumstances. She had come into the harbor with a cargo of Madeira wine. Just at sunset, the "tide-waiter" in the employ of the commissioners went on board, and took his seat in the cabin, as usual, to drink punch with the master until the sailors should land the cargo of dutiable goods. Hancock had resolved to resist the obnoxious revenue laws and at about nine o'clock in the evening, his captain and others in his employ entered the cabin, confined the tide-waiter, and proceeded to land the wine without entering it at the custom-house or observing any other formula. So great were the exertions of the master of the Liberty that night, that he died from their effects before morning.

The sloop was now seized by the officers of the customs for a violation of the revenue laws. A crowd of citizens quickly gathered at the wharf and as the proceedings went on, a part of them, of the lower order, became a mob under the lead of Malcom, a bold smuggler. The collector (Harrison) and the controller (Hallowell) were there to enforce the law. The former thought the

sloop might remain at Hancock's wharf with the broad arrow upon her (a mark designating her legal position) but the latter had determined to have her moored under the guns of the war-vessel (Romney, of sixty guns), and had sent for her boats to come ashore. An exciting scene now occurred, which Mr. Bancroft has described as follows:

"'You had better let the vessel be at the wharf said Malcom. I shall not,' said Hallowell, and gave directions to cut the fasts. Stop, at least, till the owner comes,' said the people who crowded round. No, damn you,' cried Hallowell, cast her off.' I'll split out the brains of any man that offers to receive a fast or stop the vessel,' said the master of the Romney, 'and he shouted to the marines to fire. What rascal is that who dares to tell the marines to fire?' cried a Bostoneer and turning to Harrison, the collector, a well-meaning man, who disapproved the violent manner of the seizure, he added: The owner is sent for you had better let her lie at the wharf till he comes down. "No, she shall go," insisted the controller; "show me the man who dares oppose it." "Kill the damned scoundrel," cried the master. "We will throw the people from the Romney overboard," said Malcom, stung with anger. 'By God she shall go,' repeated the master, and he more than once called to the marines, 'Why don't you fire?' and bade them fire. So they cut her moorings, and with ropes in the barges the sloop was towed away to the Romney."

This act excited the hot indignation of the people. A mob, led by Malcom, followed the custom-house officers, pelted them with stones and other missiles, and broke the windows of their offices. The mob seized a pleasure-boat belonging to the collector, and after dragging it through the town, burned it on the Common. Then they quietly dispersed. The commissioners were unhurt, but greatly alarmed. They applied to the governor for protection, but he, as much frightened as they, told them he was powerless. They finally fled to the Romney, and thence to Castle William, nearly three miles southeast of the city, where a company of British artillery were stationed. They were in no real danger in the city, but they were playing a deep game to deceive the ministry.

The Sons of Liberty now called a meeting of the citizens at Faneuil Hall, in a large building erected by Peter Faneuil in 1742 for the use of the town. They assembled in great numbers on the 13th of June, 1768. Citizens and yeomen from the surrounding country commingled there, all animated by a spirit of patriotic defiance. James Otis was appointed chairman. A committee of twenty-one citizens were requested to convey to the governor an address adopted by the assemblage, asking him to order the Romney to leave the harbor, and to restrain further violent proceedings on the part of the crown officers. At that meeting the people plainly told the crown that its oppressions must cease. So was Faneuil Hall consecrated as The Cradle of Liberty.

In eleven chaises the committee went in procession to the governors house in the country. Bernard received them courteously, and the next day he sent a reply to the address, in which he promised to stop impressments, and said: "I shall think myself most highly honored if I can be, in the lowest degree, an instrument in preserving a perfect conciliation between you and the parent state." At that very time, the dissimulating governor was using his utmost endeavors to get troops into Boston, either from New York or England, and had written to his superiors that the

events of the 10th of June constituted an insurrection rather than a riot." The crown officers all reported that a general spirit of insurrection was prevailing throughout the province," hoping to induce the ministry to use vigorous measures immediately for subjugating the Americans. Meanwhile the town of Boston declared in words written by John Adams, a rising young lawyer, that every person who shall solicit or promote the importation of troops at this time is an enemy to the town and province, and a disturber of the peace and good order of both."

While the excitement was at its height, the instructions of Hillsborough concerning the rescinding of the Massachusetts resolutions arrived. The Assembly were in session. On the 21st of June the governor delivered his message in accordance with those instructions. The House was composed of one hundred and nine members - much the largest legislative body in America. The message was received with calmness, and discussed with moderation but firmness. James Otis and Samuel Adams were the chief speakers. The latter was grave in demeanor and philosophical in his utterance. The former was fiery, and more declamatory. The friends of the King and Parliament declared that his harangue was "the most violent, insolent, abusive and treasonable declaration that perhaps ever was delivered." "When Lord Hillsborough knows," said Otis, "that we will not rescind our acts, he should apply to Parliament to rescind theirs. Let Britons rescind their measures, or they are lost forever.

For more than an hour Otis harangued the Assembly with words similar to these in meaning and intensity of expression. Even the "Sons of Liberty trembled lest he should tread upon the domain of treason. The House refused to rescind, passed resolutions denunciatory of this attempt to arrest free discussion and expressions of opinion, and then sent a letter to the governor informing him of their action. If the votes of this House," they said, "are to be controlled by direction of a minister, we have left us but a vain semblance of liberty. We have now only to inform you that this House have voted not to rescind, and that, in a division on the question, there were ninety-two yeas and seventeen nays. The seventeen "rescindings", became objects of public contempt. The governor was irritated by the "insolent letter," and proceeded to dissolve the Assembly but before the act was accomplished that body had prepared a list of serious accusations against him, and a petition to the king praying for his removal. Massachusetts felt strong in the assurances of sympathy and support received from the other colonies.

We have hinted that the Church and State in England worked in concert for the enslavement of the Americans. So early as 1748, Dr. Secker, Archbishop of Canterbury, had proposed the establishment of Episcopacy in America, and overtures were made to several eminent Puritan divines to accept the mitre, but they all declined it. It was known that among other reforms in the colonies, proposed by the ministry at the beginning of the reign of George the Third, was the curtailment or destruction of the Puritan, or Dissenting influence in the provinces, and to make the ritual of the Anglican Church the State mode of worship. This movement was made as secretly as possible, but it could not be wholly concealed. Rev. George Whitefield said to Dr. Langdon, a Puritan divine at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, "I can't, in conscience, leave this town without acquainting you with a secret. My heart bleeds for America. O poor New England! There is a deep-laid plot against both your civil and religious liberties, and they will be lost. Your golden

days are at an end. You have nothing but trouble before you. My information comes from the best authority in Great Britain. I was allowed to speak of the affair in general, but enjoined not to mention particulars. Your liberties will be lost."

Remembering the aspect of Episcopacy or rather of the Anglican Church in the early colonial days, the Americans had ever looked upon that Church as a partner of the State in its acts of oppression, and they feared its power. They well knew that if Parliament could create dioceses and appoint bishops, they would establish tithes and crush out dissent as a heresy. For years controversy on the subject was very warm and sometimes acrimonious this country. The Anglican Church had many adherents in nearly all the colonies, and they naturally desired its ascendancy. Essays by able writers appeared in pamphlets and sometimes in newspapers for and against Episcopacy. Among those of its opponents, none held a more trenchant pen than William Livingston, just mentioned. Dr. Ewer, Lord Bishop of Llandaff, had preached a sermon before the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, in which he recommended the scheme for establishing Episcopacy in America, and heaped abuse upon the colonists, who were mostly Dissenters. Upon the adventurers themselves," he said, "what reproach could be cast heavier than they deserved? Who, with their native soil abandoned their native manners and religion, and ere long were found in many parts living without remembrance or knowledge of God, without any divine worship, in dissolute wickedness and the most brutal profligacy of manners. Instead of civilizing and converting barbarous infidels, as they undertook to do, they became, themselves, infidels and barbarians." With this view of the state of religion in the colonies, the prelate concluded that the only remedy for the great evil was to be found in a church establishment. His recommendations were laid hold of with a firm grasp by churchmen in this country, and urged with zeal. Dr. Chandler of Elizabethtown, in New Jersey, published "An Appeal to the Public in behalf of the Church of England" - an able and moderate performance. Men of less note followed, and echoed the sentiments of the worthy rector.

The Dissenters were aroused. They perceived in the Bishop's sermon the spirit of the old persecuting Church, and visions of Laud and the Star Chamber troubled them. They felt that their liberties were in danger, without a doubt. The unjust reproaches of the prelate were severely commented upon, and his erroneous assertions were met with truth. Dr. Chauncey of Boston first entered the lists against him and his abettors; and early in 1768, Mr. Livingston issued, in pamphlet form, his famous Letter to the prelate, in which, with sarcastic indignation of tone, he refuted the charges of that dignitary so completely that they were not repeated. The pamphlet was republished in London, and excited much attention in England. It was highly commended by all Dissenters in America; and in the summer of 1768, when Massachusetts was in a blaze of indignation because of the instructions of Hillsborough and the duplicity of Bernard, the consociated churches of the colony of Connecticut assembled in convention at Coventry, with Noah Wells as their scribe or secretary, passed a vote of thanks to Mr. Livingston "for vindicating the New England churches and plantations against the injurious reflections and unjust aspersions cast upon them in the Bishop of Llandaff's sermon." This compliment was travestied by one of the champions of the church in a poem of fifty lines, which was published in Hugh Gaines' New York Mercury. It was entitled "A Reviving Cordial for a Fainting Hero." The following is its

conclusion: "March on, brave will, and rear our Babel, On Language so unanswerable; Give Church and State a hearty thump, And knock down Truth with Falsehoods plump; So flat shall fall their church's fair stones, Felled by another Praise-God-Bare-Bones. Signed with consent of all the Tribe, By No--h W--s our fasting scribe, The Scribe and Pharisee in meeting To William Li---n send greeting."

This theological controversy ceased when the vital question of absolute resistance or submission to the encroachments of both Church and State upon the liberties of the Americans was brought to a final issue. In the War for Independence which followed the ten years of discussion, appeal and remonstrance, many adherents to the republican cause were found among the members of the Anglican Church. The intimate relations of that Church with the State, however, caused many of its communion, especially of the clergy, to take the side of the crown.

Chapter LI

A Royal Order - Its Effect upon the People and the Assemblies - Views of Patriots and Legislatures - The Colonies an Unit - Hopes of the French - Numbers "Forty-five" and "Ninety-two" - John Wilkes - Propositions for Punishing the Leaders in Boston - Perfidy of the Governor - Indignation of the People - Non-Importation League - Committee Before the Governor - Convention in Boston - The People Aroused - Troubles in North Carolina - The Regulators.

THE royal order sent by Hillsborough late in April, 1768, requiring the American assemblies to treat the Circular Letter of the Massachusetts Legislature with contempt, as "an unwarrantable combination and flagitious attempt to disturb the public peace," and threatening them with dissolution in case they should refuse compliance, created a tempest of indignation all over the land. That order was properly regarded as a direct attempt to abridge or absolutely control free discussion in the colonies, and so deprive them of their best guaranty for the preservation of their liberties. They resented the king's action in the matter in respectful and decorous words that were full of the spirit of a people determined to be free; and that order was more potential in crystallizing the colonies into a permanent union than any event in their past history. They felt that in union only would consist their strength in the great conflict that now appeared inevitable, and which thinking men believed near at hand. Franklin in England, writing to his son concerning a proffered colonial office, said: I apprehend a breach between the two countries. Samuel Langdon of Portsmouth, New Hampshire, who had been a chaplain in the provincial army at the capture of Louis burg, wrote to Ezra Stiles, then a clergyman at Newport and afterward President of tale College It is best for the Americans to let the king know the utmost of their resolutions, and the danger of a violent rending of the colonies from the mother country." Stephen Hopkins, then sixty years of age, and a Son of Liberty of truest metal, wrote from his home in Rhode Island to a friend in Boston: Persevere in the good work. We will abide with you to the end; the God of wisdom and of justice is with us. Roger Sherman, the thoughtful shoe-maker, on the judicial bench of Connecticut, and afterward, with Hopkins, a signer of the Declaration of Independence, wrote: No assembly on the continent will ever concede that Parliament has a right to tax the colonies and in another letter he said The right of unfettered discussion is inalienable, and we must maintain it." William Williams, a citizen of the same State and afterward a signer of the great Declaration, wrote from Lebanon to a friend: We cannot believe that they [the British government] will draw the sword in their own colonies but if they do, our blood is more at their service than our liberties." John Morin Scott, an ardent Son of Liberty in New York, and brave fellow-soldier of William Livingston, in the battle with the pen against the Church and State of Great Britain, wrote to a member of the Massachusetts Legislature: You are right, and that is sufficient for me. We will fight the tory faction here, and the British regulars too, if necessary." When Chandler, the good rector of Elizabethtown and champion of the Church of England, wrote, "The colonies will soon experience worse things than in the late Stamp Act, or I am no prophet," the patriots of New Jersey smiled at the covert threat, and Richard Stockton, then a conservative member of the governor's council, but afterward a signer of the Declaration of Independence, wrote to William Livingston, saying: We must maintain the natural and chartered

rights of the colonists, but by peaceful and lawful means."

The colonial assemblies everywhere took decided action, and exhibited remarkable unanimity of sentiment. New Hampshire was warmly responsive to the sentiments of Langdon's letter. The Assembly of Rhode Island highly approved of the action of Massachusetts. In Connecticut, New York, and New Jersey, the same spirit was manifested. The New York Assembly adopted the Massachusetts Circular, and declared, by resolutions, the undoubted right of the people, through their representatives, to correspond and consult with any of the neighboring colonies on subjects of public importance. They chose a committee of correspondence and the inhabitants of the city of New York, in a public letter addressed to their representatives in the Assembly, denounced the royal order as the most daring insult that was ever offered to any free legislative body." That Assembly, which had yielded a little to the requirements of the mutiny act, now had more backbone of patriotism, and stood up manfully in support of the people's rights. The Sons of Liberty in New York were very active at the same time, and in the newspapers, hand-bills and pamphlets, they offered their sentiments with great boldness. A hand-bill, which was widely posted about the city on a dark night, bore these words: - " Let these truths be indelibly impressed on our minds, that we cannot be free without being secure in our property that we cannot be secure in our property if, without our consent, others may, as by right, take it away that taxes, imposed by Parliament do thus take it away that duties laid for the sole purpose of raising money are taxes, that attempts to lay such, should be instantly and firmly opposed."

The Legislature of Pennsylvania treated the royal order with decorous scorn; and a large public meeting in Philadelphia urged a cordial union of all the colonies in resistance to oppression. The Delaware Assembly boldly asserted the right of intercolonial correspondence, and declared their intention to co-operate with the other colonies. When the arrogant Governor Sharpe of Maryland laid the obnoxious royal order before the Assembly of that province, that body assured his excellency that they could not be prevailed on to take no notice of or treat with the least degree of contempt, a Letter so expressive of duty and loyalty to the sovereign, and so replete with just principles of liberty and added, We shall not be intimidated by a few sounding expressions for doing what we think is right." They then sent their thanks to the Massachusetts Assembly. North Carolina rejected the order, and offered a respectful remonstrance and at the same time the Massachusetts Circular was heartily approved. Virginia had already spoken out boldly in applause of the Circular, and the Assembly sent a letter of their own to all the colonial assemblies inviting their concurrence with Massachusetts. A committee of the South Carolina Legislature, composed of leading men of the colony like Gadsden, Laurens, Pinckney, Rutledge and Lynch, reported resolutions (which were adopted) declaring the Circulars of Massachusetts and Virginia to be replete with duty and loyalty to his Majesty, respect for Parliament, attachment to Great Britain, care for the preservation of the rights of British subjects, and founded upon undeniable constitutional principles. Twenty-six members voted for these resolutions. The offended royal governor immediately dissolved the Assembly, and the "Twenty-six" became as popular as the ninety-two of the Massachusetts Assembly who voted not to rescind their Circular. The citizens of Charleston burnt the seventeen Massachusetts rescinders in effigy, and illumined the streets of the city by almost three hundred torches carried in procession. By their light they garlanded with

flowers and evergreens an effigy of the Goddess of Liberty, which they had crowned with laurel and palmetto leaves. Georgia responded with equal but less demonstrative patriotism. In the face of the warnings of the royal governor, that their action tended to independence and would bring ruin on America, they approved the Massachusetts Circular, and rejected the royal order. Their dissolution followed.

All of the assemblies instantly sent reports of their action to that of Massachusetts and when the Letter from North Carolina, dated November 10, 1768, reached Boston, the Evening Post of that city remarked: "It completes the answers to our Circular Letter. The colonies, no longer disconnected, form one body a common sensation possesses the whole the circulation is complete, and the vital fluid returns from whence it was sent out." It was so. At the beginning of 1769, there was a perfect union of the thirteen colonies in a determination to maintain their liberties at any cost; while English statesmen, infatuated by the possession of power, were adopting measures for the abridgment, if not the utter destruction, of their liberties.

It is instructive, in this connection, to consider the feelings and ideas of the French cabinet at that time, concerning the Americans - a cabinet composed of changing materials which, as we have observed, played an important part in the struggle of the colonists for their independence. We have already noticed the hopes of Choiseul, the French minister, that an open rupture between the American colonies and Great Britain would speedily occur, and inflict a severe blow upon the strength of the latter. He was then supporting the decaying French empire with wisdom and energy. Ten years before, he had become the favorite and chief minister of the profligate Louis the Fifteenth through the influence of Madame Pompadour, who really ruled that monarch. Choiseul had been created a duke, and was regarded as the foremost living statesman of France. He was watching the course of political events in England and her American colonies with intense interest and in the attitude of the latter toward the former in the summer of 1768, he saw a reason for expecting an almost immediate outbreak of rebellion in America. This expectation was confirmed by a long conversation with an intelligent American, who gave him a clear insight of the resolution of the colonies to resist oppression, and their temper. He immediately wrote to the Count du Chatelet, then the French ambassador in London, that facts and not theories must control the actions of France, and saying:

My project, which is but a dream perhaps, is to consider the possibility of a commercial treaty, both of importation and exportation, the obvious advantages of which might attract the attention of the Americans. Will it not be possible to show them, at the moment of a rupture, an interest sufficiently powerful to detach them at once from their chief government I According to the predictions of some sensible men who have had opportunities to study the character of the Americans, and to comprehend their progress every day in the spirit of independence, this separation of the American colonies from their parent government must come sooner or later. The plan I propose will accelerate its consummation. It is the true interest of the colonies to forever secure their whole liberty, and establish their direct commerce with France and with the world. The main business will be to engage their neutrality. That will necessarily secure a treaty of alliance with France and Spain. They may not have confidence in the strength of our navy; they

may suspect our fidelity to our engagements; they may fear the English ships-of-war; they may indulge a hope of success against the Spaniards and ourselves. I perceive all these difficulties, and do not hide their extent but I perceive, also, the controlling interest of the Americans in profiting by the chance of a rupture to establish their independence. This cannot be done without risks; but he that halts at difficulties will never attempt anything. We firmly believe and hope that this government will so conduct itself as to widen the breach, not to close it up. It is true that some persons of sagacity think it not only possible but easy to reconcile the interests of the colonies and the parent country, but I can see many obstacles lying in the way. I meet too many persons who think as I do. The course pursued thus far by the British government seems to me to be completely opposed to what it ought to be to effect a reconciliation."

Choiseul had to wait full seven years for the gratification of his wish which was father to his thoughts, and then, through the operations of a faction, he had been dismissed from office.

There was a curious feature in the political circles of England and America at this time. It consisted, in Great Britain, in the use of the number Forty-five, and in America of that number and Ninety-two combined, having a similar significance. John Wilkes, an ardent politician and fearless political writer in London, published a serial work called *The North Briton*. In number Forty-five of that work, he made a very severe attack on the government. That was in 1763. He was prosecuted by the crown lawyer for libel and confined in the Tower, but was acquitted and received five thousand dollars as damages from the undersecretary, Wood. As Wilkes was regarded as the advocate of the people, this prosecution of their champion, by the government, was considered a malicious proceeding, and a blow at the freedom of speech and the press by the aristocracy. Violent political excitement ensued, and Forty-five, the number of *The North Briton* that contained the attack, became the war-cry of the democratic party in Great Britain and the colonies. After ninety-two members of the Massachusetts Legislature voted against rescinding their resolutions embodied in their famous Circular, Ninety-two became a political catchword here, and its application was curious. Frothingham says:

"When the Americans in London heard of the action of the Massachusetts Assembly, their favorite toast became: "May the unrescinding Ninety-two be forever united in idea with the glorious Forty-five." These talismanic numbers were combined in endless variety in the colonies. Ninety-two patriots at the festival would drink forty-five toasts. The representatives would have forty-five or ninety-two votes. The ball would have ninety-two jigs and forty-five minuets. The Daughters of Liberty would, at a quilting party, find their garment of forty-five pieces of calico of one color and ninety-two of another. Ninety-two Sons of Liberty would raise a flag-staff forty-five feet high. At a dedication of a Liberty Tree in Charleston, forty-five lights hung on its branches, forty-five of the company bore torches in the procession, and they joined in the march in honor to the Massachusetts Ninety-two. At the festival, forty-five candles lighted the table, and ninety-two glasses were used in drinking the toasts; and the president gave as a sentiment: May the ensuing members of the Assembly be unanimous, and never recede from the resolutions of the Massachusetts Ninety-two."

When news of these events in Massachusetts in the summer of 1768 reached England, and was soon followed by rumors that nonimportation leagues were again forming, anger, deep solicitude and dismay prevailed. The exasperated ministry determined to punish the disobedient colony most severely. Lord Mansfield thought the members of the Assembly who, by their votes, had invited the union of the colonies in the assertion of their rights, ought to be summoned to England to answer for their conduct. The king, on the opening of Parliament, charged the Bostonians with a subversion of the constitution, and eagerness for independence of Great Britain. Both Houses denounced the proceedings of citizens and legislature of Massachusetts, and proposed to transport Otis, Hancock, the Adamses and other leaders to England for trial and punishment under an unrepealed act of Henry the Eighth. Exaggeration followed exaggeration as vessel after vessel reached England from America, and the friends of the colonists abroad were dumb, for awhile, for they had no available excuse to offer for the conduct of Massachusetts as misrepresented. Their silence gave a tacit sanction to the hot temper of the government and the harsh measures proposed by the ministry and the mercantile and manufacturing interests were greatly disturbed by apprehensions of an absolute cessation of trade between them and the Americans. The colonial merchants were then owing British merchants twenty million dollars. Will this amount and the trade of the Americans be lost together? was the absorbing question of the hour in commercial circles.

Unfortunately the British ministry were so satisfied with the supposed eminent ability of the Earl of Hillsborough to manage colonial affairs, that the whole American business was left to his discretion and control. Governor Bernard was his chief source of information concerning the temper and conduct of the Americans. That officer was false to them and false to his master, giving the latter untruthful accounts of events in our country. He perceived the dangers that were gathering around the royal governments everywhere, and he exaggerated every movement, hoping to induce the ministry to send troops and war-ships to Boston to overawe the people and make his own seat more secure. He sought to keep the people there quiet until such forces might arrive, by mischievous duplicity. The council was assured that if the people would cease the discussion of the question of parliamentary power over the colonies, he would support their petition praying for relief from the recently enacted revenue laws. They consented, and Bernard showed a letter which he had written to Hillsborough in favor of the petition. Public excitement cooled, and the loyal Americans had hopes of repose. But in a secret letter, of the same date, the perfidious governor gave to his master every possible form of argument in favor of not relaxing, in the least degree, the stringency and enforcement of the revenue laws. Hillsborough, equally false, encouraged the duplicity, and wrote a deceptive reply to be shown to the council. He actually used the name of his king as an abettor of the falsehood.

Already orders had been given by the Secretary to General Gage to be in readiness to furnish troops whenever Bernard should make a requisition for them. When that officer heard of the disturbance in the New England capital, he sent word to the governor that the troops were in readiness. Bernard was anxious to send for them, but he could not make a requisition without the consent of his council. That body declared that the civil power did not need the support of troops, nor was it for his majesty's service or the peace of the province that any should be

required.

When the duplicity, the desires, and the acts of Bernard became known, the citizens of Boston could restrain their indignation with difficulty. Satisfied that the troops would come sooner or later, they resolved to put the engine of non-importation, which had worked so powerfully before, into vigorous operation. In August [1768] nearly all the merchants of Boston subscribed such a league, to go into operation on the first of January following, hoping, through the influence of the British merchants, to restrain the hand of the government uplifted to smite the Americans. The Sons of Liberty were active everywhere, and watched every movement of the crowd officers. They soon discovered a British military officer in their city, evidently making preparations for barracks for troops. They gave the alarm. A town-meeting was called at Faneuil Hall, when James Otis, Samuel Adams, John Hancock and John Adams were appointed a committee to wait on the governor to ascertain whether the visit of the military officer was for such a purpose, and to request him to call a special session of the legislature. Bernard told them that troops were about to be quartered in Boston, and he refused to call the Assembly until he might hear from home. The governor was evidently alarmed, for he knew the great popularity of the men who stood before him. All Boston stood behind them, but its whole population was not more than sixteen thousand souls. His tone was more pacific than usual. Judging them by his own standard of morality, he had actually stooped to make some of these men his friends by bribes. He sent a commission to John Hancock, as a member of his council. That patriot tore the paper into shreds in presence of the people. He offered the lucrative office of advocate-general in the court of admiralty to John Adams, who instantly rejected it. He cautiously approached the sturdy Puritan, Samuel Adams, with honeyed words and an offer of place, but received such a rebuke that the words I have already quoted were afterward wrung from Hutchinson - "He is of such an obstinate and inflexible disposition that he could never be conciliated by any office or gift whatsoever."

The governor's refusal to call the Assembly impelled the town-meeting to recommend a convention of delegates from all the towns in the province to be held in Boston, under the plausible pretext that the prevailing apprehension of war with France required a general consultation. Apprehending war with the mother country was the real cause for the movement. The convention assembled on the 22nd of September, 1768, when more than a hundred delegates represented every town and district in the province but one. Thomas Cushing, Speaker of the Assembly, presided. They petitioned the governor to summon a general court. He answered by denouncing the convention as a treasonable body. They disclaimed all pretension to political authority, professed the utmost loyalty to the king, and said they had met in that "dark and distressing time to consult and advise as to the best manner of preserving peace and good order." The governor, in daily expectation of troops from Halifax, which, on his requisition, Gage had ordered to Boston, assumed a haughty tone, warned them to desist from further proceedings, and admonished them to disperse without delay. The Convention, unmoved by his words, remained in session four days, took moderate action, and stood firm in their purpose. They adopted a petition to the king, an address to the people setting forth the alarming state of the country, and advised abstinence from all violence, and submission to legal authority.

The people were now thoroughly alive to a sense of their dangers and duties. The great political questions of the hour occupied their minds. The pulpit became a sort of political forum. Patriotism and Christianity were regarded as twin sisters. Order everywhere prevailed. Excitement had given way to Reason. The other colonies were watching Massachusetts intently. Virginia sent her salutatory greetings. The good Governor Botetourt, in pursuance of his prescribed duty, had dissolved her Assembly. They reorganized in a private house, and then adopted a non-importation agreement presented by George Washington. Other colonies sent cheering words, especially after troops had landed in Boston in the early autumnal days and at nearly every public gathering in the several colonies, the stirring Massachusetts Song of Liberty was sung. That song was so powerful in moulding the popular mind in favor of union and resistance, that I give it below, entire, with the music, as it appeared when first printed in a Boston newspaper:

THE MASSACHUSETTS SONG OF LIBERTY.

"Come swallow your bumpers, ye Tories, and roar. That the Sons of fair Freedom are hamper'd once more; But know that no Cut-throats our spirits can tame, Nor a host of Oppressors shall smother the flame. "In Freedom we're born, and, like Sons of the brave, Will never surrender, But swear to defend her, And scorn to survive, if unable to save.

"Our grandsires, bless'd heroes, we'll give them tear, Nor sully their honors by stooping to fear; Through deaths and through dangers their Trophies they won, We dare be their Rivals, nor will be outdone. "In Freedom we're born, &c.

"Let tyrants and minions presume to despise, Encroach on our RIGHTS, and make FREEDOM their prize; The fruits of their rapine they never shall keep, Though vengeance may nod, yet how short is her sleep. "In Freedom we're born, &c.

"The tree which proud Haman for Mordecai rear'd Stands recorded, that virtue endanger'd is spared; That rogues, whom no bounds and no laws can restrain, Must be stripp'd of their honors and humbled again. "In Freedom we're born, &c.

"Our wives and our babes, still protected, shall know Those who dare to be free shall forever be so; On these arms and these hearts they may safely rely For in freedom we'll live, or like Heroes we'll die. In Freedom we're born, &c.

"Ye insolent Tyrants! who wish to enthrall; Ye Minions, ye Placemen, Pimps, Pensioners, all; How short is your triumph, how feeble your trust, Your honor must wither and nod to the dust. "In Freedom we're born, &c.

"When oppress'd and reproach'd, our King we implore, Still firmly persuaded our RIGHTS he'll restore; When our hearts beat to arms to defend a just right, Our monarch rules there, and forbids us to fight. "In Freedom we're born, &c.

"Not the glitter of arms nor the dread of a fray
Could make us submit to their chains for a day;
Withheld by affection, on Britons we call,
Prevent the fierce conflict which threatens your fall.
"In Freedom we're born, &c.

"All ages shall speak with amaze and applause
Of the prudence we show in support of our
cause: Assured of our safety, a BRUNSWICK still reigns,
Whose free loyal subjects are strangers
to chains. "In Freedom we're born, &c.

"Then join hand in hand, brave AMERICANS all,
To be free is to live, to be slaves is to fall
Has the land such a dastard as scorns not a LORD,
Who dreads not a fetter much more than a
sword "In Freedom we're born, &c.

While the people of Massachusetts were preparing to fight for their liberties, if necessary, those of North Carolina, far away from the seaboard, were in open insurrection because of the cruelty of oppressors. Before the Stamp Act excitement convulsed the northern provinces, rebellion had germinated there; and when Governor Tryon, who was sent to rule North Carolina in 1765, attempted to suppress free speech on the great question, he found that he had an obstinate people to deal with. Tryon was proud, haughty, fond of show, extravagant, extortionate, treacherous, and naturally tyrannical when in power, but cowardly when confronted by equal moral or physical forces. He tried to compel the people to take the stamps, but they compelled the stamp-officer at Wilmington to go to the marketplace and publicly resign his commission. This tacit defiance of his authority by resolute men alarmed the governor, and he tried to conciliate the militia at a general muster in Hanover, by treating them to a barbecued ox - an ox roasted whole - and a few barrels of beer. The insulted people cast the ox into the river, poured the liquor on the ground, and mocked Tryon.

Soon after that, the rapacity of public officers in the province, from the governor down, drove the people to the verge of rebellion. They met in small assemblies at first and petitioned for relief. Their prayers were answered by fresh extortions. Finally, they resolved to form a league for mutual protection, and to take all the power in certain inland counties into their own hands. Herman Husband, a strong-minded and resolute Quaker, drew up a written complaint and sent it by a few bold men to the General Assembly at Hillsborough, in October, 1766, who requested the clerk to read it aloud. It asserted that the "Sons of Liberty would withstand the Lords in Parliament," and set forth that great evils existed in the province. A general convention of delegates was recommended to consider public affairs, and two were afterward held. At the one held in April, 1767, on the banks of the Eno, not far from Hillsborough, it was resolved that the people in the more inland counties should regulate public affairs there, and by resolutions they almost declared themselves independent of all external authority. From that time they were called Regulators, and were a prominent and powerful body. The pride of Tryon induced him to covet a palace "fit for the residence of a royal governor." The blandishments and liberal hospitality of the governor's beautiful wife won the goodwill of the representatives of the General Assembly, and they voted seventy-five thousand dollars of the public money to build a palace at Newbern. That sum was equal to half a million dollars now. The taxes were thereby heavily increased, and the

already overburdened people were very indignant. With the increase of taxation the rapacity of public officers seemed to increase, and the industry of the province was subjected to a most onerous tribute To feed the vultures. Among the most rapacious of these was Edmund Fanning, a lawyer of ability, whom the people soon learned to detest because of his extortionate fees for legal services, but who was a favorite of the governor. The chief justice, Martin Howard, was Fanning's accomplice, and prostituted his sacred office to the base purpose of private gain.

The Regulators, goaded by oppression, met in council and resolved not to pay any but lawful taxes and just dues, but with such a judge they were almost powerless. Fanning resolved to punish their leaders, and so overawe the people. He induced the governor to issue a proclamation full of fair promises, inviting the Regulators to meet the crown officers in friendly convention to settle all differences. They were betrayed. Those plain farmers trusted the fair promises, and relaxing their vigilance were preparing to meet the governor, when the sheriff at the instigation of Fanning, appeared with thirty horsemen and arrested Husbands and some other leading Regulators, and cast them into the Hillsborough jail. This treachery aroused the whole country, and a large body of the people, led by Ninian Bell Hamilton, a brave old Scotchman seventy years of age, marched upon Hillsborough with shotguns, pikes, scythes and bludgeons, to rescue the prisoners.

Fanning was alarmed. He released the prisoners and hastened to appease the angry multitude who were assembled on the banks of the Eno, opposite Hillsborough. With a bottle of rum in one hand and a bottle of wine in the other, he went down to the brink of the stream, and urging Hamilton not to march his host into the town, asked him to send a hole over that he might cross, give the people refreshments, and have a friendly talk. Hamilton would not trust the wolf in sheep's clothing. "You're nane too gude to wade, and wade ye shall if ye come over," shouted Hamilton. Fanning did wade the stream, but his words and his liquor were alike rejected. Then Tryon's secretary rode across the river, and assured the people that all their grievances should be redressed, when they marched away. They drew up a respectful petition to the governor, who, in imitation of his royal master, spurned it with disdain. He ordered the deputies who bore the petition to return to their homes, warn the people to desist from holding meetings, disband their association, and be content to pay taxes. We shall meet these Regulators and their oppressors again presently.

Chapter LII

Governor Bernard's Interference - Doings of a Popular Assembly in Boston - Landing of Troops There - Firmness of the Council and Selectmen - Public Feeling Outraged - Triumph of the Citizens - Action of the British Parliament - Advent of Lord North - Non-Importation Agreements and the Young Women - Action of the Massachusetts Assembly - Departure of Governor Bernard - Hesitation in Parliament - A Circular to the Colonies - Excitement in England - Fruits of Taxation - Political Excitement in New York.

GOVERNOR BERNARD had assured the Massachusetts Convention of his displeasure, and his intention to enforce the laws. He said to them, in a proclamation, when they assembled It is my duty to interpose this instant, before it is too late (for he declared the gathering unlawful). I do, therefore, earnestly admonish you that instantly, and before you do any business, you break up this assembly, and separate yourselves. I speak to you now as a friend to the province and a well-wisher to the individuals of it. But if you should pay no regard to this admonition, I must, as governor, assert the prerogative of the crown in a more public manner; for, assure yourselves (I speak from instruction), the king is determined to maintain his entire sovereignty over this province, and whoever shall persist in usurping any of the rights of it will repent of his rashness." So spoke the governor bravely, when he knew that a fleet and army were near to support him. But the Convention, as we have observed, did not heed the admonition. They stayed in session six days until they had accomplished their intended business, and they had just adjourned, when the white sails of eight vessels-of-war appeared at the entrance to Boston Harbor, bearing two regiments of British soldiers, which General Gage had ordered from Halifax, commanded by Colonels Dalrymple and Carr. Gage had sent his engineer, Montross, to assist the troops, if necessary. That officer bore an order, in accordance with the wishes of Governor Bernard, to land the troops in the settled parts of Boston. Accordingly, on Saturday morning, the 1st day of October (1768), the ships moved up to the city, anchored with springs on their cables, and in spite of the solemn remonstrances of the people, the troops were landed on the Long Wharf under cover of the guns of the war-vessels. The cowardly governor had gone into the country to avoid the expected storm of popular indignation, leaving the military to bear the brunt of the odium and its effects.

Bernard had tried to induce his council to sanction an order for quartering the troops in the town. They refused, and he took upon himself the whole responsibility of the act. The selectmen, regarding the order as illegal, refused to provide quarters for the soldiers. Dalrymple blustered and threatened, but they were firm. He had prepared for wicked work by providing each of his soldiers with sixteen rounds of ammunition. This fact he made known, and hoping to overawe the inhabitants, he marched his whole force through the town, with fixed bayonets, colors flying, drum' beating, and a train of artillery following, with all the parade of a triumphant army entering a conquered city. The unarmed inhabitants looked on with sorrow but not with fear. They knew that a single act of violence on the part of the troops would cause twenty thousand men, from the hundred towns of Massachusetts, to spring up for their defence like the harvest of dragons' teeth; and that war once begun, a vast host would come from the other provinces like trailing clouds full

of wrath and potency.

Dalrymple appeared before the selectmen, with one or two other officers, and haughtily demanded both food and shelter for his troops. You will find both at the castle," said the guardians of the town, with the assurance that the law was upholding them. "And you will not furnish quarters for my soldiers asked the colonel. We will not responded the selectmen. Then Dalrymple turned away in wrath, and encamped one regiment in tents on the Common, while the other was compelled to bivouac as best they might in the chilly air of an October night. The compassion of the inhabitants was excited for the poor soldiers, whom they could not blame, and at nine o'clock the Sons of Liberty generously opened Faneuil Hall, and allowed the warriors to slumber there. The next day was the Sabbath. The unwise Dalrymple again paraded his troops through the streets when the people were engaged in public worship, disturbing them with the noise of the fife and drum. His soldiers challenged the citizens in the streets and in various ways he tried to impress them with a sense of utter subjugation. These things only deepened their convictions of duty, and inflamed their resentment. Every strong feeling of the New Englander was violated. His Sabbath was desecrated, his worship was disturbed, and his liberty was infringed. Natural hatred of the troops, deep and abiding, was soon engendered, and the terms rebel and tyrant were freely bandied between them. The governor and the colonel used every means in their power to induce the council and the selectmen to provide for the troops. Planting themselves firmly on the law, these citizens were unmoved by entreaties or threats. Then the governor and sheriff tried to get possession of a dilapidated building belonging to the province in which to shelter the troops, but the occupants, supported by the law, successfully resisted. The governor now summoned all the acting magistrates to meet him, when he renewed the demand for quarters. Not till the barracks are filled," was the response. The military officers could not put the soldiers into quarters, for the act might cause them to be cashiered on conviction before two justices of the peace, the best of whom," wrote Gage, the keeper of a paltry tavern." When the weather became so cold that tent-life could not be endured, the commanding officer was compelled to hire houses at exorbitant rates for shelter, and to furnish food for the troops at the expense of the crown. So, in this bloodless warfare with British regulars, the citizens of Boston, armed with chartered rights and statute law, were completely victorious. There was nothing for the troops to do, as the people were orderly and law-abiding. The soldiers being housed, the main guard was stationed opposite the State House, with cannon pointing toward the legislative hall. The people smiled at this covert threat, and Gage was convinced that more mischief had arisen from the follies and greed of the crown officers than from anything else; but he recommended the building of barracks and a fortification on Fort Hill, while Bernard, satisfied that the troops could not overturn the authority of the government, nor repress republicanism, again advised a forfeiture of the charter of the province. The commissioners of customs who had fled to Castle William on the Ronney now returned, and were more haughty than ever under the protection of armed men. They caused the arrest of Hancock and Malcom on false charges, claiming penalties for violations of acts of Parliament amounting to, in Hancock's case, almost half a million dollars. Hancock employed John Adams as his counsel, and a painful drudgery I had of his case," said that advocate. Not a charge was established.

Soon after these events the British Parliament assembled, and the king, in his speech which he read from the throne, spoke of Boston as being in a state of disobedience to all law and government," proceeding to measures subversive of the constitution, and attended by circumstances that might manifest a disposition to throw off its dependence on Great Britain." He promised, with the support of Parliament, to defeat the mischievous designs of those turbulent and seditious persons" who had, under false pretenses, too successfully deluded numbers of his subjects in America. In both Houses of Parliament great indignation, because of the conduct of the Bostonians, was expressed. The Lords, in their' address to the king, said We shall be ever ready to hear and redress any grievances of your majesty's American subjects; but we should betray the trust reposed in us, if we did not withstand every attempt to infringe or weaken our just rights, and we shall always consider it as one of our most important duties to maintain - tire and inviolate the supreme authority of the legislature of Great Britain over every part of the British Empire." In the Commons, Henry Stanley indulged in bitter denunciations of the Americans. He condemned, in unmeasured terms, the non- importation leagues, as unwarrantable combinations among American tradesmen to cut off the commerce between the colonies and the mother country." I contend, therefore," he said, that men so unsusceptible of all middle terms of accommodation call loudly for our correction. What, sir, will become of this insolent town of Boston when we deprive the inhabitants of the power of sending out their rum and molasses to the coast of Africa For they must be treated like aliens, as they have treated us upon this occasion. The difficulties in governing Massachusetts are insurmountable, unless its charter and laws shall be so changed as to give to the king the appointment of the council, and the sheriffs the sole power of returning juries."

In the Upper House, Lord Barrington called the Americans traitors, and worse than traitors, against the crown - traitors against the legislation of this country. The use of troops," he said, was to bring rioters to justice." Even Camden, who opposed Pitt's declaratory act, now acquiesced in the harsh measures against Boston that were proposed, and was severely chastised by the tongue of Edmund Burke for his inconsistency. My astonishment at the folly of his opinions is lost in indignation at the baseness of his conduct," said the gifted Irishman.

To gratify the prejudices of the king, Shelburne had been driven from the ministry, and Chatham, offended because of this act, had resigned. Lord North now commenced that long leadership of the ministry which continued until near the close of our struggle for independence. He took the initiative as the friend and champion of the king, by replying sharply to Alderman Beckford, who said: "Let the nation return to its good old nature and its old good humor; it were best to repeal the late acts and conciliate the colonies by moderation and kindness." To these wise words, North replied in falsification of history, "There has been no proof of any real return of friendship on the part of the Americans they will give you no credit for affection no credit for an attention to their commercial interests. If America is to be the judge, you must tax in no instance! You may regulate in no instance. Punishment will not be extended beyond the really guilty; and, if rewards shall be found necessary, rewards will be given. But what we do, we will do firmly. We shall go through our plan, now that we have brought it so near success. I am against repealing the last act of Parliament, securing to us a revenue out of America I will never think of repealing it,

until I see America prostrate at my feet."

The words of the King, Lords and Commons made a deep impression on the minds of the patriots of Massachusetts, and throughout the other provinces. Their liberties were more dangerously menaced than ever, and the instruments for their enslavement were seated in the New England capital and intrenched behind cannon. But the Sons of Liberty were more determined than ever to stand firmly by their rights, and at the same time to maintain a perfect adherence to the law. By this determination they conquered. Their worst enemies in Great Britain could not justly accuse them of treason for any act they had committed. They had a perfect right to cease trading with anybody. They had violated no law; and all the threats of the madmen in the government, and the presence of troops, could not alter their opinions. Their petitions, though rejected by the king with scorn, lost none of their vitality and the official assurance that the monarch would not listen to "wicked men" who denied the supremacy of Parliament, did not move the patriots a single line from the path which they had prescribed for themselves. They felt that Colonel Barry prophetically read their hearts, when, in opposition to a resolution of Lord North, offered in March, 1769, to reject a respectful petition from New York, he said: "I predicted all that would happen on the passage of the Stamp Act and I now warn ministers that, if they persist in their wretched course of oppression, the whole continent of North America will rise in arms, and these colonies perhaps be lost to England forever."

When the non-importation agreements were renewed, the young women heartily seconded the action of their fathers and brothers, by engaging in domestic manufactures. The Irish flax-wheel performed an important part in the feminine opposition to British oppression in the spinning of linen thread for summer fabrics and the hum of the big Dutch wool-wheel was heard in many families converting the fleecy rolls from the hand-cards into yarn. In Boston, a party of fifty young women, calling themselves "Daughters of Liberty", met at the house of the venerated pastor of the Scotch Presbyterian Church there, the Rev. John Moorehead, where they amused themselves with spinning two hundred and thirty-two skeins of linen yarn, some very fine, which were given to the worthy white-haired minister. Several of the young women were members of his congregation. Many persons came in to see the novel sight and admire the fair spinners. They were regaled with refreshing fruit, cakes, coffee and comfits, after which anthems and liberty-songs were sung by many fine voices of the Sons and Daughters of Liberty. There were, at that time, more than one hundred spinners in Mr. Moorehead's society. In other colonies like zeal and industry were shown by the young women, and also by whole families. "Within eighteen months past," wrote a correspondent of the New York Mercury, from Newport, Rhode Island, four hundred and eighty-seven yards of cloth and thirty-six pairs of stockings have been spun and knit in the family of James Nixon of this town. Another family, within four years past, hath manufactured nine hundred and eighty yards of woollen cloth, besides two coverlids and two bed ticks and all the stocking yarn for the family. We are credibly informed that many families in this colony within the year past have each manufactured upward of seven hundred yards of cloth of different kinds."

When the Massachusetts Assembly met at the close of May, 1769, they simply organized, and

then resolved that it was incompatible with their dignity and freedom to deliberate while confronted by an armed force; and that the presence of a military and naval armament was a breach of privilege. They refused to enter upon the business of furnishing supplies of any kind, or discussing any topic excepting that of a redress of their grievances. They petitioned the governor to remove the troops from the town, but their reasonable request was met by a haughty refusal. Not only this, but the governor adjourned the Assembly to Cambridge, and informed them that he was going to England to lay a statement of the affairs of the colony before the king. The House instantly adopted a petition to his majesty, asking for the withdrawal of Bernard from the colony forever; and they also adopted a resolution declaring that the establishment of a standing army in the colony in time of peace, was not only an invasion of natural rights, but a violation of the British Constitution, highly dangerous to the people, and unprecedented. Perceiving the Assembly to be incorrigible, the governor dissolved them and sailed for England, leaving the province in the care of the Lieutenant-Governor, Thomas Hutchinson. Proofs of Bernard's duplicity, greed, petty malice, mischievous exaggeration, falsehoods, and continual plottings for the destruction of the Massachusetts free government, so well known here, had been sent to England by one of his political friends, and caused his immediate recall. He never recrossed the Atlantic, and died in 1779.

Meanwhile the merchants of New York, Philadelphia, Annapolis and other places had renewed their non-importation leagues with vigor and Washington, at Mount Vernon, assisted by his neighbor, George Mason, had matured the plan for such an association which, as we have observed, he laid before the Virginia House of Burgesses when they reassembled after they had been dissolved by Governor Botetourt. That patriot afterward wrote to his correspondent in London, from whom he ordered goods: "You will perceive, in looking over the several invoices, that some of the goods there required are upon condition that the act of Parliament imposing a duty on tea, paper, &c., for the purpose of raising a revenue in America, is totally repealed and I beg the favor of you to be governed strictly thereby, as it will not be in my power to receive any articles contrary to our nonimportation agreement, which I have subscribed, and shall religiously adhere to, and should if it were, as I could wish it to be, ten times as strict." Mason wrote to Washington: Our all is at stake; and the little conveniences and comforts of life, when set in competition with our liberty, ought to be rejected, not with reluctance, but with pleasure."

In view of the movements in America, the British Parliament hesitated. They perceived that the colonies were forming a more formidable combination against British commerce and manufactures than any before and some of the more sensible men in Parliament urged the repeal of the tea act, and so end the controversy. So favorable an opportunity," they said, may never recur." But Lord North replied We will not consent to discuss the question because of the combinations in America. To do so would furnish a fresh instance of haste, impatience, levity, and fickleness. I see nothing uncommercial in making the Americans pay a duty on tea."

North was only the echo of the monarch, who swayed this minister with perfect control. The king had made it an inflexible rule never to redress a grievance unless such redress was prayed for in a spirit of obedience and humility. He was also determined to assert the right of Parliament to

tax the colonies, and insisted that one tax must always be laid to keep up that right. So the king and his pliant minister clung to the duty on tea. Hillsborough, under the direction of North, sent a Circular to all the colonies, in which a promise was given that no more taxes for revenue should be laid upon them, and that the duties upon paper, painters' colors and glass should be taken off by a repeal of the law levying them. It was believed that this concession would satisfy the Americans, forgetting that a principle broader and deeper and more vital than any statute law was at the bottom of the discontent in the colonies. British statesmen and publicists of the aristocratic party demurred at this concession. Dr. Johnson, then a pensioner of the government and afterward author of the tract entitled *Taxation no Tyranny*, growled out his dissatisfaction in the coarse expression: "The Americans are a race of convicts, and ought to be thankful for anything we allow them short of hanging." And the short-sighted Hillsborough, exaggerating the sentiments of the monarch, said: We can grant nothing to the Americans except what they may ask with halters around their necks."

The Circular sent to the colonies was wrung from the reluctant ministry by fear of a revolt at home. The capital of the kingdom was then fearfully shaken by a violent political excitement that filled thoughtful minds with dread. John Wilkes, the irrepressible political writer already mentioned, had suddenly returned from exile, and was elected a representative in Parliament by the voters of Middlesex. The king desired to keep him out of Parliament, and the pliant House of Commons refused to give him a seat. The people were aroused by great indignation because of this interference with their rights. Wilkes was chosen to be a magistrate of London, by a large majority and again the voters of Middlesex elected him to represent them in Parliament. Again the Commons kept him from his seat by voting the returns null and void, without the shadow of a fact to warrant the action. A third and fourth time he was elected by overwhelming majorities, and each time, the Commons, under the influence of the king, and in violation of the seminal principle of representative government, denied him a seat in the House, and gave it to his opponent at the hustings. Their plea was that Wilkes was an outlaw.

This deadly blow, as the people regarded it, at one of the dearest rights of the British subject, moved the public mind of the kingdom most power fully, and added thousands of intelligent men to the list of friends of the Americans, the vital principle of whose resistance to the government was the sacred right of representation as an equivalent for taxation. Mobs appeared in London and various parts of the kingdom, vehemently protesting by great violence against the outrage upon popular liberty. In these demonstrations many lives were lost. The houses of crown-officers were attacked, and even the palace of Whitehall the residence of the king was seriously menaced by a vast concourse of people, shouting, *Wilke and Liberty*." The populace were restrained from violence, and possible from the murder of the king, by the interference of the Royal Guards. To this political agitation was added that which was caused by the distress, real and prospective, of the merchants and manufacturers of England, created by the non-importation leagues in operation in America. These causes combined pressed the English people, at that time, to the verge of revolution. They were taught by current events to regard their king as a foe to popular liberty, and a willing usurper of the rights of the people and attachment to the crown was greatly weakened.

Hillsborough's Circular had not the least effect upon the Americans except to stimulate them to more determined resistance. The repeal of some of the obnoxious acts would be a partial relief from taxation but so long as the duty on tea was retained, the principle involved remained the same. While a tax for revenue in the smallest degree was imposed upon the Americans, their real grievance was not redressed, and they stood firm in their attitude of resistance. They worked the engine of non-importation with great vigor. The exports from England to America which, in 1768, had amounted to almost \$12,000,000 (of which amount tea represented \$660,000), in 1769 amounted to only a little over \$8,000,000, the tea being only \$220,000. Pownall, the immediate predecessor of Bernard as governor of Massachusetts, showed, in a speech in Parliament, that the total produce of the new taxes for the first year had been less than \$80,000, and that the expenses of the new custom-house arrangements had reduced the net profits of the crown revenue in the colonies to \$1,475, while the extraordinary military expenses in America amounted, for the same time, to \$850,000. Yet the stubborn king and his pliant minister insisted upon retaining the duty on tea, to save the royal prerogative, and keeping up an expensive military establishment to enforce its collection Samuel Adams was doubtless right when he publicly declared, on the arrival of the repeal of the Stamp Act: The conduct of England is permitted and ordained by the unsearchable wisdom of the Almighty for hastening the independence of these colonies."

The die was now cast. The Americans almost despaired of having their grievances redressed by the oppressor. Opposition to taxation without representation was the prevailing rule in all the colonies. In Boston the people endured the presence of soldiers, with whom almost daily irritating collisions took place. In New York, late in 1769, there was much political excitement growing out of an indirect method of cheating the people into a compliance with the provisions of the mutiny act proposed by a desperate tory coalition. It was the issuing of bills of credit, on the security of the province, to the amount of \$700,000, to be loaned to the people, the interest to be applied to defraying the expenses of the colonial government. It was none other than a proposition for a monster bank, without checks, for the purpose of applying the profits to defraying the expenses of keeping troops in the province. It was also a game for political power which menaced the liberties of the people. When an act for this purpose was before the Assembly, the leaders of the popular party raised a cry of alarm. Early on Sunday morning, the 16th of December, 1769, a hand-bill was found widely distributed over the city of New York, addressed, in large letters, To the Betrayed Inhabitants of the City and Colony of New York," and was signed, "A Son of Liberty." It denounced the money scheme as a deception covering wickedness declared that evidently the proposition to grant supplies to tie troops unqualifiedly was an acknowledgment of the right to exact such subsidies, and a virtual approval of all the revenue acts and that the scheme was intended to divide and distract the colonies. It directed the attention of the Assembly to the patriotic attitude of the other colonies, and exhorted them to imitate their example. It hinted at a corrupt coalition between the acting-governor (Colden) and the head of a powerful family (De Lancey), and called upon the Assembly to repudiate the act concocted by this combination. It closed with a summons of the inhabitants to a meeting in The Fields the next day, to express their views and to instruct their representatives in the Assembly to oppose the measure and in case they should refuse, to send notice thereof to every Assembly in America, and to publish their names to the world.

Not less than fourteen hundred people assembled around the Liberty Pole, on Monday, where they were harangued by John Lamb, an active Son of Liberty and afterward an efficient artillery officer in the Continental Army. He was then thirty-four years of age; a prosperous merchant, a fluent speaker, and vigorous writer. He swayed the multitude on that occasion by his eloquence and logic and by unanimous vote they condemned the action of the Assembly in passing obnoxious bills. Their sentiments were embodied in a communication to that House, which was borne by a committee of seven leading Sons of Liberty, namely: Isaac Sears, Caspar Wistar, Alexander McDougall, Jacob Van Zandt, Samuel Broome, Erasmus Williams, and James Varick.

The leaven of toryism then permeated the New York Assembly. When the obnoxious hand-bill was read by the Speaker, Mr. De Lancey moved that the sense of the House should be taken whether the said paper was not an infamous and scandalous libel." When the vote was taken, twenty of the pliant Assembly voted that it was so, and only one member voted No. That member was Philip Schuyler. He boldly faced the rising storm, and by his solitary vote rebuked, in a most emphatic manner, the cowardice of those of his compeers who had stood shoulder to shoulder with him in former trials. The Assembly then set about ferreting out the author of the hand-bill. They authorized the lieutenant-governor to offer a reward of \$50 for the discovery of the offender. Lamb was cited before the House, but was soon discharged. The printer of the hand-bill, when discovered, was brought to the bar, when the frightened man gave the name of Alexander McDougall as the author. He was the son of a Scotchman from the Hebrides, a sailor, an ardent Son of Liberty, and afterward a major-general in the Continental Army. He was taken before the House, where he would make no acknowledgment and refused to give bail. He was indicted for libel and cast into prison, where he remained fourteen weeks until arraigned for trial, when he pleaded not guilty, and gave bail. On that occasion he spoke with vast propriety," William Smith wrote to Schuyler, "and awed and astonished many who wish him ill, and added, I believe, to the number of his friends." Several months afterward he was again brought before the House, when he was defended by George Clinton, an active member of that body, who became the first governor of the State of New York. To the question whether he was the author of the hand-bill signed "A Son of Liberty," McDougall replied, That as the Grand Jury and the Assembly had declared the paper a libel, he could not answer; that as he was under prosecution in the Supreme Court, he conceived it would be an infraction of justice to punish twice for one offence but that he would not deny the authority of the House to punish for a breach of privilege when no cognizance was taken of it, in another court." His answer was declared to be a contempt, and he was again imprisoned. In February, 1771, he was released and was never afterward molested. I rejoice," said McDougall, when ordered to prison, "that I am the first to suffer for liberty since the commencement of our glorious struggle."

McDougall was regarded as a martyr. "The imprisoned sailor," says John C. Hamilton, in his biography of his father, General Alexander Hamilton, "was deemed the true type of imprisoned commerce. To soften the rigors of his confinement, to evince the detestation of its authors, and in his person to plead the public wrongs, became a duty of patriotism. On the anniversary of the repeal of the Stamp Act, his health was drunk with honors, and the meeting, in procession, visited him in prison. Ladies of distinction daily thronged there. Popular songs were written, and sung

under his prison bars, and emblematic swords were worn. His name was upon every lip. The character of each individual conspicuous in the great controversy became a subject of comment and the applause which followed the name of Schuyler, gave a new value to the popularity his firmness had acquired."

McDougall was emphatically a "man of the people." He thoroughly sympathized with those classes in society - the working men and women - who are generally weak in social and political influence where, as then in New York, an aristocratic class bears rule, because of their inability to make their voices heard by those in authority. Without any of the spirit of a demagogue, he was a popular leader, because the people saw that his whole soul was enlisted in his efforts in their behalf and like every really earnest man, the utterances of his convictions carried with them great weight. He was a true type of what is generally known as the "common people" - the great mass of citizens who carry on the chief industries of a country - its agriculture, commerce, manufactures and arts.

Chapter LIII

American Affairs in Europe - The British Ministry - The Parliament and the Americans - James Otis Disabled - Troops in Boston - Interference with Popular Rights Resented - Disturbance in New York - Violation of Non-Importation Agreements and Its Consequences - Affray with Rope-Makers - Boston Massacre - After-Action of the People - Funeral of the Victims - Effects of the Massacre - A Triumph - Unwise Action of the British Ministry - Feelings of the Americans - Importations Renewed.

AT the beginning of 1770, the quarrel between Great Britain and her American colonies was a chief topic for discussion and speculation in European court-circles. The French were watching the course of events with intense interest. Du Chatelet, in London, was keeping Choiseul well-informed of every political movement bearing upon American affairs and the sentiment of wise men on the continent, as well as the middle-classes of Great Britain, was rapidly drifting in favor of the really persecuted colonists. The British cabinet had not been in perfect unity for some time on the American question, and had just been recast. The Duke of Grafton, at whom Junius was then hurling his keenest shafts, had retired from the premiership, and Lord North had become prime minister of England, with a good working majority in Parliament. The Opposition in Parliament were bold, bitter, and defiant. Sir George Saville, in debate, charged the House of Commons with an invasion of the rights of the people when a ministerial member said "In times of less licentiousness, members have been sent to the Tower for words of less offence." Saville instantly replied: "The mean consideration of my own safety shall never be put in the balance against my duty to my constituents. I will own no superior but the laws; nor bend the knee to any but to Him who made me." Lord North well knew the strength of the popular will behind these brave words, and bore the reproach quietly. By adroit management he stilled the rising tempest of indignation that was agitating the majority. In the House of Lords, Chatham, whose voice had been silent a long time, spoke warmly in favor of being just toward the Americans. "Let us save the constitution, dangerously invaded at home," he said, "and let us extend its benefits to the remotest corners of the empire. Let slavery exist nowhere among us for whether it be in America, or in Ireland, or here at home, you will find it a disease which spreads by contact, and soon reaches from the extremity to the heart." These words from both houses of Parliament went over the sea as pledges of hope for the Americans, for lately they had received only frowns from the national legislature. The colonists were irritated but calm, because they were conscious of their innate strength and the righteousness of their cause. Their just anger was controlled by wise judgment and marvellous sagacity. The bond of their union was growing stronger every hour because of common danger.

Boston was then the focus of rebellious thought and action in America. Samuel Adams and his compatriots were longing for independence, and boldly prophesying the birth of a new nation in America; but his brave and fiery coadjutor, James Otis, had lately been disabled by the violence of a crown-officer, to which allusion has already been made. Mr. Robinson, one of the commissioners of customs, had misrepresented Otis in England. The latter made a severe attack upon Robinson in a Boston newspaper. For this the commissioner attempted to pull Otis's nose in

a coffee-house. A fracas ensued, when Otis was so severely beaten that he never fairly recovered. His brain was disturbed by a blow on the head from a heavy cane. His great usefulness at that crisis was hopelessly impaired. John Adams, in his diary for January, 1770, gives a melancholy account of the patriot's mental condition: Otis," he wrote, is in confusion yet he loses himself; he rambles and wanders like a ship without a helm attempted to tell a story which took up almost all the evening; the story may, at any time, be told in three minutes with all the graces it is capable of but he took an hour. I fear he is not in his perfect mind. The nervous, the concise and pithy were his character till lately; now the verbose, the roundabout, and rambling and long-winded. . . . In one word, Otis will spoil the club. He talks so much and takes up so much of our time, and fills it with trash, obscenity, profaneness, nonsense and distraction, that we have none left for rational amusements and inquiries. He mentioned his wife; said she was a good wife, too good for him; but she was a tory [she had married her daughter to a British officer], a high tory; she gave him such curtain-lectures, etc. In short, I never saw such an object of admiration, reverence, contempt, and compassion, all at once, as this. I fear, I tremble, I mourn, for the man and his country; many others mourn over him, with tears in their eyes." Poor Otis He lived, disabled, until the great Revolution (in the earlier stages of which he had borne the most conspicuous part) was almost ended in the independence of his country. Late in May, 1782, while he was standing in the door of a friend at Andover during a thunder-shower, he was instantly killed by a stroke of lightning - a method of dying for which he had often expressed an earnest desire.

The troops in Boston were a source of constant irritation. "They must be removed to the Castle," said the good citizens. They shall remain," said the crown-officers and Hutchinson, in obedience to an order from Hillsborough, prorogued the Massachusetts Assembly till the middle of March, while some of them were on their way from a distance to hold a session in Boston. This arbitrary act inflamed the indignation of the people, and stirred the ire of all the colonies. It was immediately followed by violations of the nonimportation agreement by a few covetous Boston merchants, who coalesced with the crown-officers. Among them were Hutchinson's sons, who were his agents. They secretly sold tea. A meeting of patriotic merchants was held, and in a body they went to the lieutenant-governor's house to treat with his sons, who had violated the agreement. He treated them as incipient insurgents, and would not allow them to enter. He sent the sheriff into an adjourned meeting of merchants to order them to disperse. The troops were furnished with ball-cartridges, and Colonel Dalrymple was ready to shed blood in defense of the royal prerogative. The meeting sent a respectful letter to the governor, written by John Hancock, telling him plainly that their assemblage was lawful, and they should not disperse. Hutchinson, made wiser by past experience with an exasperated people, submitted to circumstances, and was quiet.

Meanwhile the insolence and aggressive acts of the soldiery in New York had aroused the people there to resistance. Although it was winter, the Sons of Liberty frequently gathered around the Liberty-Pole, which had stood defiantly since it was iron-bound in 1767. At midnight in January (1770), some armed men went stealthily from the barracks with chisels and axes, cut down the pole, sawed it in pieces, and piled the fragments in front of Montague's, the rendezvous of the Sons of Liberty. The perpetrators of the act were discovered at dawn. The bell of St.

George's Chapel, in Beekman street, was rung as if there were a great conflagration, and at an early hour on the 17th of January, full three thousand people stood around the stump of the consecrated pole. By resolutions they declared their rights, and contempt of the soldiers as enemies to the Constitution. The soldiers posted an insulting placard about the town. For about three days the most intense excitement prevailed. In affrays with the citizens, the soldiers were generally defeated, and on one occasion several of them were disarmed. Quiet was restored at length. The people erected another Liberty-Pole upon private ground purchased for the purpose upon Broadway, near the present Warren street and not long afterward the soldiers departed for Boston, where bloodshed had occurred.

In spite of the threatening attitude of the citizens, four or five Boston merchants continued to import and sell tea, the specially proscribed article. The women of Boston protested against this violation of a sacred pledge. The mistresses of three hundred families subscribed their names to a league, binding themselves not to drink any tea until the revenue act was repealed. Three days afterward the maidens of Boston were gathered in convention in the home of an opulent merchant, and there signed their names to the following pledge: We, the daughters of those patriots who have and do now appear for the public interest, and in that principally regard their posterity - as such, do with pleasure engage with them in denying ourselves the drinking of foreign tea, in hopes to frustrate a plan which tends to deprive a whole community of all that is valuable in life."

The recusant merchants were unmoved, and Theophilus Lillie announced his intention to import and sell tea in spite of public opinion. That opinion soon appeared embodied in a little mob, composed chiefly of half-grown boys, who set up a wooden post in front of Lillie's store, with a rudely carved head upon it, and a hand pointing to the merchant's door as a place to be avoided. Lillie was exasperated, but dared not interfere. A neighboring merchant of his stripe, named Richardson, a rough, stout man, having more courage, tried to get a farmer, who was passing in his cart, to knock down the post with his hub. The man was a patriot and refused, when Richardson rushed out and attempted to pull it down with his own hands. He was pelted with dirt and stones. In violent anger, he came out of Lillie's house, into which he had been driven by the mob, with a shotgun, and discharged its contents, without aim, into the little mob. A lad named Samuel Gore was slightly wounded, and another, named Christopher Snyder, was killed. He was the son of a poor German widow. The mob seized Richardson and an associate and hurried them to Faneuil Hall, where the citizens speedily assembled to the number of two or three hundred. Richardson was tried and found guilty of murder, but Lieutenant-Governor Hutchinson refused to sign the death-warrant. After he had lain in prison two years, the king pardoned the offender. The murder of Snyder produced a profound sensation in the public mind throughout the colonies, as a prophecy of coming war. In Boston his funeral was made the occasion of a solemn pageant. His coffin was covered with inscription. One of these was: "Innocence itself is not safe." It was borne to Liberty Tree, where a very large concourse of citizens of every class assembled, and followed the remains to the grave. In that procession nearly five hundred children took part. The pall was carried by six of the victim's school-mates. Relatives and friends and almost fifteen hundred citizens followed. The bells of the city and of the

neighboring towns tolled while the procession was moving; and in the newspapers, and by the lips of grave speakers in the pulpit and on the rostrum, little Christopher Snyder was spoken of as the first martyr to the cause of liberty in America. Dalrymple and his vicious Twenty-ninth regiment were impatient in the presence of such a popular demonstration. He wanted to be set at murderous work among the Bostonians, whom he thoroughly hated, but was restrained by the civil magistrates.

This event was a forerunner of a more serious one a few days after ward. John Gray had an extensive rope-walk in Boston, where a number of patriotic men were employed. They often bandied coarse taunts with the soldiers as they passed by. On Friday, the 2nd of March (1770), a soldier who applied for work at the rope-walk was rudely ordered away. He challenged the men to a boxing-match, when he was severely beaten. Full of wrath he hastened to the barracks, and soon returned with several companions, when they beat the rope-makers and chased them through the streets. The citizens naturally espoused the cause of the rope-makers, and many of them assembled in the afternoon with a determination to avenge the wrongs of the workmen. Mr. Gray and the military authorities interfered, and prevented any further disturbance then. But vengeance only slumbered. It was resolved, by some of the more excitable of the inhabitants, to renew the contest and at the barracks the soldiers inflamed each other's passions, and prepared bludgeons. They warned their particular friends in the city not to be abroad on Monday night, for there would be serious trouble.

Fresh wet snow had fallen, and on Monday evening, the 5th of March, frost had covered the streets of Boston with a coat of ice. The moon was in its first quarter and shed a pale light over the town, when, at twilight, both citizens and soldiers began to assemble in the streets. By seven o'clock full seven hundred persons, armed with clubs and other weapons, were on King (now State) street, and, provoked by the insolence and brutality of the lawless soldiery, shouted Let us drive out these rascals! They have no business here! Drive them out! At the same time parties of soldiers (whom Dalrymple had doubtless released from the barracks for the purpose of provoking the people to commit some act of violence, and so give an excuse for letting loose the dogs of war) were going about the streets boasting of their valor, insulting citizens with coarse words, and striking many of them with sticks and sheathed swords. Meanwhile the populace in the street were increasing in numbers every moment, and at about nine o'clock in the evening, they attacked some soldiers in Dock Square, and shouted: "Town-born, turn out Down with the bloody-backs!" They tore up the stalls of a market, and used the timber for bludgeons. The soldiers scattered and ran about the streets, knocking people down and raising the fearful cry of Fire! At the barracks on Brattle street, a subaltern at the gate cried out, as the populace gathered there, Turn out! I will stand by you. Knock them down! kill them! run your bayonets through them! The soldiers rushed out, and, leveling their muskets, threatened to make a lane paved with dead men through the crowd. Just then an officer was crossing the street, when a barber's boy cried out: There goes a mean fellow, who will not pay my master for shaving him." A sentinel standing near the corner of the Custom-house ran out and knocked the boy down with his musket.

The cry of fire and the riotous behavior of the soldiers caused an alarm- bell to be rung. The

whole city was aroused. Many men came out with canes and clubs for self-defense, to learn the occasion of the uproar. Many of the more excitable citizens formed a mob. Some of the leading citizens present tried to persuade them to disperse, and had in a degree gained their respectful attention, when a tall man, covered with a long scarlet cloak and wearing a white wig, suddenly appeared among them, and began a violent harangue against the government officers and the troops. He concluded his inflammatory speech by boldly shouting: "To the main-guard! to the main-guard! There is the nest! It is believed that the orator in the scarlet cloak was Samuel Adams.

The populace immediately echoed the shout - "To the main-guard!" - with fearful vehemence, and separating into three ranks, took different routes toward the quarters of the main-guard. While one division was passing the Custom-house, the barber's boy cried out: There's the scoundrel who knocked me down! A score of voices shouted, "Let us knock him down! Down with the bloody-backs Kill him! kill him!" The crowd instantly began pelting him with snow-balls and bits of ice, and pressed toward him. He raised his musket and pulled the trigger. Fortunately for him it missed fired, when the crowd tried to seize him. He ran up the Custom-house steps, but, unable to enter the building, he called to the indian-guard for help. Captain Preston, the officer of the day, sent eight men, with unloaded muskets but with ball- cartridges in their cartouch boxes, to help their beleaguered comrade. At that moment the stout Boston bookseller, Henry Knox (who married the daughter of General Gage's secretary and was a major-general of artillery in the army of the Revolution), holding Preston by the coat, begged him to call the soldiers back. If they fire," said Knox, "your life must answer for the consequences." Preston nervously answered: I know what I am about," and followed his men.

When this detachment approached, they, too, were pelted with snowballs and ice; and Crispus Attucks, a brawny Indian from Nantucket, at the head of some sailors, like himself (who had led the mob in the attack on the soldiers in Dock Square), gave a loud war-hoop and shouted, "Let us fall upon the nest! the main-guard! the main-guard!" The soldiers instantly loaded their guns. Then some of the multitude pressed on them with clubs, struck their muskets and cried out, You are cowardly rascals for bringing arms against naked men." Attuck shouted: "You dare not fire!" and called upon the mob behind him: "Come on! Don't be afraid! They daren't fire! Knock them down! Kill 'em!" Captain Preston came up at that moment and tried to appease the multitude. Attucks aimed a blow at his head with a club, which Preston parried with his arm. It fell upon the musket of one of the soldiers and knocked it to the ground. Attucks seized the bayonet, and a struggle between the Indian and the soldier for the possession of the gun ensued. Voices behind Preston cried out, "Why don't you fire! why don't you fire?" The struggling soldier hearing the word fire, just as he gained possession of his musket, drew up his piece and shot Attucks dead. Five other soldiers fired at short intervals, without being restrained by Preston. Three of the populace were killed, five were severely wounded (two of them mortally), and three were slightly hurt. Of the eleven, only one (Attucks) had actually taken part in the disturbance. The crowd dispersed; and when citizens came to pick up the dead, the infuriated soldiers would have shot them, if the captain had not restrained them.

News of the tragedy spread over the town in a few minutes. It was now near midnight. There was a light in every house, for few besides children had retired on that fearful night in Boston. The alarm-bells were rung. Drums beat to arms. A cry went through the streets - "The soldiers are murdering the people! To arms! to arms! Turn out with your guns!" Preston also ordered his drums to beat to arms. Colonel Dalrymple, with the lieutenant-governor, were soon on the spot and promised the orderly citizens, who had taken the place of the dispersed mob, that justice should be vindicated in the morning. Order was restored, and before the dawn the streets of Boston were quiet. Meanwhile Preston had been arrested and put into prison and the next morning the eight soldiers were committed - ill charged with the crime of murder.

Such is the sad story of the famous "Boston Massacre," gleaned from the conflicting evidence of witnesses at the trial of Preston and his men, and of contemporary writers. The 5th of March was celebrated as a solemn anniversary in the history of the colonies, until after the Declaration of Independence became a national holiday. The killing of citizens was undoubtedly a massacre, for the outrageous conduct of the soldiers created the mob. Their offensive acts on that night were undoubtedly approved by Dalrymple, their commander. It was his duty to keep them in the barracks at a time of popular excitement only, not an insurrection. He must have foreseen the result of their doings, and hoped for an excuse to "begin work in Boston," as he had said before. Such is the verdict of history after a lapse of more than a century.

The event produced a profound impression everywhere. The cause of Boston became the cause of the continent. The story, embellished in its course from lip to lip, became a tale of horrors that stirred the blood of patriots everywhere. It was a crisis in the history of the colonies. Some were disposed to consider the events on that night as forming the principal cause of the Revolution which soon afterward broke out. John Adams said long years afterward: "On that night the foundation of American independence was laid;" and Daniel Webster, when speaking of the event, said:

"From that moment we may date the severance of the British empire." The "foundation for the independence of America" was laid long before, when the early colonists began to yearn for the privileges of local self-government and the severance of the British empire was decreed when Andros was driven from New England.

On the morning after the massacre, the Sons of Liberty gathered in great numbers in Faneuil Hall. The lieutenant-governor convened his council, and that afternoon a town-meeting was held in the South Meeting-house (yet standing), then the largest building in the city. The people there resolved that nothing could be expected to restore peace and prevent carnage, but an immediate removal of the troops." A committee of fifteen, with Samuel Adams as their chairman, were sent the next morning, with that resolution, to Hutchinson and Dalrymple. The people," said Royal Tyler, one of the committee, are determined to remove the troops out of the town by force, if they will not go voluntarily. They are not such people as formerly pulled down your house, that conduct these measures, but men of estate - men of religion. The people 'will come in to us from all the neighboring towns we shall have ten thousand men at our backs, and your troops will

probably be destroyed by the people, be it called rebellion or what it may." Hutchinson replied: An attack on the king's troops would be high-treason, and every man concerned in it would forfeit his life and estate." The committee renewed the demand for the removal of the troop's. The officials would only promise to send one regiment away. This unsatisfactory answer the committee reported to an adjourned town-meeting that afternoon, when it was immediately resolved that it was the unanimous opinion of the meeting that the reply made to the vote of the inhabitants, presented to his honor this morning, is by no means satisfactory, and that nothing else will satisfy them but a total and immediate removal of all the troops." Samuel Adams, John Hancock, William Molineux, William Phillips, Joseph Warren, Joshua Henshaw and Samuel Pemberton were appointed to carry this resolution to the civil and military authorities. Adams presented the resolutions. Again the lieutenant-governor and the colonel temporized. Hutchinson said he had no power to remove the troops. Adams proved that he had, by the provisions of the charter. Still the crown-officers hesitated. Adams resolved that there should be no more trifling with the will of the people. Stretching forth his hand toward Hutchinson, and in a voice not loud but clear, he said: "If you have power to remove one regiment, you have power to remove both. It is at your peril if you do not. The meeting is composed of three thousand people. They are become very impatient. A thousand men are already arrived from the neighborhood, and the country is in general motion. Night is approaching; an immediate answer is expected."

This was the voice of the province - of the continent - and the crown-officers knew it. Fear of the angry people and dread of the frowns of the ministry agitated them with conflicting emotions. Hutchinson grew pale his knees trembled, and Adams afterward said, "I enjoyed the sight." The lieutenant-governor's council had unanimously recommended the removal of the troops the people demanded it, and after conferring together in a whisper, Hutchinson and Dalrymple agreed to send the troops to Castle William. The committee returned to the meeting with the good news, and the Old South Meeting-house rang with acclamations of joy. The humbled troops were speedily sent out of the town. It was a signal triumph for the people and the rights of man. These troops had been sent to overawe the people; the people had overawed the troops. The inhabitants kept a strict guard over the prisoners and a vigilant oversight of the troops while they remained, many of the most respectable citizens appearing as common soldiers" in this duty.

The funeral of the victims of the massacre occurred on the 8th of March. It was made an occasion of a great popular demonstration. Four hearses that bore the bodies of Crispus Attucks, Samuel Maverick, Samuel Gray and James Caldwell, who were murdered on the 5th, met at the spot, in King street, where the tragedy was enacted. Thence they moved to the Middle Burial-ground, followed by an immense concourse of people of all classes and conditions, on foot; and then by a long line of carriages of the gentry of the town," who occupied them. The bodies were placed in one vault. The newspapers of the country were shrouded in broad black lines. The Boston Gazette, printed on Monday, the 12th of March, was heavily striped with black lines, and contained pictures of four coffins, bearing the initials of the slain and the skull and cross-bones. Long afterward John Adams wrote: Not the battle of Lexington or Bunker Hill, not the surrender of Burgoyne or Cornwallis, were more important events in American history than the battle of King street, on the 5th of March, 1770. The death of four or five persons, the most

obscure and inconsiderable that could have been found upon the continent, has never yet been forgiven in any part of America."

Late in the autumn of the same year, when public excitement had subsided, Captain Preston and his soldiers were tried for murder before a court in Boston. Josiah Quincy, Jr., and John Adams were counsel for the prisoners). They were known as ardent patriots, yet their acceptance of the task of defending these prisoners offended many of their compatriots, and severely tried the strength of their popularity. They entered upon their duties as counselors with humane motives, and they discharged them with fidelity to their clients, the law, and the testimony. Robert Treat Paine, afterward a signer of the Declaration of Independence, was the counsel for the crown. Preston and six of the soldiers were declared not guilty by a Boston jury. The other two - the soldier who killed Attucks, and another who shot Maverick - were convicted of manslaughter only, and for that offence they were each branded in the hand with a hot iron, in open court, and discharged.

This trial was another triumph for the Americans. The advocates in Parliament for the revival of the long-slumbering statute of Henry the Eighth, providing for the trial in England of persons accused of crimes in the colonies, gave as a reason for such revival, that American juries could not be trusted in the case of a crown-officer being on trial. This verdict of a Boston jury, under the circumstances, set that slander at rest forever, and amazed the judges of the English courts. The jury had simply triumphed over prejudice and strong emotion, and given a verdict in accordance with the dictates of conscience and perceptions of truth.

On the evening when the Boston massacre occurred, Lord North asked leave of the British House of Commons to bring in a bill for repealing the duties on certain articles mentioned in Hillsborough's circular, but retaining a duty of three per cent on tea. This was a small tax - a very small burden - a mere pepper-corn rent," avowedly to save the national honor. The proposition found very little favor from either party. The friends of the Americans demanded a repeal of the whole revenue act, the friends of the crown regarded a partial repeal as utterly useless, for they began to comprehend the deep-seated principle on which the Americans had planted themselves. Lord North, in his heart, wished to have a full repeal, and thereby insure a full reconciliation but the stubborn king would not relinquish an iota of his prerogative on compulsion, and the duty on tea was retained by the votes of a small majority in Parliament. The bill received the royal assent on the 17th of April. The monarch had already received intelligence of the massacre. When it was revealed to Parliament, it created a very great sensation. Had that body received the news sooner, the duty on tea would not have been retained.

When intelligence of this act reached America, the colonists saw that the contest was not quite over. In the three per cent duty on tea lay the kernel of future oppressions - materials for chains of slavery. But the people, late in 1770, began to relax their loyalty to the non-importation leagues. The merchants of New York proposed to import everything but tea. Send us your Liberty-Pole, as you can have no further use for it," wrote the Philadelphians. The letter of the New York merchants was burnt by the students at Princeton, with James Madison at their head.

In Boston it was torn in pieces, and in other colonies it was read with indignation. But Philadelphia and Boston merchants soon acquiesced and before the close of 1770 the colonists were importing everything from Great Britain excepting tea. The associations had exerted salutary influence on society in America. Many extravagant customs had been abolished; personal expenses had been curtailed, and some manufactures had been encouraged. Home-made articles were fashionable. The graduating class at Cambridge took their degrees in home-spun clothes in 1770.

The spinning-wheel, which had been introduced into the colonies by the Scotch-Irish early in the last century, played an important part in the politics of the time. It had been introduced into England from India in the reign of Henry the Eighth, and it was such an improvement upon the ancient distaff in the process of spinning, that, according to a legend that prevailed in Great Britain and Ireland, it was a special gift from heaven. This gift the patriotic women of America used most effectually in helping their fathers, brothers, husbands and sons in successful resistance to oppression. How much the hearts, heads and busy fingers of the women of the Revolution contributed to the achievement of the great result may never be known. The service was very great.

Chapter LIV

Settlements Beyond the Mountains - Lawlessness in North Carolina - Governor Tryon and the Regulators - A Battle on the Allamance - Cruelty of the Governor - Crown-Officers in America Made Independent of the Assemblies - Obnoxious Letters of Crown-Officers - Their History - Spirit of Liberty Everywhere - Virginia Firm and New York Wavering - Affair of the Gaspe - East India Company and the Ministry - Tea-Ships Sent to America - Proceedings Against Them in Seaport Towns.

DURING the next two years after the Boston massacre the colonists were not disturbed by any obnoxious legislation by Parliament. At that period a spirit of adventure caused many persons to climb over the mountains west of the British-American colonies to explore the valleys of the Ohio, Cumberland, and Tennessee rivers, and to penetrate the dark forests in the more southern portions of the Mississippi Valley. Washington then made himself thoroughly acquainted with the region of West Virginia on the borders of the Ohio River. Daniel Boone and companions from the Clinch and Holston rivers were traversing the wilds of Kentucky, and preparing the way for settlements there and James Robertson and others were exploring the borders of the sinuous Cumberland, and planting a permanent settlement on the bluffs at Nashville. So these pioneers were revolutionizing that vast and rich country into which an industrious population soon flowed, pitched their tents, and made permanent habitations.

Robertson had come from the discontented regions of North Carolina, where the Regulators were resisting oppression with all their might. For more than two years anarchy prevailed there. Sheriffs dared not exercise their official functions. Judges were driven from the bench, and general lawlessness prevailed. Governor Tryon met this state of things as a passionate and unwise ruler would. Instead of being just, and protecting the flock over which he had been set from rapacious wolves, he coalesced with the wolves and used the strong arm of military power to crush rising and righteous rebellion. Bad men had attached themselves to the Regulators and brought discredit upon their course, but a wise ruler would have discriminated between the good and bad of his opposition.

A rumor reached the governor that a band of armed Regulators were at Cross Creek (now Fayetteville) ready to march upon New Berne to release Herman Husbands, who had been temporarily imprisoned. Tryon fortified his palace and called out the militia of the several adjoining counties. Husbands was released and his partisans retired. But the governor went ahead and made a virtual declaration of war against the Regulators. His council authorized him to march into the rebellious district with sufficient troops to restore law and order. With three hundred militia and a small train of artillery, he left New Berne late in April (1771), and early in May encamped on the Eno, where he was joined by reinforcements. General Hugh Waddell had been directed to collect the forces from the western counties and at Salisbury, where he rendezvoused his troops, he waited for powder then on its way from Charleston. Its convoy was intercepted in Cabarras county by some Regulators with blackened faces, and routed, and the powder fell into the hands of the assailants. Waddell crossed the Yadkin to join Tryon, where he

received a message from the Regulators telling him to halt or retreat. He found many of his troops wavering; and so he turned about, and re-crossed the Yadkin, hotly pursued by a band of insurgents. They captured many of his men, but the general escaped to Salisbury.

When Tryon heard of these disasters, he pressed forward toward the Allamance Creek, to confront the Regulators, whom, he heard, were gathering in force on the Salisbury road. When he approached, they sent to him a proposition for an accommodation, with a demand for an answer within four hours. He promised a reply by noon the next day. That night he treacherously moved forward, crossed the Allamance at dawn, and moving stealthily along the Salisbury road, formed a line of battle within half a mile of the camp of the Regulators, before he was discovered. The insurgents seized their arms, and the belligerents confronted each other with deadly weapons. A parley ensued. An ambassador of the Regulators, named Thompson, who was sent to Tryon, was detained as a prisoner. He resented the perfidy, and in bold words told Tryon some unpleasant truths. The governor, in hot anger, snatched a gun from the hands of a militiaman and shot Thompson dead. He instantly perceived his folly, and sent out a flag of truce. The Regulators saw Thompson fall, and they fired on the flag. At that moment the Rev. Dr. Caldwell, a staunch patriot, fearing bloodshed, rode along the lines and begged the Regulators to disperse. Tryon, on the contrary, full of wrath, gave the fatal word Fire. The militia hesitated. The governor, crazed with rage, rose in his stirrups and shouted Fire! Fire on them or on me! A volley of musketry and discharge of cannon followed this order. The fire was returned. For a few minutes there was a hot fight. Some young Regulators rushed forward and seized the governor's cannon, but did not know how to use them. There was no acknowledged leader of the insurgents excepting Herman Husbands, who, when the firing began, declared that his peace-principles as a Quaker would not allow him to fight, and he rode away. He was not seen again in that region until the close of the War of the Revolution. In that conflict nine of the militia and more than twenty of the Regulators were killed, and many were wounded on both sides. It was the first battle in the war for independence. It was a sort of civil war, for it was fought on the soil of North Carolina between citizens of North Carolina. The Regulators were defeated, and the people in all that region - conscientious people - were compelled to take an oath of allegiance, which restrained their patriotic action when the War of the Revolution was earnestly begun.

The victor exercised savage cruelty toward his prisoners, showing a petty spite which was disgraceful to a soldier and a man. He condemned a young carpenter named Few, who had suffered much from the bad conduct of Fanning (even the loss of a maiden to whom he was affianced), to be hung on the night after the battle, and caused the property of his mother, at Hillsborough, to be destroyed. Other prisoners were marched through the country, as in a triumphal procession, and the conqueror marked his path by conflagrations and destruction of growing crops. At Hillsborough six more of the prisoners were hanged, as a terror to the inhabitants. Among them was Captain Messer, who had been sentenced to be hung with Few. His wife hurried to Tryon, with their little son ten years of age, and pleaded for her husband's life. The governor spurned her rudely, and Messer was led out to be executed. The boy broke away from his mother, who lay weeping on the ground, and going to the governor said: "Sir, hang me, and let my father live." "Who told you to say that - asked Tryon, "Nobody" replied the lad. "Why

do you ask that," said the governor. Because if you hang my father," said the boy, my mother will die and the little children will perish." Tryon's heart was touched. Messer was offered his liberty if he would bring Husbands back. He consented, and his wife and children were kept as hostages. Messer returned in the course of a few days, and reported that he overtook Husbands in Virginia, but could not bring him back. The exasperated governor hung Messer at Hills-borough, with the other prisoners.

The movements of the Regulators was a powerful beginning of that system of resistance which marked the people of North Carolina in the impending struggle. It lacked the lofty moral aspect of the movements in New England. The North Carolinians were resisting actual oppression, in the form of heavy taxation and extortion; the New Englanders were moved by an abstract principle of justice and right. The three percent a pound duty on tea had no effect on the material prosperity of Massachusetts; but it represented oppression and injustice, and they resisted its collection.

In 1772, Parliament, by a special act for strengthening the powers of the royal governors in America, excited the indignation of the colonists. It provided for the payment of the salaries of the governors and judges independent of the colonial assemblies. Hutchins, who had been appointed governor of Massachusetts in 1771, was delighted, and in a triumphant tone he assured the Assembly that henceforth not they, but the crown, would pay his salary. They knew the significance of the act, and denounced it as a violation of their charter. Other assemblies took umbrage likewise, for it was regarded as a bribe for the faithfulness of the royal governors to the crown in a warfare upon colonial rights. The subject was taken into consideration at a town-meeting in Boston. A large committee was appointed to draw up and publish a statement of all the rights and grievances of the colonies. This was done in an address prepared by Samuel Adams and Joseph Warren, in which the scheme for establishing Episcopacy in America was also condemned. It was the boldest and most complete exposition of the rights and grievances of the colonies yet put forth, and it was followed by the organization of committees of correspondence in every town. Dr. Franklin, who had been appointed agent for Massachusetts in England, 1771, published it there, with a preface written by himself. It produced a deep impression on both sides of the Atlantic.

When the Massachusetts legislature assembled at the beginning of 1773, Hutchinson denounced the address as seditious and treasonable." This stirred the indignation of the people, and very soon afterward an event occurred which produced great exasperation in Massachusetts. Letters of Hutchinson, Lieutenant-Governor Oliver and others, written to Mr. Whateley, one of the under-secretaries of the government, then dead, had been put into the hands of Dr. Franklin by Dr. Hugh Williamson of Philadelphia, who had procured them by stratagem from the office of Mr. Whateley's brother. In these letters, the popular leaders of Massachusetts were vilified the liberal clauses of the Massachusetts charter were condemned; the punishment of the Bostonians by restraints upon their commercial privileges was recommended, and an "abridgment of what are called English liberties in America, by coercive measures, was strongly urged. Dr. Franklin saw in these letters evidences of a conspiracy against his country by vipers in her bosom, and he sent them, with an official letter, to Thomas Cushing, the Speaker of the Massachusetts Assembly, in

which he said: "As to the writers, when I find them bartering away the liberties of their native country for posts, negotiating for salaries and pensions extorted from the people, conscious of the odium there might be attended with calling for troops to protect and secure them when I see them exciting jealousies in the crown, and provoking it to wrath against so great a part of its most faithful subjects creating enmities between the different countries of what the empire consists; occasioning great expense to the old country for suppressing or preventing imaginary rebellion in the new, and to the new country for the payment of needless gratifications to useless officers and enemies, I cannot but doubt their sincerity even in the political principles they profess, and deem them mere time-servers, seeking their own private emoluments through any quantity of public mischief; betrayers of the interest not of their native country alone, but of the government they pretend to serve, and of the whole English empire."

These letters were circulated privately for awhile, when they were laid before the Massachusetts Assembly and published to the world. The tempest of indignation that followed these revelations was fearful to Hutchinson and his friends. A committee was appointed to wait upon the governor and demand from him an explicit denial or acknowledgment of their authenticity. They are mine," he said, but they were quite confidential." That qualification was not considered extenuating, and the Assembly adopted a petition to the king for the removal of Hutchinson and his lieutenant as public slanderers and enemies of the colony, and, as such, not to be tolerated. The petition was sent to Franklin, with instructions to present it in person, if possible. He could not do it, for the king disliked him. So he sent it to Lord Dartmouth, who had succeeded Hillsborough as secretary for the colonies. His lordship sent it to the king, who laid it before the Privy Council.

Meanwhile the exposure had produced much excitement in England. Mr. Whateley accused Lord Temple, Pitt's brother-in-law (who had once obtained permission to examine Secretary Whateley's papers), of abstracting them and putting them into Franklin's hands. A duel, in which Temple was wounded, was the consequence. When Franklin heard of this, he publicly avowed his share in the matter, and exonerated Mr. Temple. "I am told by some," Franklin wrote to Mr. Cushing, "that it was imprudent in me to avow the obtaining and sending those letters, for that administration will resent it. I have not much apprehension of this; but, if it happens, I must take the consequences."

While Massachusetts was in a ferment because of Hutchinson's acts, the spirit of liberty was conspicuously manifest in other colonies. On the receipt of the Massachusetts Address, setting forth the rights and grievances of the colonies, the Virginia Assembly expressed their concurrence and sympathy, and appointed a committee of correspondence as representatives of their body 'when not in session, and of the people. They were about to adopt other resolutions equally unsubmissive, in their spirit, to royal authority, when Lord Dunmore, the successor of the dead Lord Botetourt, as governor of Virginia, dissolved them. The committee of correspondence met the next day, and dispatched a Circular Letter, containing their resolutions, to the other colonial assemblies. That of Massachusetts responded by the appointment of a similar committee, of fifteen, and instructing them to urge the colonies to take similar action. Several of them did so,

and the first sound link of a political confederacy was thus formed.

In New York, meanwhile, the loyalist party had gradually obtained the ascendancy in the Assembly. Their influence was felt among the people. As we have observed, non-importation agreements were disregarded. A general committee of one hundred, and a vigilance committee of fifty, had been appointed, and disaffection had appeared in these. The true Sons of Liberty in Hampden Hall found it difficult, for some time, to keep alive the demonstrative zeal of the patriots. They were assisted, however, by Governor Tryon, who came from North Carolina to rule New York. His petty tyranny soon aroused the slumbering patriotism of the people, and when occasion demanded they were as fiery and firm as the New Englanders in defending their rights.

In the summer of 1772, an occurrence in Narraganset Bay made a great stir in the colonies and in Great Britain. The commissioners of customs, at Boston, sent an armed British schooner into the Bay, to enforce the revenue laws and prevent illicit traffic. It was the *Gasps* commanded by Lieutenant Dudingston. He loved to play the petty tyrant, and obstructed legitimate commerce by vexatious arrests of vessels on their course, without showing his commission. The chief-justice of Rhode Island (Hopkins) decided that no man coming into the colony had a right to exercise authority by force of arms, without first showing his commission; whereupon Governor Wanton sent the high-sheriff on board the *Gaspe* with a message to her commander asking him to produce his commission without delay. Dudingston did not comply. The demand was repeated in a second letter, with the same result. The lieutenant forwarded Wanton's letters to Admiral Montagu, at Boston, of whom John Adams wrote in his diary: "His brutal, hoggish manners are a disgrace to the royal navy and to the king's service." He wrote a coarse, blustering letter to the governor, saying: "I shall report your two insolent letters to his majesty's secretaries of state, and have them to determine what right you have to demand sight of all orders I shall give to all officers of my squadron and I would advise you not to send the sheriff on board the king's ship again on such ridiculous errands. The lieutenant, sir, has done his duty. I shall give the king's officers directions, that they send every man taken in molesting them, to me. As sure as the people of Newport attempt to rescue any vessel, and any of them are taken, I will hang them as pirates." To this insulting letter Governor Wanton replied with spirit. He expressed his gratification that his letters had been sent to the secretaries, and his surprise at the admiral's impolite words. He informed him that he should send that officer's letter to the same gentlemen, and leave it for the king and his minister to determine on which side the charge of insolence properly belonged. "As to your advice," he said, "not to send a sheriff on board any of your squadron, please to know, that I will send the sheriff of this colony at any time and to every place within the body of it, as I shall think fit." Before ministers had time to settle the question, the affair had assumed a more hostile aspect.

Dudingston became more insolent and annoying. He ordered even well-known packet-ships to lower their colors in token of respect when passing the *Gasps* and often fired upon those which failed to do so. At about noon on the 9th of June (1772), the packet *Hannah* was passing up the Bay before a stiff breeze, and did not bow to the haughty marine *Gesler*. The *Gasps* gave chase.

The tide was ebbing, but the bar of Namquit Point was covered. The Hannah misled her pursuer, by a more westerly way, when the schooner ran upon the sands and was hopelessly grounded. This fact was told by the captain of the Hannah to John Brown, a leading merchant of Providence, who thought it a good opportunity to rid themselves of the nuisance. He organized an expedition to destroy the schooner that night. Eight of the largest boats in the harbor, - with four oarsmen each, - their row-locks muffled, were collected early in the evening, and the whole expedition was placed in charge of Captain Whipple, one of Brown's most trusted shipmasters.

Sixty-four well-armed men left Providence in the boats, between ten and eleven o'clock in the evening, and reached the Gasps. They were hailed by sentinel, but did not answer. Dudingston appeared on deck, waved his hand for the boats to keep away, and fired a pistol among them. The shot was returned from a musket. The lieutenant was wounded and carried below. Then the vessel was boarded without much opposition. Dudingston's wound was dressed by an American medical student, and he was taken ashore. The crew were ordered to gather up their private property, and go ashore also. This done, the vessel was set on fire, and at early dawn she was blown up by her ignited magazine.

This highhanded act was condemned by the local authorities in public. Governor Wanton offered a reward of five hundred dollars for the discovery of the perpetrators. The British government offered five thousand dollars for the leader, and twenty-five hundred dollars to the man who should discover and reveal the names of the others. A royal commission of investigation was appointed, and the admiral gave all the assistance in his power, but not one of the party turned state's-evidence, though tempted by large rewards to do so. Nor did any of the citizens of Providence, who knew many of the actors well, reveal the secret (and the names of none of them were spoken of as actors) until after the war with Great Britain was actually begun. Then it was revealed that Whipple was the leader. The fact caused a very laconic correspondence. Sir James Wallace was blockading Narraganset Bay with a single war-vessel in 1775, and Whipple was in command of a little provincial naval force to drive him away. Wallace wrote to that commander:

"You, Abraham Whipple, on the 10th of June, 1772, burned his majesty's vessel, the Gaspe, and I will hang you at the yard-arm. JAMES WALLACE"

He was answered: "SIR, - Always catch a man before you hang him. ABRAHAM WHIPPLE."

At the beginning of 1773, the East India Company found itself greatly embarrassed by the American non-importation agreements concerning tea. That Company had seventeen million pounds of tea in store unsold. They could not pay dividends nor debts. Bankruptcies were the consequence, and these produced so great a shock to credit that a panic prevailed. The Company implored the ministry to take off the duty on tea. The ministry refused, for the royal prerogative forbade it. Leave was granted to the Company to send tea to America on their own account, without paying an export duty, and so enable the colonists to buy it cheaper from England than from any other market. The king and Lord North, losing sight of the principle involved, foolishly

thought this measure would quiet the Americans, for," North said, men will always go to the cheapest markets." So another opportunity for reconciliation was lost. In May, Parliament passed an act in accordance with the king's desires, for so favoring the East India Company - a vast monopoly sitting heavily on the commercial enterprise of England - while respectful petitions and remonstrances from his loyal subjects in America, touching the highest interests of the nation, were treated with scorn. The king, in answer to such papers, announced that he considered his authority to make laws in Parliament of sufficient force and validity to bind his subjects in America in all cases whatsoever, as essential to the dignity of the crown, and a right appertaining to the state, which it was his duty to preserve entire and inviolate and he expressed his displeasure because, in their petitions and remonstrances, that right was brought into question.

The East India Company, hoping, yet doubting, accepted the proposed arrangement. In August they received a proper license, and filled ships with cargoes of tea for American ports. Agents were appointed at all the sea-ports to receive the tea, and relief for the embarrassed company seemed to be nigh. They were warned by Franklin and other Americans that they would suffer loss by the operation, for their countrymen would not accept the new arrangement. But Lord North quieted the fears of the Company by saying: "It is no purpose making objections, for the king will have it so. He means to try the question with the Americans."

The colonists accepted the issue. They met the commercial question with one of deeper significance than that of the dearness or cheapness of a commodity. Is there a duty for revenue imposed on tea? was the true question. It was answered in the affirmative, and it was resolved that tea, whatever its price, should not be landed in America until that duty was taken off. The committees of correspondence soon produced unity of sentiment on that point throughout the colonies. Public meetings were held. Mutual support was pledged; the agents or consignees were requested to resign, and when the tea-ships arrived, they were not allowed in some places to discharge their cargoes. The spirit of the Stamp-act days was aroused.

The earliest public meeting to consider the reception that should be given to the tea-ships on their arrival, was held in the city of New York, on the 15th of October, 1773. Intimations had reached the city on the 11th, that a tea-ship had been ordered to that port; and at the meeting held at the coffee-house, in Wall street, grateful thanks were voted to the patriotic American merchants and ship-masters in London who had refused to receive tea as freight from the East India Company. On the following day (October 16) a large meeting was held in the State-house yard, in Philadelphia, for the same purpose. When word reached the city that a tea-ship had been ordered to that port, the newspapers denounced the whole scheme as a ministerial trick to ensnare and enslave the Americans. The people were much excited, and the meeting in the State-house yard was a "monster" gathering for that day. Eight spirited resolutions were adopted, the most vital of which was one that declared "That the resolution lately entered into by the East India Company, to send out their tea to America subject to the payment of duties on its being landed here, is an open attempt to enforce the ministerial plan, and a violent attack upon the liberties of America." They also resolved that it was the duty of every American to oppose the attempt to force the tea and taxes upon them. The consignees of the proscribed herb, in Philadelphia, were,

by another resolution, requested, from a regard to their character and the good order of the city and province, immediately to resign." Already a self-constituted "committee for tarring and feathering" had issued a manifest to the pilots on the Delaware, telling them to do their duty in case they should meet the tea-ship Polly, Captain Ayres. They were to warn him not to go to Philadelphia, and to promise him, in case he persisted in doing so, that he would have "a halter around his neck, ten gallons of liquid tar scattered over his pate, with the feathers of a dozen wild geese laid over that to enliven his appearance." The same committee threatened the consignees; and when, on Christmas day, the news reached Philadelphia that the long-expected Polly was below," several gentlemen proceeded to meet her. She was intercepted a few miles below the city. When her captain was told about public sentiment in Philadelphia, he left his ship and accompanied the gentlemen to the city. The next day an immense public meeting was held at the State-house, to consider what was best to be done in that alarming crisis." It was resolved that the tea should not be landed, nor the tea-ship be allowed to enter the port, or be registered at the Custom-house. It was also resolved that the tea should be sent back, and that the vessel should make her way out of the river and bay as soon as possible.

News that a similar spirit had been manifested in Charleston, New York and Boston, drew hearty thanks from the meeting in Philadelphia. The Captain (Ayres) of the Polly pledged himself to conform to the wishes of the people, and so the latter triumphed. A contemporary writer said: "The foundations of American liberty are more deeply laid than ever."

When the tea-ship Haney, Captain Lockyier, arrived at Sandy Hook, below New York, her master wisely heeded the advice of the pilot, and went to the city without his vessel. Already a notice had appeared in Holt's journal of that city, for the "Mohawks" to be in readiness when a tea-ship should arrive; and the captain found public sentiment so strong against receiving the tea that he resolved to return to England with his cargo. While he was in the city, a circumstance occurred which justified him in making his decision. A merchant vessel arrived with eighteen chests of tea hidden away in her cargo. The wide-awake Sons of Liberty, suspecting smuggling, searched the vessel, and on finding the tea, cast the whole of it into the waters of the harbor. The captain was advised to leave New York as quickly as possible. As he and Lockyier put off in a boat for their respective vessels, at Whitehall (foot of Broad street), a multitude who had gathered there shouted a farewell; and while cannon-peals from the Fields shook the city, the people hoisted a British flag on the Liberty Pole in token of triumph.

At Boston, yet the focus of resistance to British oppression, the greatest demonstrations concerning the tea-ships occurred. When the people heard of the sailing of these ships, they resolved to resist the landing of their cargoes at all hazards. The subject was discussed at the clubs and coffeehouses, with great warmth. The consignees were two of Governor Hutchinson's sons and his nephew, Richard Clarke, the father-in-law of John Singleton Copley, the artist. Their near relationship to the detested governor made them more obnoxious in the eyes of the Sons of Liberty. They were invited to appear before a meeting of citizens to be held under Liberty- Tree, on the 3rd of November, where about five hundred citizens assembled, some of them leaders of popular opinion. A flag floated over the consecrated tree. The consignees did not appear, and a

committee was appointed to wait upon them. They repelled the committee with discourtesy, and refused to agree, as was demanded of them, to return the tea to London in the same ships in which it should arrive. When the committee reported to the meeting, there was a cry - "Out with our enemies! Out with them!"

The excited people were persuaded to disperse, and two days afterward a regular town-meeting was held. The next day another committee called upon the consignees with a request that they should resign. Their answer was: "It is out of our power to comply with the request of the town." On receiving this reply, the meeting broke up without the utterance of a single word; and that night a crowd gathered in front of Clarke's house, when a pistol-ball was fired among them from a window of the dwelling. Nobody was hurt, and the affair ended in the smashing of Clarke's windows.

The silence of the town-meeting, on its dissolution, was ominous. The consignees felt it to be so. It plainly indicated that talking was over, and henceforth there would be action. They saw that they were now to be dealt with by the able committee of correspondence and the populace, and they were alarmed. The governor called a meeting of his council to consult about measures for preserving the public peace. The consignees, thoroughly frightened, petitioned leave to resign their appointments into the hands of the governor and council, but their prayer was refused. Believing themselves to be in personal peril, they fled from the city and took refuge in Castle William.

Chapter LV

The "Boston Tea-Party" - Its Effects at Home and Abroad - Wrath of the Royalists - The Boston Port Bill - Opposition of Burke and Others - Charles James Fox - Ignorance Concerning Americans - Other Measures for Punishing the Bostonians Adopted - Apprehensions of the Ministry - The Petition for the Removal of Hutchinson - Franklin Before the Privy Council - Bad Manners of the Lords - Franklin is Dismissed from Office.

ON Monday morning, the 29th of November, 1773, a handbill was posted all over Boston, containing the following words:

"Friends! Brethren Countrymen! - That worst of plagues, the detested tea, shipped for this port by the East India Company, is now arrived in the harbor; the hour of destruction, or manly opposition to the machinations of tyranny, stares you in the face. Every friend to his country, to himself and to posterity, is now called upon to meet at Faneuil Hall, at nine o'clock THIS DAY (at which time the bells will ring), to make united and successful resistance to this last, worst, and most destructive measure of administration."

The ship Dartmouth, from London, with a cargo of tea, had anchored off the castle the day before. By invitation of the Boston Committee of Correspondence those of Roxbury, Cambridge, Dorchester and Brookline assembled in the room of the selectmen, while crowds of citizens were pouring into Faneuil Hall, and resolved, by unanimous vote, to use their joint influence to prevent the landing of the tea. It was also resolved to invite all the town-committees in the province to co-operate with them. The crowd soon became so great that the Hall could not contain them, and the meeting was adjourned to the Old South Meeting-house. There the people resolved that the tea should not be landed; that no duty should be paid; and that it should be sent back in the same bottom. They also voted that Francis Rotch, the owner of the vessel, should be directed not to enter the tea, at his peril, and that the captain of the Dartmouth should also be warned not to suffer the tea to be landed. Orders were given for the ship to be moored at Griffin's Wharf, and twenty citizens were appointed again to watch her.

A letter came to the meeting from the consignees, offering to store the tea until they could write to England and receive instructions. Not a pound of it shall be landed," said the meeting. They also resolved that two other tea-ships, then hourly expected, should, on their arrival, be moored alongside the Dartmouth, in charge of the same volunteer guard. The meeting quietly adjourned, and the movements of the people were governed by the Committee of Correspondence. They appointed a number of post-riders to carry news to the other towns, in case there should be an attempt to land the tea by force.

On the 14th of December, another meeting was held in the Old South, when it was resolved to order Mr. Rotch to immediately apply for a clearance for his ship and send her to sea, for his cargo had all been landed excepting the chests of tea. In the meantime, the governor had taken measures to prevent her sailing out of the harbor before the tea should be landed; and he wrote to

the ministry, advising the prosecution of some of the leaders of the Sons of Liberty in Boston, for high crimes and misdemeanors. He ordered Admiral Montagu to place two armed ships at the entrance to Boston harbor, to prevent the egress of vessels and he directed Colonel Leslie, who was in command of the Castle, not to allow any vessel to pass out from the range of his great guns, without a permit signed by himself.

The excitement of the people was now at fever heat. The issues of every future hour were looked for with great anxiety. The air was full of rumors - some true, some false - and on the 16th of December (1773), the day to which the meeting was adjourned, the largest assembly then ever seen in Boston were gathered in the Old South Meeting-house, and its vicinity. Samuel P. Savage, of Weston, presided. Full two thousand men from the neighboring towns were there. Seven thousand men soon filled the great fane and overflowed into the street. It was reported that the Custom-house officers had refused to give Mr. Rotch a clearance for his vessel before the tea - the whole cargo - should be landed. "No vessel can pass the Castle without my permission, and I will not give it," thought the governor, as he rode out to his country-seat at Milton; and he believed he had secured a victory. Not so thought the people. When the great assembly heard of the refusal of the Custom-house officers to grant a clearance, they said to Mr. Rotch: "Go to the governor; protest against their action, and ask him for a permit for your vessel to sail." He hastened to the governor in the country, and the meeting adjourned until three o'clock. When they reassembled the merchant had not returned, and the question was put to the meeting. In case the governor shall refuse his permission, will you abide by your former resolutions with respect to not suffering the tea to be landed?" Earnest men spoke to the question. Among the most earnest was young Josiah Quincy, a rising lawyer, with a feeble frame that was wasting with consumption, a firm will, patriotism of purest mold, and a burning zeal. He harangued the crowd with prophetic words eloquently spoken. Like a seer he perceived that a great crisis was at hand, where actions, and not words, would be required. It is not," he said, "the spirit that reposes within these walls that must stand us in stead. The exertions of this day will call forth events which will make a very different spirit necessary for our salvation. Whoever supposes that shouts and hosannas will terminate the trials of this day, entertains a childish fancy. He must be grossly ignorant of the importance and value of the prize for which we contend; we must be equally ignorant of the power of those who have combined against us we must be blind to that malice, inveteracy and insatiable revenge which actuate our enemies, public and private, abroad and in our bosoms, to hope that we shall end this controversy without the sharpest conflicts - to flatter ourselves that popular resolves, popular harangues, popular acclamations, and popular vapor will vanquish our foes. Let us consider the issue. Let us look to the end. Let us weigh and consider, before we advance to those measures which must bring on the most trying and terrible struggle this country ever saw."

When Mr. Quincy ceased speaking, it was sunset and the church was lighted by candles. The question was put, and the thousands answered in the affirmative. There was a call for Mr. Rotch, but he had not returned. He came soon afterward, and reported that the governor peremptorily refused him permission to send his vessel to sea before the tea should be landed. A murmur ran through the vast assemblage, but the rising excitement was hushed into silence when Samuel

Adams arose, and in a clear voice said: "This meeting can do no more to save the country." At that moment a person with painted face and dressed like an Indian gave a warwhoop in the gallery, which was responded to in kind from the door of the meeting-house. Another voice in the gallery shouted: "Boston harbor a teapot to-night! Hurrah for Griffin's Wharf!" The meeting instantly adjourned and the people rushed for the street, and pushed toward Griffin's Wharf following a number of men disguised as Indians. The populace cheered. Guards were posted to keep order. Among them was John Hancock. The disguised men and others then went on board the tea-ships moored at Griffin's Wharf and in the course of three hours they emptied three hundred and forty-two chests of tea into the water of the harbor. The operation was performed in the presence of a multitude who were silent spectators of the scene. It was done at an early hour in the evening - a bright, cold, moonlit evening - and of the sixty men who went on board the tea-ships, only a part of them were disguised as "Mohawks." It was not a mob that destroyed the tea, but sober citizens. It was not a mob that were spectators of the scene, but a well-behaved audience looking upon a serious and most significant pantomime. It was the work of patriotic men, encouraged by patriotic citizens, who were determined not to be trifled with any longer. When the work was done - when Boston harbor had been made a vast "teapot" - the streets of the town became as quiet as a Sabbath evening. "All things," wrote John Adams to James Warren, "were conducted with great order, decency, and perfect submission to government." Early the next morning the Committee of Correspondence appointed Samuel Adams chairman of a sub-committee to draw up a statement of what had been done with the tea, and then they sent Paul Revere as express to carry the document to the Sons of Liberty in New York and Philadelphia. Of the immediate actors on board the tea-ships on that eventful night, the names of fifty-nine are known. The last survivor of the band was David Kinnison, who died in Chicago in 1851, at the age of one hundred and fifteen years.

The audacity and firmness of the Bostonians were applauded throughout the colonies. Even in Canada and the British West Indies there were but feeble voices of censure. But among the crown-officers in America and the ministerial party in Great Britain there was fierce wrath. Hutchinson threatened, but so softly, because of his fears, that it barely sufficed to shield him from the frowns of the ministers. The friends of the Americans in Parliament were silent for a moment, because they could not justify the destruction of private property but the assurance sent to the East India Company, that the town of Boston would pay for every pound of tea destroyed on that occasion, loosened their tongues, and they made good use of the freedom for the benefit of the Americans. The whole dispute still rested upon the original foundation - the denial of the right of Great Britain to tax the colonies without their consent. It was this fact, more than the destruction of the property, that excited the ire of the king and his ministers, and made the House of Lords like a seething caldron of impotent rage." The honesty of the Americans was overlooked, and the ministry saw nothing in the proceedings at Boston but open rebellion.

The news of the Boston Tea-party reached England in January (1774), but it was not officially announced until early in March. The king had waited for overwhelming evidence of the wickedness of the Americans which he found in letters from Governor Hutchinson and Admiral Montagu, the consignees of the tea, the letters of other royal governors in whose respective

colonies there had been serious threats, and a large number of inflammatory handbills. All of these were sent by the king to Parliament with a message, in which he asked that body to devise means for the immediate suppression of tumultuous proceedings in the colonies. The House of Commons proposed an address of thanks to the king, and assurance that he should be sustained in efforts to maintain order in America. This address excited angry debates. The House became as hot as Faneuil Hall or the Old South Meeting-house in Boston," said Burke. "There is open rebellion in America, and it must be punished," cried the Ministerial party. Repeal your unjust laws and deal righteously with the Americans, and there will be peace and loyalty there," retorted the Opposition. After a long and stormy debate, the address was adopted by an overwhelming majority.

This vote strengthened Lord North, and stimulated the passions of the monarch. Urged by his sovereign, North submitted a bill, at the middle of March, for the severe punishment of Boston. It provided for the removal of the Custom-house, courts of justice and government offices of all kinds from Boston to Salem, and forbade every kind of shipping business in the harbor of Boston. It also provided that when the rebellious town should fully and humbly submit to royal authority, the king should have the power to open the port and restore the government business. North justified the harsh measure by asserting that Boston was the ringleader in every riot, and set always the example which others followed." He believed severe punishment of this rebellious town would strike terror throughout the colonies, and so bring the Americans into subjection to the crown. Many of his supporters in the House used very violent language, calling the Bostonians "mobocrats," and vile incendiaries men who were never actuated by reason, but chose tarring and feathering as an argument." One member denounced them as utterly unworthy of civilized forbearance."They ought to have their town knocked about their ears," he said; "and ought to be destroyed." He concluded his unstinted abuse by quoting the factious cry of the old Roman orators against their African enemies - "Delenda est Carthago" - Carthage must be destroyed. Others more just, like Rose Fuller, proposed only a fine, which Barre and other staunch friends of the Americans thought just, as it would affect a single town, and voted for it. For this apparent defection, the portraits of Barry and Conway were removed from Faneuil Hall for a short time.

Edmund Burke took a broader, loftier view of the subject, in a speech of remarkable power. It was the first of that series of splendid orations in Parliament, which made his name immortal. He denounced the whole scheme as unjust, because there was no discrimination. "You wish to condemn the accused without a hearing," he said, "to punish indiscriminately the innocent with the guilty. You will thus irrevocably alienate the hearts of the colonists from the mother country. Before the adoption of so violent a measure, the principal merchants of the kingdom should at least be consulted. The bill is unjust since it bears upon the city of Boston, while it is notorious that all America is in flames that the cities of Philadelphia, of New York, and all the maritime towns of the continent, have exhibited the same disobedience. You are contending for a matter which the Bostonians will not give up quietly. They cannot, by such means, be made to bow to the authority of ministers; on the contrary, you will find their obstinacy confirmed and their fury exasperated. The acts of resistance in their city have not been confined to the populace alone, but

men of the first rank and opulent fortune in the place have openly countenanced them. One city in proscription and the rest in rebellion can never be a remedial measure for general disturbances. Have you considered whether you have troops and ships sufficient to reduce the people of the whole American continent to your devotion? It was the duty of your governor, and not of men without arms, to suppress the tumults. If this officer has not demanded the proper assistance from the military commanders, why punish the innocent for the fault - and the negligence of the officers of the crown? The resistance is general in all parts of America you must, therefore, let it govern itself by its own internal policy, or make it subservient to all your laws by an exertion of all the forces of the kingdom. These partial counsels are well suited to irritate, not subjugate." Other members followed Burke in agreement with his views, but none were so clear and logical in ideas and expression as he. Charles James Fox, who had been dismissed from the Treasury to please the king, made his first speech in Parliament on that occasion, and it was a strange beginning of his brilliant career in the House of Commons. He objected to the power which the bill vested in the crown to reopen the port of Boston when it should be closed!

The persuasions and warnings of the Opposition fell upon prejudiced and dull ears, and the famous Boston Port Bill was passed by an almost unanimous vote. The exultant king signed it on the 31st of March, 1774, and it became a law. It was the fatal knife of vivisection that severed the American people from their unnatural mother. The wound was made not healable from the searing given it by the unrighteous acts which followed.

The ignorance of the British people concerning the Americans, at that time, was most notable, and it was largely displayed in the House of Commons. Great numbers of the common people believed that the Americans were nearly all Negroes; and there were members of the House of Commons who stoutly maintained that they were chiefly Indians. Did not the painters and caricaturists represent America as an Indian girl? Were not the print-shop windows of the town then rich with the famous caricature of Lord Mansfield, the compiler of some of the obnoxious acts, holding down America - an Indian maiden - while Lord North was pouring tea down her throat? The political ideas of the Americans were so strangely at variance with the accepted theories in England that a large proportion of the members of both Houses of Parliament could not comprehend them, in their simplicity. In British society, principles were so much overlaid by theories derived from the false premises of Church and State and conventional-customs, that they were not easily recognized in their naked beauty as presented in American ethics and jurisprudence.

The vote on the Port Bill stimulated Lord North to work the engine of oppression with greater vigor, and it was followed by other punitive acts of Parliament prepared by the skillful hand of Mansfield, the lord-chancellor.

The Port Bill was followed by another "for better regulating the government of Massachusetts Bay." It provided for the appointment of the governor's council and the judges of the supreme court by the crown; for the selection of jurors by the sheriffs instead of the selectmen, the nomination of all other executive, military, and judicial officers by the governor without

consulting his council, and for prohibiting town-meetings except for elections. It was really a bill for the subversion of the charter of Massachusetts - an act for the inauguration of a radical revolution - a declaration of war upon the rights of the people of that province. What can Americans believe," said Burke, who lifted up his voice most earnestly against the injustice, but that England wishes to despoil America of all liberty, of all franchise, and by the reduction of the charters to reduce them to a state of the most abject slavery." Others warned ministers to pause and Pownall prophesied in the ears of the House of Commons that these harsh measures would drive the Americans to the calling of a General Congress, and perhaps a resort to arms. In the House of Lords, Sheffield denounced the measure with vehemence, and eleven peers signed a protest but logic and warnings were in vain; the bill passed both Houses by very large majorities. North now gave a third turn to his engine of oppression conceived by the king, and introduced a bill intended to screen crown-officers from punishment. It provided for trial in England of all persons charged in the colonies with murders committed in support of government. It was intended as a guaranty of comparative safety to those who might shoot or bayonet rebels in the name of the king. "This," said Colonel Barr, in debate, is, indeed, the most extraordinary resolution ever heard in the Parliament of England. It offers new encouragement to military insolence already so insupportable. . . . By this law Americans are deprived of a right which belongs to every human creature - that of demanding justice before a tribunal of impartial judges. Even Captain Preston, who, in their own city of Boston, had shed the blood of citizens, found among them a fair trial and equitable judges. Another member (Alderman Sawbridge), declared that it was ridiculous and cruel - meant to enslave the Americans; and expressed a hope that they would not allow one of the bills to be executed that they would reject them all. If they do not," he said, they are the most abject slaves upon earth, and nothing the ministers can do is base enough for them." This bill also passed both Houses by large majorities, and became a law by receiving the signature of the king on the 20th of May.

Satisfied that these measures would have to be enforced by the military arm, the king caused a fourth bill to be introduced providing for the quartering of troops in America. Rose Fuller, who was a moderate supporter of the ministry, tried to break the severity of the new laws by a proposition to repeal the act imposing the duty on tea. His resolution was negated by a large majority. When the result was announced, he arose and uttered with solemnity these remarkable words: "I will now take my leave of the whole plan; you will commence your ruin from this day! I am sorry to say that not only the House has fallen into this error, but the people approve of the measure. The people, I am sorry to say, have been misled. But a short time will prove the evil tendency of this bill. If ever there was a nation rushing headlong to ruin, it is this." The bill took the course of the others and became a law.

These measures gave the ministers just apprehensions of open rebellion in America. The loyalty of the French in Canada, who were nearly all Roman Catholics, was not assured. It was a matter of vital importance to the government that their loyalty should be secured. So the King and Parliament, for state purposes, performed an inconsistent act. A bill was passed by the latter and confirmed by the former, which sanctioned the free exercise of the religion of the Church of Rome, and confirmed to the clergy of that church their accustomed dues and rights." That King

and Parliament, who would not acknowledge the legal existence of a Roman Catholic in Ireland, now, by the Quebec Act, so called, acknowledged the legal existence of a whole Roman Catholic state within the realm of England. Why? Because from the River St. Lawrence the government might more easily send instruments to enslave the English-American colonies than from any other point.

We have observed that the petition from Massachusetts to the king, praying for the removal of the governor and lieutenant-governor of that province, was laid before the Privy Council by the monarch; also that Franklin had taken the whole responsibility of the act of sending to Boston the offensive letters of Hutchinson, Oliver, and others. His candid public avowal - "I alone am the person who obtained and transmitted to Boston the letters in question," without explanation, raised a storm of indignation against him from almost every quarter, and led the government into acts of petty malice unworthy of a great nation. Franklin was then, and had been for some time, postmaster-general of the American colonies - an office of distinction and profit to the holder. This office and his reputation were now imperiled by his manly act.

On Saturday, the 8th of January, 1774, Franklin received a notice from the Secretary of the Privy Council, that the Lords of the Committee for Plantation Affairs, would meet at the Cockpit, on Tuesday following, to take into consideration the petition from Massachusetts, and requested his attendance. Franklin immediately consulted Mr. Bolla, a lawyer of some distinction, who, in America, had married a daughter of Governor Shirley, and had been agent in England for the province of Massachusetts. In 1769, Mr. Bolla procured from a member of Parliament a large number of letters written by Governor Bernard and others calumniating the people of Boston, and, as in duty bound, he sent them to the Massachusetts Assembly. This proper act had been denounced by Lord North, in Parliament, and Mr. Bolla felt a sympathy for Franklin, and agreed to accompany him to the meeting. Less than twenty-four hours before that meeting, Franklin received a notice that Mr. Mauduit, agent for the crown-officers in Boston, had obtained leave to be heard by counsel in their behalf at that meeting. Mr. Bolla was then induced to appear as Franklin's counsel but when he arose to speak in favor of the petition, some of the Lords objected to him as legally disqualified to act, and he was set aside. Then Franklin presented the resolutions of the Massachusetts Assembly, which had been sent with the petition. These were read; but when the letters which had caused the petition and resolution were brought up, Wedderburne, the solicitor-general, appeared as counsel for the governor, and interposed many objections to their reception. Franklin, being without counsel, asked and obtained leave for a postponement of the case, that he might procure for the Assembly the services of a competent lawyer.

On the 29th of January, Franklin was again before the Privy Council. He was accompanied by Mr. Dunning, a former solicitor-general, as counselor. Intimations had been given that Wedderburne would, on this occasion, chastise Franklin most severely for the part he took in exposing the letters which had induced the petition, and "an immense crowd," Franklin wrote, were present to enjoy the scene. No less than thirty-five peers were there. When Dunning had finished his plea in favor of the petition, Wedderburne arose. After giving an outline sketch of the

political history of the colonies, which was marked by ignorance or misrepresentation, the solicitor-general fell upon Franklin with severe, unjust, and often coarse invective. He accused him of obtaining the letters clandestinely; and even after the solicitor admitted that they were genuine, he made insinuations that they might be forgeries, asserting that they were sent to widen the breach between the colonists and the government. "Amidst tranquil events," said the solicitor, here is a man who, with the utmost insensibility of remorse, stands up and avows himself the author of all. I can compare him only to Zanga, in Dr. Young's "Revenge" - Know, then, 'twas I, I forged the letter - I disposed the picture - I hated - I dispersed, and I destroy.' I ask, my lords, whether the revengeful temper attributed to the bloody African is not surpassed by the coolness and apathy of the wily American?" "The favorite part of his discourse," Franklin wrote to Cushing, was levelled at your agent, who stood there, the butt of his invective ribaldry for near an hour, not a single lord adverting to the impropriety and indecency of treating a public messenger in so ignominious a manner, who was present only as the person delivering your petition, with the consideration of which no part of his conduct had any concern. If he had done a wrong in obtaining and transmitting the letters, that was not the tribunal where he was to be accused and tried. The cause was already before the chancellor. Not one of their lordships checked and recalled the orator to the business before them, but, on the contrary, a very few excepted, they seemed to enjoy highly the entertainment, and frequently burst into loud laughter. This part of his speech was thought so good that they have since printed it in order to defame me everywhere, and particularly to destroy my reputation on your side of the water; but the grosser parts of the abuse are omitted, appearing, I suppose, in their eyes, too foul to be seen on paper; so that the speech, compared' to what it was, is now perfectly decent." At the end of this tirade of abuse, the petition was dismissed as groundless, scandalous, and vexatious."

Franklin endured the coarse abuse of Wedderburne, and ill-manners of the lords, with the calmness of a philosopher. Not an emotion was manifested in his face. He was sustained by a consciousness of his own integrity and the justice of the cause to which he was a martyr. He felt that in this abuse of himself as public envoy presenting a respectful petition, the British government were offering a gross insult to a great and loyal colony; and not to that colony alone, but to British American colonies from the St. Lawrence to the St. Mary's. He felt a conviction in that hour of trial that not only his own honor, but the wisdom and patriotism of the people he represented would be fully vindicated by the calm judgment of mankind. "I have never been so sensible of the power of a good conscience," he said to Dr. Priestley, who breakfasted with him the next morning, "for if I had not considered the thing for which I have been so much insulted as one of the best actions of my life, and what I certainly would do again in the same circumstances, I could not have suspected it." The course of the patriot and his accuser were widely different in the future. Franklin went forward in assisting and achieving the freedom and independence of his country, and will be forever venerated, as Washington wrote, for benevolence, to be admired for his talents, to be esteemed for patriotism, to be beloved for philanthropy." Wedderburne went through life neither respected nor beloved, a grasping place-seeker and corrupt courtier, un-honored and unsung" at last and when, thirty years after the scene here described, this man, having held various high offices in the government and received honors, died Earl of Roslyn, the king upon whom he had fawned said, He has not left a greater knave behind him in my

dominions."

Franklin, though apparently unmoved before the Privy Council, felt deeply the indignity cast upon him; and, it is said, when he returned to his lodgings, No. 7 Craven street, that night, he took off the suit of clothes he had worn on the occasion, and declared that he would never wear it again until he should sign the degradation of England by a dismemberment of the empire, and the independence of America. He kept his word; and almost ten years afterward, when, as American commissioner, he signed a definitive treaty of peace between the United States and Great Britain on the basis of absolute independence for his country, he wore the same suit of clothes for the first time after his vow was uttered.

The government, predetermined to fill the post-offices in America with friends of the crown, so as to watch and obstruct the communications between the political leaders in the several colonies, hastened to make the hue-and-cry that Wedderburne had raised against Franklin, at the instigation of the king, an excuse for dismissing him from the office of deputy postmaster-general. He received a written notice of his dismissal on the day after his last appearance before the Privy Council. How safe the correspondence of your Assembly committees along the continent will be through the hands of such officers," he wrote to Mr. Cushing, "may now be worth consideration, especially as the post-office act of parliament allows a postmaster to open letters, if warranted to do so by the order of a secretary of state, and every provincial secretary may be deemed a secretary of state in his own province."

Chapter LVI

General Gage Appointed Governor - Hutchinson and His Friends - The Sons of Liberty Active - Gage in Boston - Doings of a Town-Meeting - Action of the Virginia Assembly - A General Congress Advocated - Governor Gage and the Assembly - Port of Boston Closed - Suffering and Patriotism - Bold Proceedings of the People - Preparations for a General Congress - Doings in New York - Minute-Men - Gage and the People - Dreadful Rumors from Boston - Bold Measures of a Convention.

THE Boston Port Bill reached Massachusetts early in May, 1774. It was preceded a few days by a commission sent to New York, for General Gage as governor of Massachusetts to succeed Hutchinson, who was recalled. The latter was mortified and alarmed. His recall seemed to be a pointed rebuke at that juncture, and he justly feared the resentment of the people whom he had misrepresented and misruled. He left Boston before Gage arrived, and remained in seclusion at his country-house at Milton until an opportunity offered for him to take refuge in Castle William. Hutchinson had many political as well as personal friends in Massachusetts. It must be remembered that the patriotic zeal which animated the Sons of Liberty was not universally felt, even in Boston. Those leaders were radicals, and were compelled to meet cold-hearted and hard-hearted conservatism at every turn.

Hutchinson had many political sympathizers; and when he was about to depart for England, whither he fled from the frowns of his countrymen, more than a hundred merchants in Boston, and a number of lawyers, magistrates and men of property there and in the neighborhood, signed an address to him, in which they expressed their entire approbation of his public acts, and affectionate wishes for his personal happiness. These "addressers became objects of intense dislike. Many of them, yielding to popular clamor, retracted. Those who would not retract, felt compelled to leave the colony, and became the first of the host of Loyal Refugees who peopled British provinces after the war that ensued.

It was the 10th of May when the Port Bill reached Boston. It was already in the hands of the Sons of Liberty in New York, carried thither by another ship from London. These patriots had waged a steady warfare with the conservative and aristocratic elements in society there, bearing the obloquy of many in the easy walks of life, but sustained and honored by those in the paths of toil the bone and sinew of a state," Scott, Sears, Lamb and McDougall - these were the trusted leaders. They perceived not only the infamy of the Boston Port Bill, but the danger to their own liberties foreshadowed by it. They called a meeting of their associates at Hampden Hall, and there resolved that the only safeguard for the freedom of the American colonies was in a General Congress of deputies - a hint, as we have seen, thrown out by Pownall in debate, to insure unity of action. They resolved to stand by Boston in its hour of distress; and by a letter dated the 14th of May, they entreated the patriots there to stand firm in support of their opposition measures. Their resolutions and the letter were sent by express to Boston by John Ludlow, who rode swiftly with them, on a black horse, toward the New England capital. He told their import as he coursed through Connecticut and Rhode Island. Near Providence on the edge of a wood that was just

receiving its summer foliage, by a cool spring, he met Paul Revere riding express on a large gray horse, bearing to New York and Philadelphia assurances of the faith and firmness of the Bostonians, and to invoke sympathy and cooperation. Revere also carried a large number of printed copies of the act, made somber by heavy black lines, and garnished with the picture of a crown, a skull and cross-bones, undoubtedly engraved by Revere himself. These he scattered through the villages on his way, where they were carried about the streets with the cry of "Barbarous, cruel, bloody, and inhuman murder! Revere and Ludlow took a hasty lunch together at the spring, and then pressed forward on their holy mission. New York had first suggested a General Congress. The suggestion was echoed back with approval from every colony. So originated the famous First Continental Congress in 1774.

Ludlow found Boston quiet but firm. Gage had arrived from New York by sea, attended only by his staff, though he had taken the precaution to order additional regiments to Massachusetts. He had remained a few days at the Castle, in conference with Hutchinson and he had landed at the Long Wharf on the 17th of May, without any military display. There he was courteously received as their governor by a large crowd of citizens, and was escorted to the State-House by a militia company under John Hancock, where a loyal address was presented to him, and where he read his commission. After that he was entertained at a public dinner in Faneuil Hall. He believed that an era of reconciliation through submission was at hand. That night an effigy of Hutchinson was burned in front of Hancock's house, and the new governor was somewhat disturbed by grave doubts.

Meanwhile a town-meeting had been called for the next day after the arrival of the act, and the advent at the Castle of the crown-officer who was to enforce it. The Boston Committee of Correspondence had invited the committees of nine towns in the vicinity to a conference on the critical state of public affairs." They had come with alacrity, and with hundreds of the yeomanry had joined the citizens of Boston in that town-meeting over which Samuel Adams had presided. That meeting, largely composed of those who would be most injured by the closing of the port, had resolve to stand firmly by their rights, whatever might befall them. They had addressed a Circular Letter to all the colonies, proposing a more stringent non-importation league than any before; confessing that "singly they must find their trial too severe," and imploring the sympathy and support of the other provinces, each of whose being, as a free people, depended upon the issue. "We think the archives of Constantinople [synonymous with despotic rule] might be searched in vain for a parallel," they said. To reason upon such an act would be idleness. You will doubtless judge every British American colony deeply concerned in it, and contemplate and determine upon it accordingly." This was the Circular Letter which Paul Revere was bearing to New York and Philadelphia, whose Sons of Liberty forwarded it to the more southern colonies.

The responses to the appeal from Boston and a letter from New York proposing a General Congress were marvelous for unanimity of sentiment. The action of the Virginia House of Burgesses was a fair type of the general indication of public sentiment. When the circulars and the Port Bill reached that body, all other business was at once suspended, that the documents might be discussed. They adopted strong resolutions of condolence with the citizens of Boston,

and appointed the first day of June, when the Port Bill was to go into operation, as a fast. The royal governor (Lord Dunmore) was officially offended, and the next day he dissolved the Assembly. The delegates, eighty- nine in number, reassembled in the Apollo room at the Raleigh tavern in Williamsburgh, organized themselves into a voluntary convention and prepared an address to their constituents, in which they declared that an attack upon one colony was an attack upon all. They also recommended a General Congress as suggested by New York, and adopted other measures of resistance to oppression. They recommended a meeting of the burgesses in convention at Williamsburgh on the first of August, and then adjourned. Twenty-five of the delegates remained to participate in the services of the fast-day.

There was a very full attendance of the burgesses at the Apollo-room on the day appointed. They adopted a stringent agreement concerning non-exportation as well as non-importation, and recommended the cultivating of crops for manufacturing purposes, and improvements in the breed of sheep. On the 5th, they appointed seven delegates to represent Virginia in the General Congress to meet at Philadelphia early in September, as had been proposed by Massachusetts. They then adjourned, each pledging himself to do all in his power to effect results contemplated in their proceedings. The Apollo-room, in the Raleigh tavern, was ever afterward regarded as the Virginia "cradle of liberty."

In the meantime the other colonies were all aglow with enthusiasm, and full of sympathy for suffering Boston. From the forum, the pulpit, and legislatures, as well as through the newspapers all over the land, the Port Bill was denounced, and a General Congress was advocated. At the head of some of the newspapers reappeared the device used during the stamp-act excitement - a disjointed snake, with the words JOIN or DIE. The cause of Boston was the cause of all the colonies.

At near the close of May, the Massachusetts legislature chose the councillors for the governor for the ensuing year, as usual. Governor Gage used his prerogative, and rejected thirteen of them. The remainder were not much more satisfactory; for they, too, were stirred by the spirit of liberty around them. The Assembly asked the governor to appoint a day for fasting; but he refused, because, he wrote to Dartmouth, "the request was only to give an opportunity for sedition to flow from the pulpit." Perceiving that the inhabitants of Massachusetts had lost one tyrant only to be supplied with another, Samuel Adams was about to offer a proposition for a General Congress, when the governor prorogued the Assembly, to meet after ten days at Salem. In anticipation of this act, the Assembly appointed Samuel Adams and James Warren a committee to act for them during the interim, as the exigencies of the case might require. When the Assembly met at Salem, these active patriots were ready with a plan for a General Congress; for non-importation; for providing munitions of war and funds, and for arousing the other colonies to immediate action.

The port of Boston was closed at meridian on the 1st of June. At that hour, muffled church-bells in Philadelphia and other places tolled a funeral knell. The day had been appointed as a fast in many regions, and the churches were crowded with worshipers, who devoutly implored Heaven's mercies for the inhabitants of Boston, and strength and liberty for themselves. The law

was rigorously enforced. Not a vessel of any kind was allowed to be used in the harbor. Not a pound of hay, nor a sheep or calf, could be brought in a boat from the islands, nor a stick of lumber, or package of merchandise, could be taken by water from wharf to wharf. Not a parcel of goods could be ferried across to Charlestown and business of every kind was immediately paralyzed. A cordon of vessel-of-war inclosed the town, and several regiments that soon arrived made Boston an immense garrison. Orders came to Gage from England, to order his soldiers to shoot any citizens who should not be docile, and he was assured, for his comfort, that, by the provisions of a recent law, all trials of officers and troops for homicide in America would be removed to Great Britain. Gage had orders to arrest, when he should deem it prudent to do so, Samuel Adams, John Hancock and Dr. Joseph Warren, and send them to England to be tried for treason. Adams knew this and with the halter almost about his neck, he said of his beloved and stricken Boston: "She suffers with dignity; and rather than submit to the humiliating terms of an edict, barbarous beyond precedent under the most absolute monarchy, she will put the malice of tyranny to the severest test. An empire is rising in America and Britain, by her multiplied oppressions, is accelerating that independency which she dreads. We have a post to maintain, to desert which would entail upon us the curses of posterity."

The utter prostration of all business in Boston soon produced widespread suffering. All classes felt the scourge of the unnatural oppressor. With faith that deliverance would come, they bore the severe chastisement with wonderful equanimity. Soldiers to enslave them, appeared at every turn and cannon to overawe them soon menaced their lives and property from every eminence on the peninsula; yet no rash act incited by anger or suffering, marred the dignity of their fortitude. The sympathy of the people everywhere was warmly excited. The Press and the Pulpit suggested the sending of relief to the smitten inhabitants, and very soon money, grain, flour and live-stock were on their way toward Boston, accompanied by letters of condolence. This food for the suffering poor seemed like relief sent to a beleaguered garrison, on whose existence a great cause depended. Hold on and hold out to the last; as you are placed in the front rank, if you fail all will be over," said a letter accompanying a substantial gift. Don't pay for an ounce of the damned tea," wrote Christopher Gadsden of Charleston, when, at the middle of June, he shipped the first contribution of rice from the Carolina planters. Georgians sent sixty barrels of rice; and from the more northerly colonies went grain and sheep and beeves, with money. The city of London, in its corporate capacity, sent three-quarters of a million dollars for the relief of the poor of Boston. The people of Marblehead and Salem offered the free use of their wharves and stores to the Boston merchants, for they scorned to profit by the mid fortunes of their neighbors.

When the Massachusetts Assembly met at Salem on the 7th of June, there was a very full attendance. Samuel Adams cautiously sounded the opinions of the members, and ascertained that a large majority were republicans. Then he presented the plan for future action, which he and James Warren had perfected. The few loyalists in that body were amazed at the audacity of tile propositions, and one of them, feigning sickness, got leave of absence. He hastened to the governor (then living near Salem) and acquainted him with the seditious proceedings of the legislature. Gage immediately sent a proclamation by his secretary, Thomas Flucker, commanding the Assembly to dissolve. The governor was outgeneraled. When the secretary came, the door of

the Assembly was locked, and the key was in Samuel Adams' pocket. Flucker was not permitted to enter the room, so he read the proclamation on the stairs, near the door, but to dull ears within, for the patriots would not listen to it. They proceeded to adopt a "Solemn League and Covenant" concerning non-importations; and agreeing with New York in the proposition for a General Congress, they appointed James Bowdoin, Samuel Adams, John Adams, Thomas Cushing and Robert Treat Paine to represent Massachusetts in the proposed General Congress. Pursuant to a request of the New York Committee of Correspondence, the Assembly fixed the time and place for the meeting of the Congress. They named Philadelphia as the place, and the beginning of September next ensuing as the time; and in a circular which they sent to the other colonies, the time and place were mentioned. After carrying out the other measures proposed in the plan of Adams and Warren, the Assembly adjourned indefinitely. So ended the last session of the Assembly of Massachusetts under a royal governor.

On the same day an immense town-meeting, presided over by John Adams, was held in Faneuil Hall. The inhabitants by vote refused to make any provision for paying the East India Company for its tea destroyed, because they were surrounded by bayonets and ships-of-war. They ratified the acts of the Assembly, and assumed an absolutely defiant attitude.

The proceedings of the Assembly, and of the people, greatly irritated Gage. He had troops at his back, but had resolved not to use them excepting in an extremity. He issued flaming proclamations from time to time, which excited the ridicule of the patriots. One of these was burlesqued in the Massachusetts Spy, a newspaper published in the midst of British bayonets, which was commenced as follows: "Tom Gage's Proclamation, Or blustering Denunciation, (Replete with Defamation,) Threatening Devastation And speedy Jugulation Of the New English Nation, Who shall his pious ways sheen" It closes with "Thus graciously the war I wage, As witnesseth my hand"-TOM GAGE, By command of Mother Carey, Thomas Flucker Secretary."

The proposition for a General Congress to be held in September, in Philadelphia, contained in the Massachusetts Circular, received universal assent, and before the close of the summer of 1774, twelve of the thirteen British American colonies had chosen delegates to attend it. Rhode Island has the honor of first speaking out publicly on the subject after New York suggested it. A General Congress was proposed at a town-meeting held in Providence on the 17th of May. Four days afterward (21st) a committee of a town-meeting held in Philadelphia recommended such a measure; and on the 23rd, a town-meeting in the city of New York did the same. We have seen that the meeting of the burgesses of Virginia at the Raleigh tavern warmly recommended the measure, on the 27th of May; and on the 31st, a Baltimore county-meeting took action in favor of a General Congress. On the 6th of June, a town-meeting at Norwich, Connecticut, approved of a General Congress; and on the 11th, a county-meeting at Newark, New Jersey, did the same. The action of the Massachusetts Assembly at Salem and the town-meeting at Faneuil Hall, which urged the measure, did so on the 17th of June. On the 29th, a county-meeting at New Castle, Delaware, approved the measure and on the 6th of July, the Committee of Correspondence at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, expressed their approbation. A general province-meeting was held on the 6th, 7th and 8th of July, at Charleston, and they urged the necessity of such a Congress;

and a district-meeting at Wilmington, North Carolina, held on the 21st of July, heartily responded affirmatively to the Massachusetts Circular. Only Georgia remained silent.

The state of political society in New York, at this juncture, was peculiar. The professed republicans were divided by political distractions and social differences, and were designated by the respective titles of Patricians and Tribunes. The former were composed of the merchants and gentry, and the latter were mostly the mechanics. The former, who were conservative, joined with the loyalists in attempts to check the influence of the radical democrats of Hampden Hall. With these conservatives were found most of the leading merchants, who, as a class, were (as usual) averse to popular commotions which disturbed trade. They were not ready to enter into nonimportation agreements again hastily; and the letter which the Hampden Hall patriots sent by Ludlow, to Boston, alarmed them and the conservative republicans. A meeting was called at a public-house, "to consult on the measures to be pursued in consequence of the late extraordinary advices received from England." At that meeting a Committee of Fifty were nominated as representatives of public sentiment in New York." A few of the radicals were placed upon the committee; and at another meeting held on the 19th of May, the nomination was ratified and one more added to the committee, making the number Fifty-one. Concerning this movement, Governor Morris wrote to a friend:

"The heads of the nobility grow dangerous to the gentry, and how to keep them down is the question. While they correspond with the other colonies, call and dismiss popular assemblies, make resolves to bind the consciences of the rest of mankind, bully poor printers, and exert with full force all their tribunitial powers, it is impossible to curb them. But art sometimes goes further than force, and, therefore, to trick them handsomely, a Committee of Patricians was to be nominated, and into their hands was to be committed the majority of the people, and the highest trust was to be reposed in them by a mandate that they should take care quod republica, non capiat injuriam. The Tribunes, through the want of good legerdemain in the senatorial order, perceived the finesse, and yesterday I was present at a grand division of the city, and there I beheld my fellow-citizens very accurately counting their chickens, not only before they were hatched, but before one-half of the eggs were laid. In short, they fairly contended about the future form of our government - whether it should be founded on aristocratic or democratic principles."

The grand Committee of Fifty-one publicly repudiated the strong letter sent to Boston by the radicals on the 14th of May. They received Paul Revere courteously, but did not agree with the proposal of the Bostonians to revive non-importation or non-intercourse agreements. They sent a letter to Boston (supposed to have been written by John Jay) expressing their dissent, but heartily approving of a General Congress; and in another letter on the 7th of June, they requested the Massachusetts Committee of Correspondence to name a time and place for the holding of a General Congress. The people of the other colonies approved non-intercourse, and New York, as represented by the Grand Committee, stood alone in opposition to a stringent non-importation league. The loyalists rejoiced, and a writer in Rivington's Royal Gazette exultingly exclaimed: "And so, my good masters, I find it no joke, For York has stepped forward and thrown off the

yoke Of Congress, Committees, and even King Sears, Who shows you good nature by showing his ears."

But the "Committee of Vigilance," appointed by the Hampden Hall patriots, were not awed by the acts of the Grand Committee. They called a mass-meeting of citizens in The Fields on the 19th of June, when, by resolutions, the lukewarmness of the Committee of Fifty-one was denounced; sympathy with, and a determination to support the Bostonians were expressed, and the appointment of delegates to the General Congress, instructed to advocate non-intercourse with Great Britain, was urged. Nothing further was done to excite public attention until many days afterward, when the Committee of Fifty-one met on the evening of the 4th of July, and on motion of Alexander McDougall, five deputies to the General Congress were nominated. These were Philip Livingston, John Alsop, Isaac Low, James Duane, and John Jay. McDougall proposed to submit the nominations (which were approved) to the Tribunes, or Committee of Mechanics, for their concurrence. The proposition was rejected. McDougall was offended, and the next day a handbill, doubtless prepared by him, appeared throughout the city, inviting the people to a meeting in The Fields at six o'clock in the evening of the 6th. An immense gathering was there, for they were called "to hear matters of the utmost importance to their reputation and security as freemen." It was ever afterwards known as The Great Meeting in ice Fields. McDougall was called to the chair, and a series of strong resolutions, among others one in favor of a stringent non-intercourse league, were adopted.

On that occasion, a notable event occurred. In the crowd was a delicate boy, girl-like in personal grace and stature, about seventeen years of age, who was a student in King's (now Columbia) College, and known as the "Young West Indian." This boy had been often seen walking alone under the shadows of great trees on Dey Street, sometimes musing, and sometimes talking, in low tones, to himself. Some of the residents in that neighborhood had, occasionally, engaged him in conversation, and had been impressed with his wisdom and sagacity. When they saw him in the crowd they urged him to address the meeting, but he modestly refused. After listening to several speakers, and finding that important considerations had been overlooked by them, he summoned courage to present himself before the people. It was then almost sunset. The great multitude were hushed into silence at the appearance of the slender boy. Overawed by that multitude, he hesitated and faltered," says a recent writer but as he proceeded, almost unconsciously, to utter his accustomed reflections, his mind warmed with the theme - his energies were recovered. After a discussion, clear, cogent and novel, of the great principles involved in the controversy, he depicted in the glowing colors of adult youth the long-continued and long-endured oppressions of the mother-country. Insisting upon the duty of resistance, he pointed to the means and certainty of success, and described the waves of rebellion sparkling with fire, and washing back on the shores of England the wrecks of her power, of her wealth, and her glory. The breathless silence ceased when he closed, and a whispered murmur It is a collegian it is a collegian - was lost in loud expressions of wonder and applause at the extraordinary eloquence of the young stranger."

The orator was Alexander Hamilton, a native of the Island of Nevis, in the West Indies, who

then first entered upon that extraordinary, useful and brilliant career in public life, for thirty years afterward, which placed him in the front rank among the statesmen of our country.

The Committee of Fifty-one were alarmed by the great demonstration in The Fields. They submitted the nominations of deputies to the Tribunes, but neutralized the effect of their concession by declaring that the resolutions passed by the great meeting were seditious. This offended several of the staunch republicans of the committee, and eleven of them instantly withdrew. It was not long before that aristocratic body disappeared as an organization, and the Hampden Hall Sons of Liberty became the tribunes of the people. The city of New York elected the nominees. Neighboring counties chose four others, and the delegation from the province of New York were nine in number.

While the leading patriots were preparing for the Grand Council of deputies, the people, everywhere, were preparing for impending war. They armed themselves, and practiced military tactics almost every day. Men of all stations in life might be found in the ranks for discipline. Deacons of churches were often captains, having more than half of the young men of the congregations with whom they worshipped as their followers. There was seldom any military organization besides a company, but they were ready to fall into regiments and brigades when called for. Boys imitated their elders, and trained with sticks. Blacksmiths were kept busy all of the summer and autumn of 1774, forging swords, guns and bayonets, and other men were compounding gunpowder, and making bullets of lead. When the Congress at Philadelphia had closed late in the autumn, the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts voted to enroll twelve thousand of these patriots under the general title of Minutemen - volunteers who would be ready at a minute's warning to take the field with arms in their hands. Rhode Island and Connecticut were invited to do likewise. They did so; and when the time came for armed resistance nearly all New England was disciplined, in a degree, for the struggle. The example was contagious. Other colonies followed, and in Virginia the Minute-men were of special service to the patriot cause at a critical juncture. As the summer of 1774 wore away, Gage found himself greatly perplexed by his peculiar situation. Early in August he received official copies of the several acts of Parliament, which completely subverted the Charter of Massachusetts. Gage was made a ruler irresponsible to the people. He proceeded to form a council of thirty-six members, by a mandamus - a positive command to serve - and most of those so appointed accepted the honor. They soon felt the pelting's of the pitiless storm of popular indignation so keenly, that twenty of them resigned, and the remainder sought protection under the troops in Boston. These "Mandamus Councillors," as they were called, were treated with scorn everywhere, and sometimes with personal indignities, mild in form but severe in effect, as in the case of a respected citizen of Plymouth. On the Sunday after he accepted the appointment, as soon as he took his seat in the house of worship, his neighbors and friends all put on their hats and walked out of the house. As they passed his pew, he hid his face by leaning his head over his cane. This public disapproval by those whom he loved, he could not bear, and immediately resigned.

Gage was puzzled more by the forbearance of the people, than by their defiance. Nobody committed any overt acts of treason or sedition that might justify him in using power for

administering punishment, and yet the air was full of the spirit of insurrection. He was helpless in a vortex of irritating words and acts that were ominous of evil. There were inflammatory handbills, newspapers, and tongues all around him exciting the people to rebel, but nobody stepped over the confines of law. Several times he was on the point of executing his discretionary orders to arrest Hancock and other leaders, but un-offended law bade him be cautious. Squibs, epigrams, sonnets, parables and dialogues of remarkable pith filled the Whig journals, not only in Boston, but elsewhere, in which logic and argument were contained in a nut-shell, as in the following example from a New York newspaper:

"THE QUARREL WITH AMERICA FAIRLY STATED. Rudely forced to drink tea, Massachusetts in anger Spills the tea on John Bull - John falls on to bang her; Massachusetts, enraged, calls her neighbors to aid And give Master John a severe bastinado. Now, good men of the law, pray who is in fault, The one who begins or resists the assault?"

Gage saw ominous menaces on every side; and late in the summer he re-established the seat of government in Boston, and prepared to cast up fortifications across the Neck." His orders for this purpose exasperated the patriots. They saw, in these warlike measures, prophecies of their absolute enslavement. The Boston carpenters, though suffering through compulsory idleness, would not work on the fortifications at any price, and the popular voice applauded their patriotism. At about the same time, Gage, taking counsel of his fears, sent out some troops to seize gunpowder belonging to the province, at Charlestown and Cambridge. The indignation of the people rose to fever-heat because of this act, and a large number of them gathered at Cambridge with the intention of attacking the British troops in Boston, but were persuaded to remain quiet. This was followed, a few days afterward, by a rumor that went over the land, even to the Connecticut River and beyond, that war had begun in Boston; that the British ships there were bombarding the town, and that British troops were murdering the patriotic inhabitants. The tale of horror created a fearful excitement and a cry for vengeance. The Minute-men everywhere, though not organized, seized their arms, and marched in squads for Boston. Within thirty-six hours the whole country, for almost two hundred miles from the New England capital, had heard the dreadful tidings. Young men and old men seized their firelocks, and matrons and maidens buckled on their well-filled knapsacks and sent them away with the blessings of patriotic hearts. The roads were soon swarming with armed men, most of them on foot; but many men on horseback - a strange cavalcade - queer-looking men and queer-looking horses of all colors, ages and condition - some of the latter saddled and bridled, and some without either bit or stirrup. The host were intent upon the salvation of their brethren, and the destruction of the enemy; and they halted not until satisfied that the story was untrue, when the angry tide slowly ebbed. It is believed that the rumor was started by some of the leading patriots, to produce an uprising of the people that should overawe General Gage and his troops. Full thirty thousand men, it was estimated, had started for Boston. It was a lesson for Gage, but he did not heed it.

On the 6th of September (1774), a convention of delegates representing the towns in the county to which Boston belonged, resolved that the late acts of Parliament were not entitled to obedience; recommended that collectors of taxes and other officers holding public money should

retain the funds in their hands until the privileges of the charter should be restored declaring that those who had accepted seats in the council should resign or be considered public enemies; recommended the people to seize and keep as hostages any crown-officers who might fall in their way after any patriot should be arrested for a political offence; and adopted an address to General Gage, in which they complained of the fortifications begun by the soldiers in Boston Neck as an act of hostility. They had resolved that they would not commence war, but act on the defensive only so long as just reason required; and they told Gage frankly that they would not submit to any of the late acts of Parliament concerning the Americans.

These were bold words uttered by brave men. Gage denounced the convention as treasonable, and he declared that he should adopt such measures as he pleased to protect his troops, and that the cannon which he had placed in battery on the Neck should be used for that purpose. He had already broken up the eight military companies in the town composed of citizens, and dismissed John Hancock from the command of a corps known as "The Governor's Independent Cadets." That body, indignant because of this treatment of their beloved commander, had sent a committee to the governor at Salem, to surrender their flag into his hands, and acquaint him that they had disbanded themselves. Gage, who never had a conciliatory word for irritated citizens, gave vent to his angry feelings and berated the committee roundly, whereupon the bold Massachusetts Spy published the following as a sample of gubernatorial eloquence, as lately exhibited to the company of cadets:

"Your Colonel, H-n-k, by neglect Has been deficient in respect As he my sovereign toe ne'er kissed, 'Twas proper he should be dismissed; I never was and never will, - By mortal man be treated ill. I never was nor ever can, Be treated ill by mortal man. O had I but have known before That temper of your factious corps, It should have been my greatest pleasure To have prevented that bold measure. To meet with such severe disgrace - My standard flung into my face - Disband yourselves! so cussed stout O had I, had I, turned you out!"

Chapter LVII

Meeting of the General Congress - The Opening Scenes - The Congress Opened with Religious Services - Personal Sketches of the Members - Hospitalities of Philadelphians - Differences of Opinion in the Congress - A Traitor Therein - Belligerent Feelings - Repressed - Appeal from Boston - The Most Important Resolutions - State-Papers Framed and Adopted - "American Associations" Formed - Secession of South Carolinians - Other State-Papers Agreed to - A Second Congress Recommended - Public Sentiment - Doings of the Congress - A Foolish Order from the King.

THE great crisis in the history of the colonies was now at hand, which thoughtful and patriotic men in America had long expected; which the French and other enemies of Great Britain on the continent of Europe had ardently wished for, and which the stubborn king of England, his ministers, and their aristocratic supporters in Church and State had hastened on by their perverseness and folly. That crisis was the planting of the seed of an independent nation in America. It was solemnly performed, when, on the 5th of September, 1774, delegates from twelve British-American provinces met in the hall of the Carpenters' Association, in Philadelphia, and were organized into what they termed themselves, a Continental Congress, having for their object the consideration of the political state of the colonies also the devising of measures for obtaining relief from oppression, and to unite in efforts to secure forever for themselves and their posterity the free enjoyment of natural and chartered rights and liberties, in a perfect union with Great Britain. Very few of them had aspirations yet for political independence.

On Monday, the 5th of September, there were present in the Carpenter's Hall (yet standing) forty-four delegates. These were John Sullivan and Nathaniel Folsom, from New Hampshire; Thomas Cushing, Samuel Adams, John Adams and Robert Treat Paine, from Massachusetts, Stephen Hopkins and Samuel Ward, from Rhode Island, Eliphalet Dyer, Roger Sherman and Silas Deane, from Connecticut, James Duane, John Jay, Philip Livingston, Isaac Low and William Floyd, from New York; James Kinsey, William Livingston, John Hart, Stephen Crane and Richard Smith, from New Jersey; Joseph Galloway, Samuel Rhoies, Thomas Mifflin, Charles Humphreys, John Morton and Edward Biddle, from Pennsylvania; Caesar Rodney, Thomas McKean and George Read, from Delaware Robert Goldsborough, William Paca and Samuel Chase, from Maryland, Peyton Randolph, George Washington, Patrick Henry, Richard Bland, Benjamin Harrison and Edmund Pendleton, from Virginia, and Henry Middleton, John Rutledge, Christopher Gadsden, Thomas Lynch and Edward Rutledge, from South Carolina. Others came soon afterward - John Alsop and Henry Wisner, from New York; George Ross and John Dickinson, from Pennsylvania; Thomas Johnson and Matthew Tighlman, from Maryland, Richard Henry Lee, from Virginia, William Hooper, Joseph Hewes and Richard Caswell, from North Carolina - making the whole number fifty-four. They chose Peyton Randolph to be their President. He was an eminent lawyer, who had been educated at William and Mary College; was the king's Attorney-General for Virginia sixteen years before had taken a decided stand against the ministry at the beginning of resistance; had recently been Speaker of the Virginia Assembly, and was a popular citizen. He was then fifty-one years of age. They chose for their Secretary,

Charles Thomson, a native of Ireland, who, in early life, had emigrated to Delaware, but was then a citizen of Philadelphia, of character and fortune. Dr. Franklin was his friend, and he was a good classical scholar. He had lived a bachelor until that week, when he was about forty-five years of age. Just as he was alighting from his chaise, with his bride - an heiress of much property - a messenger came to him from the Congress, saying: "They want you at Carpenters Hall to keep the minutes of their proceedings, as you are very expert at that business." Thomson complied with their request, and very soon took his seat as Secretary of the Continental Congress and he remained sole Secretary of that body during its entire existence of almost fifteen years. John Adams wrote in his diary, that Charles Thomson was "the Samuel Adams of Philadelphia; the life of the cause of liberty."

Each colony had appointed representatives without any rule as to numbers. The grave question immediately presented itself, How shall we vote? It was suggested that the larger provinces like Virginia should have more votes than the smaller ones like Rhode Island, and that representation should be regulated by population and wealth. It was also suggested that a small province, as well as a large one, had its all involved in the issue, and it was proposed to vote by colonies. The question was one of so much importance that it was left over for discussion the following day, when the Congress adjourned.

When the members assembled the next morning, and the Secretary had called the roll and read the minutes, there was a pause. Members from various and distant provinces were personal strangers. Some had been instructed what to do, and others had been left free to act according to their own judgments, and the circumstances. No one seemed willing to take the first step in business. No one seemed to have determined what measure first to propose. The silence was becoming painful, when a grave-looking man, apparently about forty years of age, with unpowdered hair, a thin face, not very powerful in person, and dressed in a plain dark suit of minister's gray, arose. Then," said Mr. (afterward Bishop) White, who was present, I felt a regret that a seeming country parson should so far have mistaken his talents and the theatre for their display." His voice was musical, and as he continued to speak, he became more animated, and his words more eloquent. With alternate vigor and pathos he drew a picture of the wrongs which the colonies had suffered by acts of the Parliament. He said that all the governments in America were dissolved; that the colonies were in a state of nature. He believed that the Congress then in session was the beginning of a long series of congresses; and speaking to the undecided question about voting, he declared his great concern, for their decision would form a precedent, He favored representation according to population; and in reference to the objection that such representation would confer an undue weight of influence upon some of the larger provinces, he said, with words that prophesied of a nation British oppression has effaced the boundaries of the several colonies; the distinctions between Virginians, Pennsylvanians and New Englanders are no more. I am not a Virginian, but an American." His speech drew the earnest attention of the whole House; and when he sat down the question went from lip to lip, "Who is he?" A few who knew the speaker replied, It is Patrick Henry of Virginia."

There was now no hesitation. The bold-spirited man, who electrified the continent with his

burning words in Stamp-act times, was now there to lead in a revolt. He had uttered the sentiment of union and nationality that warmed the hearts of all present, when he exclaimed: "I am not a Virginian, but an American." It was the text of every patriotic discourse thereafter; and from that hour the Congress went forward with courage and vigor in the work assigned them. They determined that the voting should be done by colonies, each colony having one vote, because they had no means for ascertaining the importance of each in population, wealth, and trade. It is estimated that the aggregate population at that time, including five hundred thousand blacks and excluding Indians, was about two million six hundred thousand.

The Congress adopted various rules; and it was proposed that the sessions should be opened every morning with prayer. Objection was made by Jay and Rutledge, the younger members, because there was such a adversity of theological opinions in that body. "I am no bigot," said Samuel Adams. "I can hear a prayer from a man of piety and virtue, who, at the same time, is a friend to his country." Then he moved that the Rev. Jacob Duche, an eloquent Episcopal minister, be desired to open the Congress with prayer to-morrow morning." This nomination by a straight Puritan of the Congregational school - a man past middle life - removed all objections. The motion was agreed to. The next morning Mr. Duche, after reading the Psalm for the day (the 35th), made an extemporaneous prayer, so pertinent, affectionate, sublime, and devout," wrote John Adams, that it filled every bosom present." That Psalm seemed peculiarly appropriate for an express had just arrived from Israel Putnam of Connecticut with the dreadful rumor of a bombardment of Boston, and the murder of the inhabitants by the soldiery. The bells of Philadelphia were muffled and tolled in token of sorrow; but another messenger soon came with a contradiction of the report.

There were many friends of the crown in Philadelphia, and it was resolved to hold the sessions of the Congress with closed doors. The members gave their word of honor to keep the proceedings secret; but there was a royalist spy in the midst playing the hypocrite - Joseph Galloway, a Pennsylvania delegate - who gave the pledge and broke it that very night He and Duche afterward became active loyalists - the only persons of all that assemblage on the morning of the seventh of September who swerved from the cause. The people had sent the best men to the Great Council, and were not disappointed. "There is in the Congress," John Adams wrote to his wife, a collection of the greatest men upon this continent in point of abilities, virtues, and fortunes and Charles Thomson gave it as his opinion that no subsequent Congress during the war could compare with the first in point of talent and purity. Mr. Adams, in his diary, has left interesting personal notices of a few of the members. He writes that William Livingston, of New Jersey, was a plain man, tall, black, wears his hair; nothing elegant or genteel about him. They say he is no public speaker, but sensible, learned, and a ready writer." He wrote of John Rutledge: "His appearance is not very promising; no keenness in his eyes, no depth in his countenance." Edward Rutledge (the youngest man in the assemblage), he wrote "is young, sprightly, but not deep. He has the most indistinct, inarticulate way of speaking; speaks through his nose a wretched speaker in conversation. He seems good-natured though conceited." Randolph," he wrote, is a large, well-looking man. Lee is a tall, spare man Bland is a learned, bookish man." "Caesar Rodney," he wrote, "is the oddest-looking man in the world - he is tall, thin, and slender

as a reedpole; his face is not bigger than a big apple yet there is sense and fire, spirit, wit, and humor in his countenance." He wrote of Johnson of Maryland, as one with "a clear, cool head, an extensive knowledge of trade as well as of law . . . not a shining orator. Galloway, Duane, and Johnson, he remarks, are sensible and learned, but cold speakers. Lee, Henry, and Hooper are the orators. Paca is a deliberator too Chase speaks warmly; Mifflin is a sprightly and spirited speaker. Dyer and Sherman speak often and long, but very heavily and clumsily." Jay (son-in-law of William Livingston) was young and slender, and enthusiastic in his nature. Stephen Hopkins, the oldest member, was sixty-seven years of age; his hair was white, his form was somewhat bent, and his limbs shook with palsy. Duane is described as "a sly-looking man, a little squint-eyed," and Hooper had a "broad face and open countenance." Washington, then forty-two years of age, modest and retiring, was the most conspicuous figure among them; tall, strongly-built, with a ruddy face, the picture of high health and manly strength.

Every possible facility was given to the members of the Congress for the prosecution of their labors. The Carpenters' Association, themselves warm patriots, gave the free use of their hall and their library above and the directors of the Library Company of Philadelphia requested their librarian to furnish the members with any books which they might wish to use during their sitting. They were also the recipients of unbounded hospitality from the leading citizens of Philadelphia, among whom they were continually entertained at tables sumptuously provided. John Adams related in his diary, that he dined with Mr. Miers, a young Quaker lawyer, and remarks: "This plain Friend, and his plain though pretty wife, with her Thees and Thous, had provided us the most costly entertainment - ducks, hams, chickens, beef, pig, tarts, creams, custards, jellies, fools, trifles, floating islands, beer, porter, punch, wine, etc. Again, after dining at Mr. Powell's: A most sinful feast again! Everything which could delight the eye, or allure the taste - curds and creams, jellies, sweatmeats of various sorts, twenty sorts of tarts, fools, trifles, floating islands, whipped syllabubs, etc., etc. Parmesan cheese, punch, wine, porter, beer, etc."

There were great differences of opinion among the members of the Congress as to the real state of the case, and the proper duties to be performed. This was foreshadowed by remarks of Henry and Jay, at the beginning. The former declared that an entirely new government must be founded. Jay said all government had not come to an end, and that they had not assembled to frame an American constitution, but to correct the faults of the old one. But in one important matter there was, from the first, much unity of feeling, namely, that the whole continent ought to support the people of Massachusetts in resistance to the unconstitutional change in their charter. At the opening of their business, they appointed a committee to state the rights of the colonists in general, the several instances in which those rights had been violated or infringed, and the means most proper to be pursued for obtaining a restoration of them. They also appointed a committee to examine and report the several statutes which affected the trade and manufactures of the colonies. The reports of these committees furnished the materials for work, and at about the middle of September, the Congress was a theater of warm but always friendly discussion. The debates took a wide range, and were very interesting and instructive. The foundations of their rights were discussed - the law of nature, the British constitution, and the force of prescribed allegiance. Then their work took a practical turn; and on the 22nd of September, the Congress,

by unanimous vote, requested "the merchants and others in the several colonies not to send to Great Britain any order for goods, and to direct the execution of all orders already sent to be delayed or suspended, until the sense of the Congress on the means to be taken for the preservation of the liberties of America was made public."

How to avoid the appearance of revolution in their acts, was a perplexing question. There was a great diversity of opinion. Some were very radical, many were conservative, and some, true patriots at heart, were very timid. Some proposed to recognize the full force of the navigation acts; also the authority of Parliament to regulate the trade of the colonies, grounding that power not on the consent of the Americans, but upon compact, acquiescence, necessity, and protection." Others were disposed to deny the authority of Parliament altogether. A compromise was offered that pleased nobody; and Joseph Galloway, then in secret communication with royal governors, proposed, in plausible terms, a scheme suggested many years before, for a Continental Union, with a president-general appointed by the king, and a grand council chosen every three years by the several assemblies, the British Parliament having power to revise their acts, and they in turn having the privilege of opposing a veto on British statutes relating to the colonies. The mover made an ostentatious display of patriotism, boasting of his readiness to spend blood and fortune in defense of the liberties of his country. At first some timid ones were disposed to fall in with his insidious scheme for defeating the great ends for which the Congress were assembled. He was defeated; but while all were determined to maintain their liberty, not one gave a decided voice in favor of independence.

Meanwhile news came from Boston from time to time of the petty tyranny of Gage and his troops, endured by the patriotic citizens, and the marvelous fortitude of the afflicted, who declared they would abandon their homes, fortune, everything, before they or their children would submit to be slaves. These tales of sorrow wrought hot anger in the bosoms of some of the members and Christopher Gadsden, who had preached resistance and independence for ten years, and who, when reminded that war with Great Britain would destroy the seaport towns, exclaimed: Our towns are built of wood and brick; if they are burned down, we can rebuild them; but liberty once lost is gone forever." Gadsden proposed, in his righteous wrath, to make immediate war upon the oppressor. Nay, nay, said the Congress we must exhaust every means for obtaining redress peacefully, before we appeal to the arbitrament of the sword.

There was much irritation of feeling that demanded self-restraint. Washington, who had said in the Virginia Convention, "I will raise a thousand men, subsist them at my own expense, and march with them at their head for the relief of Boston," expressed his indignation freely, yet he was willing to wait a little longer - to try peaceful measures for a short season more. He was resolved to fight, when war or submission should be the alternative offered. His mind was freely expressed in a letter to Captain Mackenzie of the British army, which he wrote from his lodgings in Philadelphia in October, in reply to one from that officer, who had been Washington's companion in arms. Permit me," he said, with the freedom of a friend (for you know I always esteemed you), to express my sorrow that fortune should place you in a service that must fix curses to the latest posterity upon the contrivers, and, if success (which, by the way, is impossible) accompanies it,

execrations upon all those who have been instrumental in the execution." After further expressing his views of the situation, and the determination of the colonies to defend their just rights, Washington remarked: "Give me leave to add as my opinion, that more blood will be spilled on this occasion, if the ministry are determined to push matters to extremity, than history has ever furnished instances of in the annals of North America."

On the 8th of October - the day before Washington's letter was written - the Great Council at Philadelphia, after a very short but spicy debate, resolved:

That this Congress approve the opposition of the inhabitants of Massachusetts Bay to the execution of the late acts of Parliament, and if the same shall be attempted to be carried into execution by force, in such case all America ought to support them in their opposition."

This was the whole business performed by the Congress on that remarkable day, according to the minutes of Secretary Thomson. It was enough. It was the most momentous act of that body during the whole session. From that hour the crystallization of the British-American colonies into an independent nation, went rapidly on. That resolution was like the luminous writing on the wall, warning Belshazzar of impending danger. Wise seers interpreted it as a prophecy of the dismemberment of the British empire. But the British monarch, too blind to perceive the ominous light, and too deaf to hear the prophecy, in his anger because of that resolve, proclaimed his subjects in America to be rebels.

That resolution was elicited by a letter from the Boston Committee of Correspondence, written on the 29th of September, in which was a recital of the wrongs endured by the citizens of that town, and asking the advice of the Congress whether they should abandon their homes and leave Boston, or suffer a little longer, for it was believed that when the place should be inclosed with the fortifications then a-building, the inhabitants would be held as hostages for the whole country. The resolution was the quick and glorious answer. It startled the timid in the Congress. Galloway the spy and Duane the arch-conservative, asked leave to enter upon the minutes their protest against the measure. Their request was denied, when they exchanged certificates privately, that they had opposed it as treasonable. Two days afterward the resolution was strengthened by another, which declared that any person who should accept or act under any commission or authority derived from the act of Parliament for changing the form of the government and violating the charter of Massachusetts "ought to be held in detestation and abhorrence by all good men, and considered as the wicked tool of that despotism which is preparing to destroy those rights which God, nature, and compact have given to America." On the same day, the Congress sent a letter to General Gage, telling him of the just complaints of the citizens of Boston made to them, and their suspicions that a plan was formed for the overthrow of the liberties of America; warning him that the oppression to which they were subjected might involve the colonies in the horrors of a civil war, and asking him, in order to quiet the public mind, to discontinue the erection of fortifications in and around Boston. On the 14th of October (1774), the Congress adopted a Declaration of Colonial Rights, reported by a committee composed of two deputies from each colony, in which the several obnoxious acts of Parliament,

including the Quebec Act, were declared to be infringements and violations of their rights, and that the repeal of them was necessary in order to restore harmony between America and Great Britain. This was followed on the 20th by the adoption of The American Association - a non-importation, non-consumption, and non-exportation agreement" applied to Great Britain, Ireland, the West Indies, and Madeira, by which the inhabitants of all the colonies were bound to act in concert and good faith, or incur the displeasure of the faithful ones. The agreement, which was embodied in fourteen articles, and was to go into effect on the first of December next ensuing, covered broad ground. In the second article the Congress, in the name of their constituents, struck a blow at the slave-trade, saying: "We will neither import, nor purchase any slave imported, after the first day of December next after which time we will wholly discontinue the slave-trade, and will neither be concerned in it ourselves, nor will we hire our vessels, nor sell our commodities or manufactures to those who are concerned in it." By the fourth article, it was agreed that after the first of September the next year, in case their grievances were not redressed, not to export any merchandise or commodity" to the countries above-named. Committees were to be appointed in every county, city, and town to enforce compliance with the terms of the Association and it was resolved that they would have no trade, commerce, dealings or intercourse, whatsoever, with any colony or province, in North America, which shall not accede thereto," or which should thereafter violate the Association, but would hold them as unworthy of the rights of freemen, and as inimical to the liberties of their country."

The several articles of the Association were adopted unanimously, excepting the one concerning exportations. Three of the five delegates from South Carolina refused to vote for that resolution or sign the Association, because, they said, the agreement to stop exports to Great Britain was an unequal arrangement. New England, they said, exported a large portion of their staple, fish, to Portugal and Spain, and would be very little affected; while South Carolina sent rice to Great Britain to the amount of a million and a half dollars annually, and would be ruined. When that resolution was carried, the three South Carolinians seceded from the Congress. Gadsden and another, in the spirit of Henry, declared by their act that they were not South Carolinians but Americans, and did not count the cost of patriotism. They stood by the other colonies, voted for the general good, and trusted to the virtue and generosity of their constituents. This secession caused a delay of several days in the business of the Congress. It was important to have the vote on the Association unanimous. The seceders were finally brought back, and induced to sign the Association, by allowing the unconditional export of rice, so that no burden of sacrifice might fall upon their province.

An eloquent Address to the People of Great Britain, written by John Jay, and a memorial to The Inhabitants of the several British-American colonies, from the pen of William Livingston, were adopted on the 21st of October; and on the 26th - the last day of the session - a Petition to the King, drawn by John Dickinson, in which the final decision of the colonies was given in conciliatory terms, and an elaborate Address to the Inhabitants of the Province of Quebec, also written by Mr. Dickinson, were agreed to. A few days before, the Congress had recommended the holding of another at Philadelphia on the 10th of May following, if the grievances were not redressed in the meantime and all the American colonies were invited to participate, by delegation,

in its deliberations. Letters addressed to other colonies not represented in the Congress were approved, and on the afternoon of the 26th of October, 1774, the First Continental Congress ended. All of the members and a few other gentlemen spent that evening together socially at the City Tavern, in Philadelphia. The next day they began to disperse to their homes. Almost every man was impressed with a belief that war was inevitable. Most of them were bold, but few of them were so lionhearted as Samuel Adams, who publicly said: I would advise persisting in our struggle for liberty, though it were revealed from Heaven that nine hundred and ninety-nine men were to perish, and only one of a thousand to survive and retain his liberty. One such freeman must possess more virtue, and enjoy more happiness, than a thousand slaves; and let him propagate his like, and transmit to them what he hath so nobly preserved."

The first Continental Congress was in actual session only thirty-one days of the eight weeks of the term. The remainder of the time was occupied in preparatory business. There was much talking (as in all deliberative bodies), for there were diversities of opinion, and every one was free to express his own. Of what they said we know very little, for the sessions were held in secret, and there were no professional newspaper reporters in those days. What they did we all know. The records of their acts were soon published to the world, and produced a profound impression upon the minds of thoughtful men. The state-papers put forth by them were models of their kind, and commanded the admiration of the leading statesmen of Europe. The British monarch and counselors were highly offended, and early in January, 1775, Lord Dartmouth, Secretary of State for the colonies issued the following Circular to all the royal governors in America - a bull without horns," which did not frighten the patriots. Here is the letter:

"Certain persons, styling themselves delegates of his Majesty's colonies in America, having presumed, without his Majesty's authority or consent, to assemble together at Philadelphia, in the months of September and October last; and having thought fit, among other unwarrantable proceedings, to resolve that it will be necessary that another Congress should be held in this place, on the 10th of May next, unless redress for certain pretended grievances be obtained before that time, and to recommend that all the colonies in North America should choose delegates to attend such Congress, I am commanded by the King to signify to you his Majesty's pleasure, that you do use your utmost endeavors to prevent such appointment of deputies within the colony under your government; and that you do exhort all persons to desist from such unwarrantable proceedings, which cannot but be highly displeasing to the King."

No doubt the amiable Dartmouth signed that foolish letter with reluctance and regret, for he well knew that its only effect would be to produce fresh irritations in the colonies, and make reconciliation and peace less possible.

Chapter LVIII

Destruction of Tea at Annapolis - Provincial Congress of Massachusetts Formed - Preparations for Civil Government and War - The Country and Events West of the Alleghany Mountains - Cresap and Logan - Vengeance of Logan - His Prophetic Speech - War with the Indians - Battle at Point Pleasant - Treaty with the Indians - Patriotism of the Soldiers - Gage's Letter to the Ministry - Stubbornness of the King - America's Ultimatum - Dr. Franklin and His "Hints" - His Private Diplomacy with Lord Howe and Mrs. Howe.

WHILE the Continental Congress was laying the broad foundations for a republic in the West, its constituents were gathering the materials for the building of the superstructure. They manifested their determination to resist oppression on all occasions. They would not yield a jot. Their maxims and their motives were not generated by sudden provocations, and liable to sudden dissolution. They were the offspring of eternal principles, and were everlasting in their vitality. This fact was manifested at Annapolis, in Maryland, long after the excitement occasioned by the destruction of tea in Boston harbor had subsided. No tea-ship had ever entered the port of Annapolis but the people there, in the spring of 1774, had expressed their warm sympathy with the views and acts of the Sons of Liberty in Boston. Quiet had prevailed in that ancient town for some time, when, at the middle of October, 1774, at the very time when the Continental Congress was considering The American Associations that would make non-importation universal in the colonies, a violation of the old agreement excited a tempest of indignation. On Saturday morning, the 15th of October, the ship Peggy Stewart, from London, owned by Anthony Stewart of Annapolis, sailed into that port, having among her cargo seventeen packages of tea. This fact soon became known, and the citizens were summoned to a mass-meeting. It was ascertained that the consignee had imported the tea, and that Mr. Stewart, the owner of the vessel, had paid the duty. The people, at that meeting, resolved that the tea should not be landed. They adjourned to the following Wednesday, and invited the inhabitants of the surrounding country to meet with them. Meanwhile Stewart had issued a handbill explaining the transaction disclaiming all intention of violating the non-importation agreement, and expressing his regret that any tea had been put on board his ship. The people would not listen to his excuses, for they believed them to be only the whining of a detected culprit. They were more disposed to punish than to forgive, and resolved that the ship and its cargo should be burned on Wednesday. Sober citizens were alarmed, for they feared the meeting, with such work on hand, might be changed into an unrestrained mob. Charles Carroll of Carrollton advised Mr. Stewart, for the security of his own personal safety, and that of the town, to burn his vessel with his own hands before the next gathering of the people. Stewart consented to do so and going on board his ship, with a few friends, he caused her to be run aground near Windmill Point and set on fire, in the presence of a multitude of people. He went ashore in a skiff, when he was cheered by the satisfied populace, who instantly dispersed. This was the last attempt to import tea during the colonial rule.

I have said that there was a general impression, after the close of the Continental Congress, that war was inevitable. Before they met, many patriots thought so. Samuel Adams proclaimed it as his belief, all through the summer of 1774. Major Joseph Hawley, one of the boldest of the

patriots of Massachusetts, was one of those who snuffed the battle from afar." He submitted to the delegation in Congress from Massachusetts, a paper entitled Broken Hints," which was full of wise thoughts. It began with these remarkable words: We must fight, if we cannot otherwise rid ourselves of British taxation, all revenues, of the constitution or form of government enacted for us by the British Parliament." He continued: "There is not heart enough yet for battle. Constant, and a sort of negative resistance of government, will increase the heat and blow the fire. There is not military skill enough. That is improving, and must be encouraged and improved, but will daily increase. Fight we must, finally, unless Britain retreats." When John Adams read these words to Patrick Henry, that patriot said, with emphasis, I am of that man's mind."

Britain did not intend to retreat. Her pride had been wounded by the successful defiance of her daughter, and she would neither forget nor forgive. Gage was instructed to do his duty fearlessly and with vigor. He did so, but not judiciously. He had not the rare art of conciliating enemies. His suavity was all for his friends.

Gage had summoned the Assembly of Massachusetts to meet at Salem on the 5th of October to legislate under the new act of Parliament. The attitude of the Continental Congress made the patriots bolder than ever, and their town-meetings were so seditious in aspect, that the governor countermanded his order for the session of the Assembly. But most of the members, denying his right to countermand, met there on the appointed day, ninety in number, waited two days for the governor, who did not appear, and then organized themselves into a Provincial Congress, with John Hancock as President, and Benjamin Lincoln, Secretary. They adjourned to Concord, where, on the 11th, two hundred and sixty members took their seats. Then they adjourned to Cambridge, whence they sent a message to the governor, telling him that for want of a legal Assembly they had organized a Convention. They complained of the recent acts of Parliament which suspended the functions of their charter, expressed their loyalty to the king, and protested against the fortifying of the Neck. Gage replied, as he had done before, that it was only for defense; and he pointed to the sounds of the fife and drum, the military drills, the manufacture of arms, and warlike preparations all over the province, for his justification. He concluded by denouncing the Convention as an illegal body, and warning them to desist from further action.

Gage's denunciations increased the zeal of the patriots. The Convention appointed a Committee of Safety, to whom they delegated large powers, among others to call out the militia of the province. Another committee was appointed to procure ammunition and military stores, and for that purpose they appropriated sixty thousand dollars. Henry Gardner was appointed Receiver-General, into whose hands the constables and tax collectors were directed to pay all public moneys that might be gathered by them. Provision was also made for arming the people of the province; and Jeremiah Preble, Artemas Ward, and Seth Pomeroy, all veterans of wars with the French and Indians, were chosen general officers of the militia. Only Ward and Pomeroy consented to serve, and they entered immediately upon the duty of organizing the militia. Mills were erected for manufacturing gunpowder; establishments were set up for the making of arms, and encouragement was given to the production of saltpeter. Ammunition and military stores were collected at Woburn, Concord, near Salem, and at other places; and late in November, as we

have observed, the Provincial Congress authorized the enrollment of twelve thousand Minute-men. That Provincial Congress assumed legislative and executive powers, and received the allegiance of the people generally. Gage found himself at the close of 1774 unsupported excepting by his troops, a few government officials in Boston, and passive loyalists who were under the protection of his regiments. All outside of Boston wore the aspect of rebellion. Made afraid of his own weapons - fearing the people might turn the muzzles of the cannon which he had planted upon Fort Hill upon himself and his troops, he ordered a party of sailors to be sent in the night from a man-of-war in the harbor to spike all the guns in battery there. That was a confession of weakness that made the patriots strong.

While the colonists were preparing to measure strength in arms with Great Britain, there had been a speck of war with the Indians on the frontiers of Virginia. By the provisions of the Quebec Act, all of the country north and west of the Ohio River, was included in that province. The limits of Virginia were bounded by the great mountain ranges, and west of these there was no government to restrain the actions of Christians or Pagans. Restless men wandered over the mountains into the valleys beyond, planted cabins there, and were as free as the air they breathed. The Indians were just as free to exercise their savage thirst for blood, and they frequently indulged in the pastime of murdering white people. Among those who suffered there, in 1773, were Daniel Boone and others who accompanied him.

The rapacious Lord Dunmore, then governor of Virginia, who was gathering riches by fees for granting land to settlers, and in acquiring large tracts for himself, had set his affections on the rich country north of the Ohio, which had been granted to Quebec. He disregarded the Quebec Act and his instructions under it, and continued to grant lands to settlers, in the Scioto Valley. He did more. Pittsburgh and the surrounding country, forming a part of the county of Westmoreland, Pennsylvania, was rapidly filling up with settlers from Virginia and Maryland. Dunmore coveted the gains to be derived from the fees on land-warrants there, and he suddenly asserted the jurisdiction of Virginia over all the western country. Dr. Connolly, a Pennsylvanian, who was acquainted with all that region, and was well known, was made his deputy, with his headquarters at Pittsburgh. Serious disputes with Pennsylvania followed, but Dunmore persisted. Connolly proclaimed his authority as Magistrate of West Augusta," and ordered a muster of the militia. The Virginia and Maryland settlers there, sided with the governor, and the authority of Connolly was acknowledged.

Early in 1774, the Indians committed many murders and depredations along the Ohio borders, and it was ascertained that the tribes were exchanging belts in seeming preparation for war. At that time Michael Cresap, a settler from Maryland, was near the present Wheeling, engaged in planting a colony. He had had some encounters with the Indians, but was disposed to treat them kindly. Late in April he received a message from Dr. Connolly that an Indian war was inevitable, when Cresap called a council of the settlers. Regarding Connolly's message as a warrant for making war on private account, they declared it against the Indians on the 26th of April. On the following day two canoes, filled with the painted savages, appeared, when they were attacked and pursued far down the river. When the pursuers returned, they proposed an assault upon the

settlement of Logan, a Mingo chief, who had been reared near the banks of the Susquehanna, in Pennsylvania, spoke English well, and was a friend of the white people. Cresap prevented the expedition; but other traders, not so discreet, soon raised a furious tempest of resentment against their white brethren. Opposite Logan's settlement (thirty miles above Wheeling) was the cabin of a trader who sold rum to the savages. On one occasion some unarmed Indians, with their women, passed over the river, and all became drunk at the trader's house, when they were all murdered in cold blood by some white people who had been concealed near. Among the slain were the mother, brother, and sister of Logan, the latter the wife of John Gibson, a trader. The spirit of revenge was aroused in great intensity in the bosom of the Mingo chief; and nearly all the ensuing summer he was out upon the war-path gathering a fearful harvest of scalps from the heads of white people as trophies of his valor and vengeance. As Cresap was a leader of the white people on the Ohio, Logan held him responsible for the massacre, though, at that time, the trader was with his family in Maryland. To him Logan sent a note, late in summer, written by William Robinson with ink made of gunpowder, as follows:

"Captain Cresap, - What did you kill my people on Yellow Creek for? The white people killed my kin at Conestoga, a great while ago, and I thought nothing of that. But you killed my kin again on Yellow Creek, and took my cousin prisoner. Then I thought I must kill too; and I have been three times to war since. But the Indians are not angry - only myself."

After the war that ensued was over, Logan, then at old Chillicothe, on Pickaway Plains, refused to attend a council to which Lord Dunmore invited him. That invitation was sent by Colonel John Gibson. Logan took the messenger into the woods, where, seated upon a moss-covered root of an immense sycamore, he recited the story of his wrongs. He would not hold council personally with a white man but he sent the following remarkable speech in the mouth of Colonel Gibson, which the latter wrote down and delivered to Dunmore:

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

The blood shed along the frontiers of Virginia, during that summer, caused Dunmore to fit out an expedition against the Indians beyond the mountains. He summoned the militia of the southwest to the field, and then he hastened to Pittsburgh. At about the same time, he renewed a treaty of peace with the Six Nations. The settlers flew to arms with alacrity, and, led by Colonel Andrew Lewis, they hastened over the rugged and pathless mountains toward a place of

appointed rendezvous on the Ohio, with a promise of being reinforced by another division under the governor himself, who was to descend the river from Pittsburgh. Lewis, with about eleven hundred men, encamped on Point Pleasant, near the junction of the Great Kanawha and Ohio rivers, on the 6th of October, where, in expectation of the governor's speedy arrival, he did not cast up any intrenchments. But neither Dunmore nor a messenger from him appeared. He had gone down the Ohio before Lewis's arrival, with about twelve hundred followers, without waiting for the latter at the appointed place of rendezvous, and pushed on to the Shawnee towns, which he found deserted. At the mouth of the Hockhocking he built a block-house, which he named Fort Gower.

Meanwhile the Shawnees - the fiercest of the Western tribes - had deserted their settlements (as Dunmore found) and were moving stealthily, with some Mingo and Delawares, through the forests, to attack the camp of Lewis. So secretly had they approached, that the march was not suspected until they were discovered at early dawn on the morning of the 10th of October (1774), within a short distance of the camp of the Virginians, and preparing for battle. Within an hour, they and the white people were engaged in a fierce struggle for the mastery - Cornstalk, their leader, encouraging them by his bravery and fortitude, and frequently uttering the words: Be strong. The great struggle lasted from sunrise till noon and from that hour, a desultory fire was kept up until sunset. Neither party could claim a victory. Lewis, however, held the field, and the savages fled across the Ohio under cover of the darkness that night. The Virginians lost full half of their commissioned officers, and almost one hundred and thirty men, killed and wounded. The Indians lost about two hundred and thirty warriors. Among the officers under Lewis were several who afterward appeared conspicuous in our history, and whom we shall meet again - Shelby, Campbell, Robertson, etc.

On the day after the battle, Colonel Lewis received an order from Dunmore to hasten to join him at a point in the Scioto Valley, eighty miles distant. The governor did not then know how Lewis had been smitten by the savages. The latter did not hesitate to obey the order. Leaving a small garrison at Point Pleasant, the Virginians pushed across the Ohio, traversed the pathless wilderness in the midst of perils and hardships, and on the 24th of October encamped on Pickaway Plains not far from old Chillicothe, now the borough of Westfall. Dunmore was encamped on the banks of Sippo Creek, about seven miles southwest from the present Circleville, and there he held a council with the Indian chiefs, who, acknowledging their weakness, sued for peace. At that conference, Cornstalk was the principal speaker for the savages; Logan, as we have seen, refusing to attend. A satisfactory treaty of peace was concluded, and then the Virginians returned to their homes, from which they had been absent about three months, having won great advantages for their colony and for civilization.

When these Virginians left home, all the delegates to the Continental Congress had been chosen. No tidings from the East had reached the little army during their absence, and they were ignorant of the state of public affairs on the sea-board. They were patriots, and were jealous of their honor as such. That honor might be impeached by military service under a royal governor of Dunmore's stamp. So, at Fort Gower, on the 5th of November, they, as a body, expressed their

sentiments freely. They spoke of the grievances of the colonies their zeal for the honor as well as the liberties of Americans; and their loyalty to the king and the government to whom they owed allegiance so long as they ruled justly. They said As attachment to the real interests and just rights of America outweigh every other consideration, we resolve that we will exert every power within us for the defense of American liberty, when regularly called forth by the unanimous voice of our countrymen." Their proceedings offended Dunmore, and the governor and the citizen-soldiery both returned home dissatisfied.

The elections for member's of Parliament in the autumn of 1774, satisfied the ministry that they were strong in the affections of the people. The king was jubilant because of the result, and the government was not in a frame of mind to receive with complacency the state-papers put forth by the Continental Congress, especially the petition to the king. In September Gage had written to Dartmouth a truthful statement of the condition of affairs in the colonies, and especially in Massachusetts. It was a letter that gave that minister great concern. Gage declared that the act of Parliament for regulating the government of Massachusetts could not be carried into effect until the New England colonies were subdued by military conquest; that Massachusetts had warm friends and abettors in all the other colonies; that the people of the Carolinas were as crazy as those in Boston that all over New England the rural population were actually preparing for war by military exercises and by the gathering of arms and ammunition, and that the civil officers of the crown could find no protection in Boston. The governor suggested that it might be well to discard the colonies - cut them loose from the empire, and leave them to suffer anarchy, and so bring about repentance; having grown rich by their connection with Great Britain, they would speedily become poor in their helplessness. Thoroughly wearied, Gage also suggested, in a private letter to Dartmouth, that it might be well to suspend the operations of the obnoxious acts for a season. When these statements and propositions were laid before the king, he said, with emphasis and bitter scorn, "The New England governments are now in a state of rebellion. Blows must decide whether they are to be subject to this country, or to be independent." This was King George's ultimatum, to which he obstinately adhered; and Lord North, to whom the words of the monarch were addressed, acted accordingly in the Parliament which assembled at about that time. Joseph Warren, in a letter addressed to Josiah Quincy, Jr. (who had gone to England to seek restoration of health by a sea voyage and to watch the drift of public opinion there concerning American affairs), gave the ultimatum of the Americans in these words:

It is the united voice of America to preserve their freedom, or lose their lives in defense of it. Their resolutions are not the effects of inconsiderate rashness, but the sound result of sober inquiry and deliberation. The true spirit of liberty was never so universally diffused through all ranks and orders of people in any country on the face of the earth, as it now is through all North America. If the late acts of Parliament are not to be repealed, the wisest step for both countries is to separate, and not to spend their blood and treasure in destroying each other. It is barely possible that Great Britain may depopulate North America; she never can conquer the inhabitants."

Such was the attitude of the king and his American subjects when the new Parliament

assembled on the 30th of November, 1774, the old one having been dissolved in September. At that time Dr. Franklin, who had been disgraced early in the year, so far as the ribald tongue of a dishonest solicitor-general, and an ill-mannered Privy Council could disgrace him, had become an object of deep concern by men of all parties. The king hated him for his sturdy republicanism and inflexible political honesty. Hutchinson, then in England, hated him for Franklin's exposure of his perfidy, and he pursued him relentlessly and, at one time, there were intimations that if the agent remained in England, it would be at the peril of his life. On the other hand, the friends of the government regarded him as a bulwark of political wisdom, and a match in the field of diplomacy for the whole British ministry. It was believed by all that he was the depositary of the secret intentions of the colonists, toward Great Britain, in the measures they had adopted. He was solicited to promulgate the extent of the demands of the Americans and so urgent were the calls for this knowledge, that without waiting for the reception of a record of the proceedings of the Continental Congress, he prepared a paper entitled Hints for Conversation upon the subject of Terms that may probably produce a Durable Union between Britain and the Colonies, in seventeen propositions. The upshot of the whole was that the colonies should be reinstated in the position which they held in relation to the imperial government before the obnoxious acts then complained of became laws, by a repeal - by a destruction of the whole brood of offensive enactments in reference to America, hatched since the accession of George the Third. In a word, he proposed that English subjects in America should enjoy all the essential rights and privileges claimed as the birthright of English subjects in England. This paper found its way to the ministry, and possibly to the king; and had the prime minister been allowed to follow the bent of his inclination and of his clear judgment, it might have been the basis of a compromise that would have preserved the unity of the British realm. Franklin had expressed, in these Hints, the sentiments of his countrymen.

The sage was a sphinx to the ministry. They were anxious to fathom the secrets which they believed were hidden in him, concerning the extent to which the Americans would consent to modify the Hints, but his consummate diplomatic skill foiled their curiosity. Beneath a perfect freedom and frankness of manner of expression, there was always, to English minds, a riddle they could not solve. It was thought that in the amenities of social intercourse he might inadvertently drop a clue, or make confessions under the melting influence of adroitly applied compliments; and the charms of an accomplished woman, a sister-in-law of Earl Howe (the commander of the British fleet on the American coast in less than two years afterward), were employed to open the heart and mind of the impenetrable statesman. She was a lover of science; brilliant in conversation; winning in deportment, and a skillful player of chess, a game which Dr. Franklin was fond of. The story runs thus, as told by the statesman himself:

"At the Royal Society, one evening, a gentleman told Franklin that Mrs. Howe, a lady who possessed many admirable qualities, wished to play chess with him, as she fancied she could beat him. He accepted the challenge, and on the day after Parliament met he was introduced to her, was charmed by her mind and manners, played a few games, and accepted an invitation to repeat the visit and the amusement. At the second visit, after playing a long time, they fell into conversation, partly about a mathematical problem, and partly about the new Parliament, when

she said: "And what is to be done with this dispute between Great Britain and the colonies!" I hope we are not to have a civil war." "They should kiss and be friends," said Franklin what can they do better Quarreling can be of service to neither, but is ruin to both." She replied - "I have often said that I wished government would employ you to settle the dispute for them; I am sure nobody could do it so well. Do not you think the thing is practicable?" Franklin answered - "Undoubtedly, madame, if the parties are disposed to reconciliation for the two countries have really no clashing interests to differ about. It is rather a matter of punctilio, which two or three reasonable people might settle in half an hour. I thank you for the good opinion you are pleased to express of me; but the ministers will never think of employing me in that good work; they choose rather to abuse me." "Aye," said Mrs. Howe, "they have behaved shamefully to you. Indeed some of them are now ashamed of it themselves."

I looked upon this as accidental conversation," Dr. Franklin wrote; "thought no more of it, and went in the evening to the appointed meeting at Dr. Fothergill's, where I found Mr. Barclay with him" - an eminent member of the Society of Friends. They at once entered into conversation on the topic which Mrs. Howe had introduced, and evidently by preconcert with her. They commented upon the mischief likely to ensue from the quarrel, and expatiated upon the great merit of being instrumental in bringing about a reconciliation. They complimented Franklin about his ability and influence - told him that nobody understood the whole subject so well, or had a "better head for business," and that it was his duty to do all in his power to heal the dissensions between Great Britain and the colonies, They urged him to commit to writing his thoughts on the subject. Out of these interviews grew the Hints already spoken of, the name of the author of which was to be kept a profound secret.

Mrs. Howe's invitations to chess-playing continued, and were accepted. On the evening of Christmas, Franklin was at that lady's house, when she said, almost immediately after he had entered, that her brother, Lord Howe, was very anxious to make the acquaintance of Franklin that he lived very near, and that if the statesman would give her leave she would send for his lordship. "Send for him by all means," said Franklin, and Earl Howe very soon appeared. He was profuse in his personal compliments, blamed the ministry for abusing Franklin; said they were ashamed of it, and that ample satisfaction would undoubtedly be given begged him to open his mind freely as to the best means for bringing about a reconciliation; observed that Franklin might not wish to have a direct communication with the ministry on the subject, or have it known that he had any indirect communication with them till he could be well assured of their good disposition and that he (Lord Howe) being on good terms with the ministry, thought it not impossible that he might, as a bearer of communications between the two parties, be the means of effecting the desired end. At that moment Mrs. Howe offered to withdraw.

The sagacious Franklin now saw clearly, what he had already suspected namely, that the chess-playing was only a pleasant mask for a little artful diplomacy. His usual caution had not allowed him to divulge to the charming "petticoated-politician," a single secret which he wished to keep. Her titled brother-in-law was no more successful than she. When Mrs. Howe proposed to withdraw and leave Franklin alone with his lordship, the former begged her to stay, saying: I have

no secret to divulge, in a business of this nature, that I could not freely confide to your prudence." He assured Lord Howe that his lordship's manners had gained his (Franklin's) confidence, and made him perfectly easy and free in communicating himself to him, in whatever he had to divulge. After a long conversation Franklin withdrew, with a promise to meet the earl at an appointed time. Mrs. Howe was present at the next interview. The subject of American affairs was fully discussed, when the earl drew from his pocket a copy of the Hints," in Mr. Barclay's hand-writing, and asked Franklin if he knew anything about the paper. The sage saw that the secret of the authorship had been divulged, and he frankly avowed himself as the proposer. Earl Howe expressed his sorrow that Franklin claimed such large concessions from the ministry, as there was no likelihood that they would be admitted by the king and his advisers. Howe desired Franklin to draw up a plan for reconciliation less distasteful to the government spoke of the infinite service he might be to the nation, and intimated that if he (Franklin) should be instrumental in accomplishing the wishes of the government in that regard, he might expect any reward in the power of that government to bestow.

The last proposition aroused Franklin's indignation. "It was to me," he said, "what the French vulgarly call spitting in the soup." But he showed no signs of a ruffled temper, and promised to draw up for Lord Howe a new series of propositions, which he did in terms similar to those of the Hints."

All these private diplomatic operations ended in leaving Mrs. Howe and her brother no wiser than before the first game of chess was played with Dr. Franklin. He had checkmated his competitors in the art of diplomacy.

British satirists and caricaturists handled tire ministers and the king with considerable severity in 1774. In a caricature published with the Westminster Magazine in April, entitled "The White-Hall Pump," poor Britannia is thrown down upon her child America, while Lord North, who was remarkable for his short-sightedness, viewing her through his glass, is pumping upon her, and seems to enjoy her distress. A parcel of Acts and Bills Magna Carta, Coronation Oaths, & C., are scattered upon the ground. Lord Mansfield, with an act of Parliament, is seen (in the full caricature - only a part of it is here given) standing by the side of North to give him legal support, while other ministers are near.

Chapter LIX

America's Affairs in Parliament - The King and Lord North - Proceedings of the Congress, in England - Franklin a Missionary - Lord Chatham and Franklin - North and the Cabinet - Policy toward the Americans - Franklin Admitted to the House of Lords - Lord Chatham's Great Speech on American Affairs - Anger of the king - Chatham's Propositions Rejected - His Invective - He Compliments Franklin - Oppressive Measures - Gibbon - Disaffection in New York - Franklin and the Ministers.

WHEN the British Parliament assembled at the close of November, 1774, the king told them that the Americans were on the verge of rebellion. He assured them that he had given orders for the prompt execution of the laws passed by the late Parliament, and for the restoration of order and good government in the colonies. The Commoners, as usual, prepared an address to the King, when the Opposition proposed an amendment asking his majesty to lay before Parliament all letters, orders, and instructions relating to American affairs, as well as all the intelligence received from the colonies. North opposed the amendment, because it would force the government to take the first step toward reconciliation, and therefore would be inconsistent with the dignity of the crown! The address promised his majesty full support by the Commons in its dealings with the colonies. A debate, in which much bitterness was shown, ensued, when the amendment was rejected by a large majority. In the House of Lords, an address, similar in sentiment, was carried by a large majority. Nine of the peers signed a protest which concluded with these words: "Whatever may be the mischievous designs or inconsiderate temerity which lead others to this desperate course, we wish to be known as persons who have ever disapproved of measures so pernicious in their past effects and future tendencies; and who are not in haste, without inquiry and information, to commit ourselves in declarations which may precipitate our country into all the calamities of a civil war."

Lord North, no doubt sincerely wishing reconciliation, did not regard this triumph as a real victory; on the contrary, he saw interminable trouble ahead. But he had committed himself to the control of the king, and was compelled to do his majesty's bidding or resign yet he tried to induce the monarch to take some step in the direction of reconciliation. He suggested the propriety of sending a commission of inquiry to America, but the king overruled the proposition, and North acquiesced. The utter subserviency of this minister to the king, in opposition to his own conscience and sense of justice, is well illustrated by North's heartless remark afterward, in which he echoed his master's sentiments: A rebellion is not to be deprecated on the part of Great Britain the confiscations it would produce would provide for many friends of government." The ministry consoled themselves with the idea that so many colonies, with such clashing interests, could not long remain united. It will be easy," said one of them to the French minister in London, "to sow divisions among the delegates to their Congress; they will do nothing but bring ridicule upon themselves by exposing their weakness." This delusion was dispelled before the adjournment of Parliament for the Christmas holidays, by the arrival in England of a record of the proceedings of that Congress. The firmness, moderation, and unanimity of the action of the members greatly surprised the ministry, made the more sensible of them anxious, but only increased the anger of

the king, who, in hurried words, as usual, breathed threatenings and slaughter." The caricaturists had already ridiculed the blusterings of the government, by representing North, whom they nicknamed Boreas," as viewing the distant colonies through his eye-glass, showing his ignorance of the true state of affairs in America, when he uttered his foolish boast after the Congress had assembled, I promise to subdue the Americans in three months."

When the proceedings of the Continental Congress reached England, the colonial agents there, and particularly Dr. Franklin, became active in their public promulgations. The president of the Congress had sent them to the agents as a body, with a letter requesting them to lay the petition to the king into the hands of his majesty," and also to publish it. They were also requested to furnish printed copies of that and the Address of the people of Great Britain" by the Congress, to the trading cities and manufacturing towns of the United Kingdom." The Congress had passed a vote of thanks to the friends of the Americans in Parliament, and the agents were requested to convey the resolution to those gentlemen.

Franklin took the task of this seed-sowing chiefly upon himself, for he was now regarded as the representative of the whole continent. The documents were printed and scattered over the kingdom; and Franklin and others traversed the manufacturing towns in Yorkshire, Lancashire, Northumberland, and Durham, and by word of mouth imparted much information and enlightenment on the great questions at issue. The people of those districts were mostly Dissenters, who looked upon the Church of England as a portion of the state, in wielding weapons of oppression. The truths respecting human rights, uttered by Franklin, appealed to their warmest sympathies, and there was much excitement in the north of England. Petitions framed by Franklin, and numerous signed, praying for a repeal of the obnoxious acts, were sent into Parliament and immediately consigned to an inactive committee - "a committee of oblivion," as Burke called them. Ministerial agents were sent in the wake of Franklin and his friends to counteract their influence, and these sent in counter-petitions, also numerous signed, which were promptly acted upon. Petitions from the American colonies, even one from Jamaica, were treated with disdain.

The agents were not permitted to lay the petition of Congress to the king into his majesty's hands." Franklin presented it to Lord Dartmouth. His lordship laid it before the king, who promised it should be submitted to Parliament, and so the matter rested for awhile. Franklin, meanwhile, had borne a copy of the petition to Hayes, where he was courteously received by Lord Chatham. Among other pointed remarks made by Franklin to Pitt, on that occasion, none seemed to strike his lordship more forcibly than these words "The army cannot possibly answer any good purpose in Boston, but may do infinite mischief; and no accommodation can properly be proposed and entered into by the Americans, while the bayonet is at their breasts. To have an agreement binding, all force should be with drawn." Chatham was deeply impressed with the justice of the remark, and he promised Franklin that if his malady would allow, he would be in his place in the House of Lords at the reopening of Parliament, and move the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of the troops from Boston. In this measure he thought were involved the hopes of liberty for England.

The scruples of Lord North annoyed the king, and the monarch often rebuked his minister. These scruples had created much opposition to him in the Cabinet, and a clique had determined to procure his dismissal, if he should propose any more lenient measures toward the Americans. North was advised of this conspiracy. The Parliament was to reassemble on the 20th of January and at a meeting of the Cabinet on the 12th, he saw unmistakable evidence that he must yield his conscience to the king, or throw up the seals of office. A majority of the Cabinet were firm supporters of the royal prerogative, and champions for the supremacy of Parliament. North loved place and its emoluments so, quieting his Conscience, by considering the sacredness of his pledge to the king, he reinstated himself with his fellow-ministers by unbounded good nature on that occasion, and a promise to take the tremendous responsibility of a leader in measures which his judgment assured him would create a civil war. At that meeting it was decided to interdict all commerce 'with America and to declare all persons in the colonies, not actively loyal to the crown, to be rebels. By so drawing the line of separation sharply, they hoped to create a permanent antagonism among the people here; but union rather than discord was effected.

Parliament reassembled on the 20th January, 1775. The rumor had gone abroad that Chatham would appear in his place. It was vehemently asserted by the court party that he would not be there; that he had washed his hands of American affairs, and would never more appear as their advocate. This assertion disturbed Lady Chatham, who was in London. She had informed her husband of the day appointed for the assembling of Parliament, but she feared there might be some trick by which Lord Chatham would be prevented from being present at the opening, as he desired to be. In a letter to him she expressed some doubts about the propriety of her appearing at court, while the rumors of his remaining at Hayes were so rife. He wrote to her, most earnestly, saying: For God's sake, sweet life, don't disquiet yourself about the impertinent and ridiculous lie of the hour. The plot does not lie very deep. It is only a pitiful device of fear, court fear, and faction fear. If gout does not put in a veto, which I trust in Heaven it will not, I will be in the House of Lords on Friday, then and there to make a motion relative to America. Be of good cheer, noble love. Yes, I am proud - I must be proud to see Men not afraid of God, afraid of me." To Lord Stanhope he wrote: I greatly wish Dr. Franklin may be in the House.

His lordship communicated this wish to Franklin, and offered to lend him assistance in gaining admission. On the morning of the 20th, Lord Stanhope sent another message to Franklin, letting him know that if he should be in the lobby of the House at two o'clock that day, Chatham would be there and introduce him himself. Franklin was there. On mentioning to the great orator what Stanhope had said, Chatham replied: "Certainly, and I shall do it with the more pleasure, as I am sure your presence at this day's debate will be of more service to America than mine." He then took Franklin by the arm and was leading him along the passage to the door that entered near the throne, when one of the door-keepers followed and acquainted Pitt, that, by the order, none were to be carried in at that door but the eldest sons and brothers of peers. Pitt limped back with Franklin to the door near the bar, where were standing a number of gentlemen waiting for the peers who were to introduce them, and some peers waiting for friends they expected to introduce. There Chatham delivered Franklin to the doorkeepers, saying aloud: "This is Dr. Franklin, whom I would have admitted into the House;" which was accordingly done. "As it had not been publicly

known that there was any communication between his lordship and myself," Franklin wrote, this, I found, occasioned some speculation. His appearance in the House, I observed, caused a kind of bustle among the officers, who were busied in sending messengers for members - I suppose those in connection with the ministry, something of importance being expected when the great man appears, it being but seldom that his infirmities permit his attendance."

Chatham was in his place at the appointed hour. For what purpose, That question was soon answered, when, rising to his feet with a little help, he leaned upon a crutch, and, with a clear voice, proposed an address to the king, asking him to immediately dispatch to General Gage an order to remove his forces from Boston as soon as the rigors of the season would permit."I wish, my lords," said Chatham, in the presence of a crowd of anxious listeners, not to lose a day in this urgent, pressing crisis. An hour now lost may produce years of calamity. For my part, I will not desert, for a single moment, the conduct of this weighty business. Unless nailed to my bed by extremity of sickness, I will give it my unremitted attention. I will knock at the door of the sleeping and confounded ministry, and will rouse them to a sense of their impending danger. When I state the importance of the colonies to this country, and the magnitude of danger from the present plan of misadministration practiced against them, I desire not to be understood to argue for a reciprocity of indulgence between England and America. I contend not for indulgence, but justice to America; and I shall ever contend that the Americans owe obedience to us in a limited degree." Then stating the foundations upon which the supremacy of Great Britain over her colonies rested, he continued: Resistance to your acts was necessary as it was just and your vain declarations of the omnipotence of Parliament, and your imperious doctrines of the necessity of submission, will be found equally incompetent to convince or to enslave your fellow-subjects in America, who feel that tyranny, whether ambitioned by an individual part of the legislature or the bodies who compose it, is equally intolerable to British subjects." He then pictured in a pathetic manner, Gage's troops in Boston suffering in winter, insulted by the inhabitants, wasting with sickness, and pining for action; and then he wittily compared Gage to the great General Condo, who, upon being asked on one occasion why he did not take Marshal Turenne prisoner, being so very near him, replied: Upon my word, I am afraid Turenne will take me." This spirit of independence," continued Chatham, "animating the nation of America is not new among them it is, and has ever been, their confirmed persuasion. When the repeal of the Stamp-act was in agitation, a person of undoubted respect and authenticity on that subject assured me that these were the prevalent and steady principles of America - that you might destroy their towns, and cut them off from the superfluities, perhaps the conveniences of life, but that they were prepared to despise your power, and would not lament their loss while they have - what, my lords? - their woods and their liberty. . . . Oppress not these millions for the fault of forty or fifty individuals. Such severity of injustice must irritate your colonies to unappeasable rancor. What though you march from town to town, and from province to province? How shall you be able to secure the obedience of the country you leave behind you, in your progress to grasp eighteen hundred miles of continent? The spirit which now resists your taxation in America, is the same which formerly opposed wars, benevolence, and ship-money in England; the same which, by the bill of rights, vindicated the English constitution the same which established the essential maxim of your liberties, that no subject of England shall be taxed but by his own consent."

Chatham then alluded to the late Congress the wisdom of its course, and the support which its measures received from the whole people. "When your lordships look at the papers transmitted to us from America," he said, - "when you consider the decency, firmness, and wisdom, you cannot but respect their cause, and wish to make it your own. For myself I must avow, that in all my reading - and I have read Thucydides and have studied and admired the master- states of the world - for solidity of reasons, force of sagacity, and wisdom of conclusion, under a complication of difficult circumstances, no nation, or body of men, can stand in preference to the General Congress at Philadelphia. The histories of Greece and Rome give us nothing equal to it and all attempts to impose servitude upon such a mighty continental nation, must be vain - must be fatal. We shall be forced ultimately to retreat let us retreat while we can, not when we must. These violent acts must be repealed you will repeal them I pledge myself for it. I stake my reputation on it. You will in the end repeal them. Avoid, then, this humiliating necessity. With a dignity becoming your exalted situation, make the first advances to concord, peace, and happiness, for that is your true dignity. Concession comes with better grace from superior power, and establishes solid confidence in the foundations of affection and gratitude. Be the first to spare: throw down the weapons in your hands. . . . To conclude, my lords, if the ministers thus persevere in misadvising and misleading the king, I will not say that they can alienate the affection of his subjects from his crown, but I will affirm that they will make the crown not worth his wearing. I will not say that the king is betrayed, but I will pronounce that the kingdom is undone."

This great speech - this noble plea for justice - made the king very angry. He regarded Chatham's independence as ingratitude, and he openly expressed a desire for the arrival of the day when decrepitude or old age should put an end to him as a trumpet of sedition." The lords immediately censured Chatham's speech by a vote of sixty-eight to eighteen, against his proposition. Not discouraged, he immediately presented a bill which provided for the renunciation of the power of taxation, demanding an acknowledgment from the Americans of the supreme authority of Great Britain, and inviting them to contribute voluntarily a specified sum annually to be employed as interest on the national debt. It also provided for an immediate repeal of all the objectionable acts of Parliament (ten in number), passed during the administration of the reigning monarch.

Now occurred a remarkable scene. The petulant Earl of Sandwich said the proposition deserved only contempt, and ought to be immediately rejected. He could not believe it was the work of a British peer, but of some American. Turning his face toward Franklin, who stood, leaning on the bar, he said: "I fancy I have in my eye the person who drew it up, one of the bitterest and most mischievous enemies this country has ever known." The eyes of the whole House were now fixed on Franklin, when Chatham arose and said, with emphasis, "The plan is entirely my own but if I were the first minister, and had the care of settling this momentous business, I should not be ashamed of publicly calling to my assistance a person so perfectly acquainted with the whole American affairs - one whom all Europe ranks with our Boyles and Newtons, as an honor, not to the English nation only, but to human nature." Sandwich moved that the bill be "rejected now and forever," and it was done. This drew from Chatham a terrible storm

of invective. He perceived the fixed intention of the ministry to enslave the Americans at all hazards. I am not surprised," he said, "that men who hate liberty should detest those who prize it, or that those who want virtue themselves should persecute those who possess it. The whole of your political conduct has been one continual series of weakness and temerity, despotism, and the most notorious servility, incapacity, and corruption. I allow you one merit, a strict attention to your interests in that view, who can wonder that you should put a negative on any measure which must deprive you of your places, and reduce you to that insignificance for which God and nature designed you." The bill was rejected, because it was considered a greater concession to the colonies, and quite as injurious to the national honor as the proposition of Dean Tucker, a famous pamphleteer, that Parliament should by solemn enactment sever the colonies from the parent government, and disallow any application for restoration to the rights and privileges of British subjects, until, by humble petition, they should ask for pardon and reinstatement. This would not have been a severe punishment for the Americans.

So firmly supported in the House of Lords, the ministers proceeded to put the engine of coercion into full play against the Americans. On the 2nd of February, North proposed the first of a series of measures for compelling the Americans to submit. He moved in the House of Commons for an address to the king, affirming that the province of Massachusetts was in a state of rebellion that Great Britain would not relinquish an iota of her sovereign rule in the colonies and urging his majesty to take immediate and effectual measures for enforcing obedience to the laws. They contemplated a material increase of the military force in America, and to restrain the entire commerce of New England with Great Britain, Ireland, and the West Indies. Charles James Fox moved an amendment censuring the ministry, and praying for their removal. A warm debate ensued, when Fox's amendment was negatived by a vote of three hundred and four against one hundred and five. North's motion, which ended with the usual pledge of "lives and fortunes," prevailed by a majority of two hundred and ninety-six in the Commons, and in the Lords by eighty-seven to twenty-seven; nine peers protesting. Gibbon the historian, who then had a seat in the Commons, and had veered from the Opposition to the Ministerial side, wrote: "We voted an address of 'lives and fortunes,' declaring Massachusetts Bay in a state of rebellion; more troops, but, I fear, not enough to go to America, to make an army of ten thousand men at Boston; three generals, Howe, Clinton, and Burgoyne! In a few days we stop the ports of New England. I cannot write volumes, but I am more and more convinced that, with firmness, all will go well yet I sometimes doubt." Gibbon had written in favor of the Americans. Fox, in an epigram of twelve lines, alludes to his venality in these words:

King George in a fright, lest Gibbon should write
The story of Britain's disgrace, Thought no
means more sure, his pen to secure,
Than to give the historian a place."

North presented another bill - a Restraining Act - which provided for the destruction of the fisheries and other commerce of the New England colonies, exempting from its force those only who should produce evidence that they were supporters of the supremacy of Parliament. Protests from merchants and manufacturers, and also from the Friends or Quakers, in behalf of those people on Nantucket, engaged in the fishing, were presented, but without effect. The bill was

passed by an overwhelming majority, and twenty thousand inhabitants of New England, employing four hundred ships and two thousand fishing-shallops, were seriously injured by it. At this juncture news came from America of the general adhesion of the several colonies to the Continental Congress, when North presented another bill (March 8, 1775), which included all the colonies in the operation of the Restraining Act, excepting New York and North Carolina, where loyalty prevailed. In New York, conservatism was now rife, especially among the Patricians," or what is termed the upper classes in society. Loyalty to the crown, and lukewarmness in the cause for which Boston was suffering, prevailed in the New York Assembly at the beginning of 1775, then in the seventh year of its existence. To stimulate and diffuse that conservatism and loyalty to detach New York from the rest of the colonies, in political feeling, was now a prime object of the ministry and their American supporters. Severance from Great Britain was not to be thought of said these loyalists. Even John Jay, one of the most active men in the Continental Congress, declared that he held nothing in greater abhorrence, than the malignant charge of aspiring after independence." The New York Committee of Correspondence expressed their anxiety for the maintenance of union with Great Britain. And in the New York Assembly conservatism was strongly manifested, when a motion of Colonel Tenbroeck, to take into consideration the proceedings of the Continental Congress, was negatived. Again, when Philip Schuyler made a motion in that body that certain letters, which, the previous summer, had passed between the New York Committee of Correspondence and that of Connecticut on the subject of a General Congress also that a letter of a committee of the New York Assembly to Edmund Burke (the agent for the province in England) a little later, should be entered upon the Journals of the House, the clerk to furnish copies for the newspapers, his motion was negatived. A proposition of Colonel (afterward General) Woodhull to vote thanks to the New York delegates in the Continental Congress for their faithfulness; another to thank those merchants who adhered to the nonimportation agreements, and still another to appoint delegates to the next Continental Congress, were negatived by the same vote. At about the same time the majority of the Assembly, on motion of Mr. DeLancey, decided by a resolution that the king and Parliament had a right to regulate the trade of the colonies, and to levy taxes by impost duties. A most obsequious petition to the king, in which he was styled an indulgent father," was then offered. This excited the indignation of Schuyler and other republicans in the Assembly. The former attacked expressions in the paper with great vigor, and offered amendments substituting manly words for degrading ones. But the petition unamended, and a humble petition to the House of Lords, were adopted, and were sent to England, with a record of the proceedings of the Assembly. These papers caused the exemption of the province of New York from the force of the Restraining Act. They did not represent the feelings of the great mass of the people of that province, but only of the ruling classes. But the votes gave great joy to the Tories and the crown-officers everywhere, and made the ministry hope that New York would be permanently disaffected, and so cut off New England from the other provinces until the war that ensued had made considerable progress. The Tories confidently looked for failure in the rebellion through dissension. John Adams predicted twenty years before, that the grand scheme of the British government would be the promotion of dissensions among the colonies.

There was now much fluttering among the ministers. Lord North, to the astonishment of

everybody, submitted a sort of conciliatory plan that pleased nobody, yet he adroitly carried it through. Other plans, more favorable to the Americans, were offered and rejected. Franklin's "Hints" had been considered by the ministry, and propositions had been made to him which were so much short of justice that he replied, "While Parliament claims the right of altering American constitutions at pleasure, there can be no agreement, for we are rendered unsafe in English privilege." When it was suggested that an agreement was necessary for America, as it would be so easy for Britain to burn all their seaport towns," the philosopher answered bravely: My little property consists of houses in those towns; you may make bonfires of them whenever you please: the fear of losing them will never alter my resolution to resist, to the last, the claim of Parliament."

The British government, by its acts, had now virtually declared war against the English-American colonists as rebels. Abandoning all hope of reconciliation, Franklin returned to America in the spring of 1775, and entered vigorously upon the prosecution of the war that soon afterward broke out.

Chapter LX

The King and His Ministers the Real Revolutionists - The Spirit of Independence - Its Development in America - Franklin's Fable of the Eagle and the Cat - The Americans not Revolutionists - Treatment of Battles - England and Her Colonies, in 1775 - The Children of Boston - The Appointed Successor of Gage - His Generals - Franklin's Views of the Situation - Gage and the People - Hancock and Adams - Military Expedition to Concord - Skirmish at Lexington.

IN the early part of 1775, the British government had proclaimed Massachusetts to be in a state of rebellion, and provided means for suppressing that rebellion by force of arms. The fulmination of wrathful threats against that province was intended for the ears of her sister colonies, as well as for her own. They had interests in common. They were making resistance to oppression in common and they were resolved to stand united for the common defense. To call Massachusetts a rebel," was to call all the other colonies rebels." So they all felt. Joseph Hawley had said in Massachusetts, when viewing the impending crisis: We must fight Patrick Henry, in Virginia, had answered "Amen!" with vehemence; and these words from the head and heart of resistance to oppression, were echoed back from all the provinces in the early part of 1775. For ten years the people of those provinces had pleaded, remonstrated, and worked in vain endeavors to obtain justice for themselves and their posterity. They had asserted the inalienable rights of every free-born Englishman, and had been haughtily spurned as slaves. They had bravely, meekly, patiently and persistently opposed the revolution which the king and Parliament seemed determined to effect (and did effect) by overturning the colonial charters and denying to British subjects in America the freedom and privileges of British subjects in England. At length the united colonies came to the solemn conclusion - " We must fight," and prepared for the dire necessity. The war for independence that ensued was not a war of revolution on the part of the Americans. It was a war by the Americans against the arch-revolutionist King George and his ministers - a war by the Americans for the defense of their liberties and free institutions which the government of Great Britain sought to destroy.

Let us look a little behind the stirring events of the spring of 1775. You who have followed the narrative given in preceding pages in this work, cannot fail to have discovered the existence of a controlling spirit of independence - a spirit yearning for free thought and action - a spirit of resistance to unlawful restraint, everywhere manifested by the early settlers and colonists - emigrants from England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland; from France, Switzerland, Holland, and Sweden. The sentiment uttered by Patrick Henry in old St. John's Church in Richmond in 1775 - "Give me liberty or give me death! had been the sponsor of that faith and courage which impelled men and women to leave home and kindred, brave the storms of the Atlantic and the perils of the wilderness, and seek abiding places in the forests of America. That spirit was not born in these forests, as some suppose. It was older than the gnarled oak and lofty pines - as old as civilization - aye, as old as the race - a child of remote ages. It had been seen emerging from the mists of prehistoric times. It walked arm-in-arm with young Christianity when it went forth from the gates of Jerusalem to conquer the earth with its sublime ethics, for the Founder had said: "The Truth

shall make you free." It asserted its power at Runnymede; and it spoke out boldly in the theological and ecclesiastical reformation of the sixteenth century. It found a rare coadjutor in the new-born printing-press; and from the advent of that mighty teacher, it was rapidly diffused. It was the prevailing spirit of the century, when the greater portion of the English colonies in America were planted - a century most remarkable for its energy and development.

The immigrants hither came chiefly from among the middle-classes of society in Europe, who, with strong bones and tough muscles, brought to this virgin land an indomitable love for personal freedom. They brought the spirit of independence with them. They cherished it as a priceless jewel. From the beginning, they yearned for independent local legislation and that aspiration deepened, and widened, and grew more sturdy as time passed on, until, at about the middle of the last century, as we have seen, the colonists, many in numbers and firm in faith, defied the government of England. It was high time for them to do so; for that government, wielded by an unwise and headstrong king with corrupt and obsequious advisers, meditated bold revolutionary schemes by which the ancient constitutions of the colonies were to be destroyed, and the people deprived of rights which they had ever held most sacred. We have seen how the attempt at subversion was made openly, and in secret, and with what patient dignity the oppressed colonists pleaded for redress and justice in loyal words. We have seen how they were spurned - spit upon, as it were, by the haughty king and his ministers, until Dr. Franklin, their chief representative in England, losing all hope, folded his papers, sailed away from that country and came home to help his countrymen in the impending struggle with the brute force of Great Britain. Not long before Franklin's departure, he gave to the world that remarkable fable of the eagle and the cat, which, in the light of subsequent events, seemed prophetic. He was at Lord Spencer's one evening, with a number of English noblemen, when the conversation turned upon the subject of fables. Some one of the company observed that he thought the subject was exhausted he did not believe that any beast, bird, or fish could be worked into a new fable with any success. The whole company appeared to agree with the gentleman excepting Franklin, who was silent. The company insisted upon his expressing his opinion. I believe, my lords," said the sage, in substance, that the subject is inexhaustible, and that many new and instructive fables might be made out of such materials." He was asked if he would think of one at present. If your lordship," he said, turning to Earl Spencer, "will provide me with a pen, ink, and paper, I believe I can furnish your lordship with one in a few minutes." The paper was brought, and Franklin wrote as follows:

"Once upon a time, an eagle soaring around a farmer's barn and espying a hare, darted down upon him like a sunbeam, seized him in his claws, and remounted with him in the air. He soon found that he had a creature of more courage and strength than a hare, for which, notwithstanding the keenness of his eyesight, he had mistaken a cat. The snarling and scrambling of the prey was very inconvenient, and, what was worse, she had disengaged herself from his talons, grasped his body with her fore limbs, so as to stop his breath, and seized fast hold of his throat with her teeth. Pray, said the eagle, let go your hold and I will release you.' 'Very fine,' said the cat, I have no fancy to fall from this height, and be crushed to death. You have taken me up, and you shall stoop and let me down.' The eagle thought it necessary to stoop accordingly."

John Adams, who received the story from Franklin's lips, wrote: "The moral was so applicable to England and America [England the Eagle, and America the Cat] that the fable was allowed to be original, and was highly applauded."

The colonists now said: "We must fight." They repeated it from Maine to Georgia. They buckled on their armor and stood on the defensive determined not to give the first blow. We shall now see how their oppressors became the aggressors, and spilled the first blood that flowed in the war of that momentous revolution which King George the Third began. That revolution, as we have observed, was not the work of the people here. They did not seek to overturn anything; they sought only to preserve the precious things that existed. They had never known hereditary titles, nor prerogatives, nor any of the forms of feudalism, in America, other than as temporary exotics. They had grown to greatness in plain, unostentatious ways, chiefly as tillers of the soil and moving on a social plane of almost absolute equality. They had all been born free. They were not called upon to fight for freedom, for they already possessed it they were compelled to fight for its maintenance. Therefore, the American people in 1775 were not revolutionists. They, only, were revolutionists, who, by arbitrary methods, attempted to deprive the Americans of their rights. This aspect of the case I wish to impress upon the minds of my countrymen. I shall not dwell long upon the sanguinary features of that war. An eminent author, in a deprecatory spirit, wrote: "The Muse of History has been so much in love with Mars, that she has seldom conversed with Minerva." Acting upon that hint, I shall, in telling the story of that war, touch as lightly upon the terrible details of battles as faithfulness to the task before me will allow. With that governing thought, I have traced the course of the colonies through the several phases of their growth from feeble, scattered settlements to powerful commonwealths, endued with a pervading love of freedom, and possessing large liberties. I have endeavored to unfold the causes which gradually made them gravitate toward a common centre of nationality, in the form of a colonial Union. We will now consider their tremendous struggle during seven years for the maintenance of their liberties, and the establishment of a new and independent nation on the earth.

In February, 1775, Great Britain, as we have seen, had virtually declared war against the colonies. The time for reconciliation, moderation, and reasoning is over," General Gage wrote to Lord Dartmouth. Even the boys of Boston asserted their rights in the presence of the military governor. They had built some snow-hills on the Common, down which they slid on to a pond. The soldiers, to annoy them, frequently demolished these hills. They complained to the captain, but could not obtain redress. At length a large deputation of older boys called upon General Gage. He received them courteously, and said: "Why have so many children waited upon me?" "We have come, sir," said the tallest boy, to demand satisfaction." "What! said the general with surprise, "have your fathers been teaching you rebellion, and sent you here to exhibit it? Nobody sent us here, sir," replied the boy, while his eyes flashed, and his cheeks reddened with indignation at the imputation of being a rebel. "We have never injured nor insulted your troops," he continued, "but they have trodden down our snow-hills, and have broken the ice on our skating-ground. We complained, and they called us young rebels, and told us to help ourselves if we could. We told the captain of this, and he laughed at us. Yesterday our works were destroyed for the third time, and we will bear it no longer." The good-natured general felt touched with

admiration for the spirit of these boys, and turning to an officer near him, he said: "The very children here draw in a love of liberty with the air they breathe." To the boys he said: Be assured that if my troops trouble you again, they shall be punished."

In reply to a letter from Dartmouth, ordering him to assert, by force, the absolute authority of the king, Gage wrote that civil government was nearly at an end in Massachusetts. He advised the sending of twenty thousand troops, with whom he would undertake to enforce the new form of government, to disarm the colonists, and to arrest and send to England for trial the chief traitors in Massachusetts. Meanwhile the British government were preparing to reinforce the troops in Boston. It was determined to make the number there ten thousand. They also resolved to send another general to take the place of Gage, whom ministers considered too inefficient for the exigency. General William Howe was chosen to succeed him. His major-generals were Sir Henry Clinton and John Burgoyne. The former was a son of a provincial governor of New York the latter was ambitious to win renown that he might wipe out the stain of his ignoble birth. He boastfully said: I am confident there is not an officer or soldier in the king's service who does not think the Parliamentary right of Great Britain a cause to fight for to bleed and die for." There were many and noble soldiers who did not agree with him. For that reason Amherst declined the chief command which was offered to him, and partly for the same reason General Howe took the appointment with reluctance. Is it a proposition or an order from the king? Howe asked. It is an order." Then it is my duty to obey," he said with real reluctance, for he remembered with gratitude the vote of Massachusetts to erect a monument in memory of his brother, Lord Howe, who was killed near Ticonderoga. His reluctance was somewhat diminished when he was told that he and his brother Richard, Earl Howe (who had been appointed naval commander in America), would go as peace commissioners also, bearing the sword in one hand and the olive-branch in the other.

Franklin, not long before his departure from England, had written to friends in Massachusetts, saying, in substance, Do not begin war without the advice of the Continental Congress, unless on a sudden emergency." He said: "New England alone can hold out for ages against this country, and, if they are firm and united, in seven years will win the day." The prophecy was fulfilled in time and facts. The eyes of all Christendom," he wrote, are now upon us, and our honor as a people is become a matter of the utmost consequence. If we tamely give up our rights in this contest, a century to come will not restore us, in the opinion of the world we shall be stamped with the character of dastards, poltroons, and fools; and be despised and trampled upon, not by this haughty, insolent nation only, but by all mankind. Present inconveniences are, therefore, to be borne with fortitude, and better times expected." The French minister in London wrote to his government: "Every negotiation which shall proceed from the present administration will be without success in the colonies. Will the king of England lose America rather than change his ministry? Time must solve the problem if I am well informed, the submission of the Americans is not to be expected." The conduct of the Americans gratified the wishes of Franklin and the hopes of the French ambassador.

When news of the contemptuous reception of the petition of Congress to the king, and copies

of the Address of Parliament to his majesty, reached the Americans, there was an outburst of patriotism from the hearts of all the colonies. The spirit of the times gave fire to the tongue of Joseph Warren, when, on the anniversary of the Boston Massacre, he thrilled the fowls of a vast concourse of citizens in the Old South Meeting-house, and drew from some of the forty British officers who were present, insulting hisses. His words went deep into the hearts of the people, and Gage well knew their significance.

Before this the air was full of rebellious utterances now it seemed as if the lightning of the popular wrath was about to kindle a mighty conflagration. On both sides watchful eyes never slept, and watchful ears were always open. All through March and far into April, Boston was like a seething cauldron of intense feeling. Gage was irresolute and timid. He had about four thousand well-drilled soldiers, eager to fall upon the rebels, yet he hesitated. At length he resolved to nip rebellion in the bud. He prepared to seize John Hancock and Samuel Adams as arch-traitors, and send them to England for trial on a charge of treason. He also determined to send out troops to seize all the munitions of war which he knew the people had gathered at Concord and other places; and he fixed upon the night of the 18th of April as the time for the execution of his scheme. The plan was to be kept a profound secret until the latest moment.

In the meantime Hancock and Adams, who were in attendance at the Provincial Congress held at Concord, had received warning of their personal danger, for an intercepted letter from London had revealed it and when that Congress adjourned on the 15th of April, they tarried at Lexington, where they lodged at the house of Rev. Jonas Clarke, yet standing. At the same time the Minute-men were on the alert everywhere, and the fifteen thousand troops which the Provincial Congress had called for were in readiness to confront the oppressors of the people. Couriers were ready to ride over the country, and arouse the inhabitants, if the British should march that way; and wagons were prepared to remove the hidden stores to places of greater safety.

The capital part of the scheme was to arrest Hancock and Adams at Lexington, ten miles from Boston. For this purpose, the soldiers who were to do the work, were to leave Boston secretly in the evening, at an hour that would enable them to reach Lexington at past midnight, when the doomed patriots would be sleeping soundly. Their arrest accomplished, the troops were to move rapidly forward to Concord, six miles further, and seize or destroy the cannon and military stores which the patriots had gathered. Preparations for the expedition were made as early as the fifteenth. On that day about eight hundred grenadiers and infantry were detached from the main body and marched to a different part of the town, under the pretense of teaching them some new military movements. At night, boats from the transports which had been hauled up for repairs, were launched and moored under the sterns of the men-of-war. Dr. Warren, one of the most watchful of the patriots, sent notice to Hancock of these suspicious movements, and enabled the Committee of Safety, of which the latter was chairman, to cause some of the stores at Concord to be removed to places of safety, in time to save them from the invaders. To prevent a knowledge of his expedition spreading into the country, Gage sent out a number of his officers to post themselves on the several roads leading from Boston and to prevent suspicions, they went out of the city at different times. But they were discovered, and the design suspected, by a Son of

Liberty of Lexington, who informed Colonel Monroe, then sergeant of a militia company. That officer, suspecting a design to capture Hancock and Adams, collected a guard of eight well-armed men, who watched Mr. Clarke's house that night.

In the afternoon of the 18th (April, 1775), Gage's secret leaked out, and the patriots in Boston watched every movement of the troops with keen vision. Dr. Warren, Paul Revere and others made arrangements for a sudden emergency, to warn Hancock and Adams of danger, and to arouse the country. Their precautions were timely, for at ten o'clock that evening, eight hundred British troops marched silently to the foot of the Common, where they embarked in boats and passed over to Cambridge. They were commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Smith, assisted by Major Pitcairn. Gage supposed his secret was inviolate, but was soon undeceived. Lord Percy, who was one of his confidants, when crossing the Common, heard one of a group of citizens say, The British will miss their mark. "What mark?" inquired Percy. "The cannon at Concord," was the reply. Percy hastened to inform Gage, who immediately issued orders to his guards not to allow any person to leave the city that night. It was too late. William Dawes had gone over the Neck to Roxbury on horseback, with a message from Warren to Hancock and Adams, and Warren and Revere were at Charlestown awaiting the development of events. Revere had engaged his friend Newman, sexton of the North Church, to give him a timely signal.

He said to his friend: If the British march By land or sea from the town to-night, Hang a lantern aloft in the belfry-arch Of the North Church tower as a signal light One, if by land, and two, if by sea: And I on the opposite shore will be Ready to ride and spread the alarm Through every Middlesex village and farm, For the country folk to be up and arm.

The moon was just rising when the British troops landed on the Cambridge side of the water. Newman had hung out two lanterns, and the watching Revere, springing into a saddle on the back of a fleet horse owned by Deacon Larkin, hurried across Charlestown Neck. At the end of the isthmus he was confronted by two British soldiers, who attempted to arrest him. Turning back toward Charlestown, he soon reached the Medford road, and escaped; and at a little past midnight he rode up to Clarke's house in Lexington, which was well guarded by Sergeant Monroe and his men. He asked, in hurried words, for Mr. Hancock. "The family have just retired," said the sergeant, "and I am directed not to allow them to be disturbed by any" Noise exclaimed Revere "you'll have noise enough before long; the Regulars are coming out! He was then allowed to knock at the door, when Mr. Clarke opened a window, and inquired - "Who is there?" Revere answered hurriedly, I want to see Mr. Hancock." I do not like to admit strangers into my house so late at night," Clarke replied. Hancock, abed but not asleep, recognizing the voice of the messenger called out: Come in, Revere we are not afraid of you." The story of impending peril was soon told, and the whole household were astir. Dawes, who went by Roxbury, soon afterward arrived. After refreshing themselves, he and Revere rode swiftly toward Concord, arousing the inhabitants by the way, as the latter had done between Medford and Lexington. They were overtaken by Dr. Samuel Prescott, who had been wooing a young woman in Lexington, and he joined them in their patriotic errand, when Revere, who was riding ahead, was suddenly surrounded by some British officers, and with Dawes was made a prisoner. Prescott

dashed over a stone-wall with his active horse, and escaped. He rode over to Concord, and at about two o'clock in the morning of the 19th gave the alarm. Revere and his fellow prisoner were closely questioned concerning Hancock and Adams, but gave evasive answers. They were threatened with pistol-balls, when Revere told his captors that men were out arousing the country in all directions. Just then a church-bell was heard then another, when one of the Lexington prisoners said: "The bells are ringing - the town is alarmed - you are dead men." The frightened officers left their prisoners, and fled toward Boston.

The alarm rapidly spread, and the Minute-men seized their arms. At two o'clock in the morning, Captain John Parker called the roll of his company on Lexington Green in front of the meeting-house, and ordered them to charge their guns with powder and ball. The air was chilly, and, as the invaders did not seem to be near, the men were directed to take shelter in the houses. Meanwhile the British troops were making their way in the soft light of a waning moon. Colonel Smith was convinced that their secret was known and there was a general uprising of the people, for church-bells were heard in various directions. He sent back to Boston for reinforcements, and ordered Major Pitcairn to push rapidly on through Lexington and seize the bridges at Concord. As the latter advanced, he secured every man seen on the way. One of these escaped, and mounting a fleet-footed horse, hurried to Lexington and gave the alarm, but not until the invaders were within less than two miles of the village green. The bells rang out an alarm. The Minute-men came and just at the earliest dawn of day Captain Parker found himself at the head of almost seventy men. After much persuasion, and the cogent argument that their lives were of the greatest importance to the colony at that time, Hancock and Adams left Mr. Clarke's house and went, finally, to a more secure retreat. Dorothy Quincy, to whom Hancock was affianced (and whom he married in September following), was visiting the family of Mr. Clarke, and she accompanied her lover and his friend in their slow flight from immediate danger.

In the gray of the early morning, Major Pitcairn and his scarlet-clad soldiers appeared, and halting not far from the line of Minute-men on Lexington Common, loaded their muskets. The patriots stood firm. They had been ordered not to fire a shot until they were assailed by the invaders. A pause ensued, when Pitcairn and other officers galloped forward, waving their swords over their heads, and followed by the shouting troops in double-quick time. "Disperse, you villains! Lay down your arms! Why don't you disperse, you rebels Disperse!" cried the major. In rushing forward the troops had become confused. As the Minutemen did not immediately obey the command to lay down their arms, Pitcairn wheeled his horse, and waving his sword, shouted: "Press forward, men! surround the rascals!" At the same moment some random shots were fired over the heads of the Americans by the British soldiers, but without effect. The Minute-men had scruples about firing, until their own blood had been spilled. Pitcairn was irritated by their obstinacy, and drawing his pistol, discharged it, at the same moment shouting fire. A volley from the front rank followed the order, with fatal effect. Some Americans fell dead or mortally wounded, and others were badly hurt. There was no longer hesitation on the part of the Minutemen. The conditions of their restraint were fulfilled. The blood of their comrades had been shed and as the shrill fife of young Jonathan Harrington set the drum a-beating, the patriots returned the fire with spirit, but not with fatal effect. The blood of American citizens stained the

green grass on Lexington Common, but no British soldier lost his life in that memorable conflict. Captain Parker, perceiving his little band in danger of being surrounded by overwhelming numbers and massacred, ordered his men to disperse. They did so; but as the British continued to fire, the Americans returned the shots with spirit, and then sought safety behind stone-walls and buildings. Four of the Minute-men were slain by the first fire, and four afterwards, and ten were wounded. Only three of the British were wounded, with Pitcairn's horse.

So ended the opening act in the great drama of the Old War for Independence. The bells that were rung on that warm April morning - the mercury marking 85 degrees in the shade at noon - tolled the knell of British domination in the old thirteen colonies. When the firing began, Samuel Adams was lingering in his tardy flight on a wooded hill near Clarke's house, and when the air was rent by the first volley on Lexington Common, he uttered these remarkable words: What a glorious morning for America is this! With the vision of an inspired seer at that moment, the sturdy patriot perceived in the future the realization of his cherished dreams of independence for his beloved country. Those words are inscribed on the Lexington Centennial Medal.

When the Minute-men at Lexington were dispersed at sunrise, the British drew up in line on the Common, fired a feu de joie, gave three cheers in token of the victory, and in high spirits marched rapidly toward Concord. They had just been joined by Colonel Smith and his party, and felt sure of the success of the expedition. But the sunset told a sad tale for the invaders.

Meanwhile the news of the skirmish was spreading with great rapidity over the province. Before noon that day, the tidings reached Worcester, thirty miles from Lexington. "An express came to the town," says Lincoln, the local historian, shouting as he passed through the streets at full speed, "To arms! to arms! the war has begun!" His white horse, bloody with spurring, and dripping with sweat, fell, exhausted, by the church. Another was instantly produced, and the tidings went on. The bell rang out the alarm the cannon were fired, and messengers were sent to every part of the town to collect the soldiery. As the news spread, the implements of husbandry were thrown by in the fields, and the citizens left their homes with no longer delay than to seize their arms. In a short time the Minutemen were paraded on the Green, under Captain Timothy Bigelow; after fervent prayer by Rev. Mr. McCarty, they took up their line of march. They were soon followed by as many of the train-bands as could be gathered under Captain Benjamin Flag.

The scene at Worcester on that occasion, was a type of a hundred others enacted within twenty-four hours after the skirmish at Lexington. It affords a vivid picture of the spirit of the people.

The serious question arose, Who fired first at Lexington, the British or the Provincials? Upon the true solution of that question depended, in a degree, the justification or condemnation of the belligerent parties, for the Americans had resolved not to be the aggressors. So late as May the next year, a London journal said It is whispered that the ministry are endeavoring to fix a certainty which party fired first at Lexington, before hostilities commenced, as the Congress declare, if it can be proved that American blood was first shed, it will go a great way toward effecting a

reconciliation on the most honorable terms." The testimony of contemporaries seems to prove, beyond a doubt, that the British fired first. Stiles, in his MS. Diary, cited by Mr. Frothingham in his History of the Siege of Boston, under date of August 19, 1775, wrote:

"Major Pitcairn, who was a good man in a bad cause, insisted upon it to the day of his death, that the colonists fired first and that he commanded not to fire, and endeavored to stop the firing after it began but then he told this with such circumstances as convince me that he was deceived, though on the spot. He does not say that he saw the colonists fire first. Had he said it, I would have believed him, being a man of integrity and honor. He expressly says he did not see who fired first; and yet he believed the peasants began. His account is this: That riding up to them, he ordered them to disperse, which they not doing instantly, he turned about to order his troops to draw out so as to surround and disarm them. As he turned, he saw a gun in a peasant hand, from behind a wall, flash in the pan, without going off; and instantly, or very soon, two or three guns went off by which he found his horse wounded, and also a man near him wounded.-These guns he did not see; but believing they could not come from his own people, doubted not, and so asserted, that they came from our people, and that thus they began the attack. The impetuosity of the king's troops was such that a promiscuous, uncommanded but general fire took place, which Pitcairn could not prevent; though he struck his staff or sword downward with all earnestness, as a signal to forbear or cease firing."

In a counter manifesto to a proclamation of General Gage, prepared a few weeks after the event, it is asserted that the British, "in a most barbarous and infamous manner, fired upon a small number of the inhabitants, and cruelly murdered eight men. The fire was returned by some of the survivors, but their number was too inconsiderable to annoy the regular troops, who proceeded on their errand to Concord. One of the many depositions taken at the time, to settle the question, Who fired first? is the following: "About five o'clock in the morning we attended the beat of our drum, and were formed on the parade. We were faced toward the regulars, then marching up to us, and some of our company were coming to the parade with their backs toward the troops and others on the parade began to disperse, when the regulars fired on the company before a gun was fired by any of our company on them." Clarke says, So far from firing first upon the king's troops, upon the most careful inquiry it appears that but very few of our people fired at all, and even they did not fire until, after being fired upon by the troops, they were wounded themselves."

On the Green, at Lexington, stands a monument, which was erected to the memory of the patriots who fell on or near that spot, which bears the following inscription:

"Sacred to the Liberty and the Rights of Mankind!!! The Freedom and Independence of America - sealed and defended with the blood of her sons - This Monument is erected by the inhabitants of Lexington, under the patronage and at the expense of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, to the memory of their Fellow-citizens, Ensign Robert Monroe, Messrs. Jonas Parker, Samuel Hadley, Jonathan Harrington, Jr., Isaac Muzzy, Caleb Harrington, and John Brown, of Lexington, and Asahel Porter, of Woburn, who fell on this Field, the first victims of the Sword of British Tyranny and Oppression, on the morning of the ever-memorable Nineteenth of April, An. Domini

1775. The Die was cast!!! The blood of these martyrs in the Cause of God and their Country was the cement of the Union of these States, then colonies, and gave the Spring to the Spirit, Firmness, and Resolution of their Fellow-citizens. They rose as one man to revenge their Brethren's blood, and at the point of the sword to assert and defend their native Rights. They nobly dared to be Free!!! The contest was long, bloody, and affecting. Righteous Heaven approved the Solemn Appeal Victory crowned their Arms, and the Peace, Liberty, and Independence of the United States of America was their glorious reward. Built in the year 1799."

The precedence as to the time and place where blood was first shed in the Revolution is claimed for Westminister, Vermont, where, more than a month before the affair at Lexington, officers of the crown in endeavoring to subdue a mob, caused the death of one of the rioters. The event is recorded in an epitaph inscribed upon a slab of slate in the old burial-ground at Westminister, in the following words:

In Memory of WILLIAM FRENCH, son to Mr. Nathaniel French, who was Shot at Westminister, March ye 13th, 1775, by the hands of Cruel Ministerial tools of George ye 3rd, in the Court-house at 11 o'clock at Night, in the 22nd year of his Age.

Here William French his Body lies, For Murder his blood for Vengeance Cries. King George the third his Tory crew that with a brawl his head Shot threw. For Liberty and his Country's Good he Lost his Life, his Dearest Blood.

Chapter LXI

Operations at Concord - Retreat of the British - Reinforcements - A Dreadful March for Boston - Fight at West Cambridge - Panic at Charleston - Account of the Affair Published in England - New England in Arms - Uprising of the Colonies - Virginia Convention - Patrick Henry's Appeal - Wrath of Dunmore - Royal Rule Abolished - Mecklenberg Declaration of Independence - Call for Troops in Massachusetts - An Army at Cambridge.

CONCORD had been aroused. Dr. Prescott had reached the town twenty minutes after he left Revere and Dawes in the hands of their captors. He told Amos Melvin, the sentinel at the Court house, that the regulars were coming. It was then about two o'clock in the morning of the 19th of April, 1775. That scion of a heroic family, who had battled with the French and Indians in recent wars, seized the bell-rope and rung out such a vehement alarm that the villagers were all aroused from their slumbers, and soon filled the streets. The first man who appeared with a gun was William Emerson, the beloved pastor there. He was very soon surrounded by Minute men on the Green; and when the guns a Lexington were heard before sunrise, the Committee of Safety and the principal people of the town had assembled for consultation. They soon made arrangements for the reception of the invaders. Couriers had been sent to the neighboring towns to stir up the people; and the men, women and children of Concord engaged vigorously in the removal of the cannon and stores to a place of safety. I was then a lad fourteen years old," said the venerable Major James Barrett to me 1848, when he was eighty-seven years of age. "I could of carry a musket, but I could drive oxen. Stout men and women would load carts with stores, and then boys and girls of my age would go, one on each side of the oxen, with long goads, and whip them into a trot, and we carried away the stores, and hid them under pine boughs before the British regulars appeared."

Men from Lincoln, Acton and other places hurried toward Concord, and in the gray of early morning these, with the local minute-men, were drawn up in battle array on the Common, under the general command of colonel James Barrett, a soldier of the French and Indian war. Guards were placed at the bridges which spanned Concord River, a sinuous, sluggish stream, and at the centre of the village; and some militia were sent toward Lexington to gain information about the invading regulars, of whom they had uncertain stories. At about seven o'clock the militia men came hurrying back with the startling news that the regulars were near, and in number three times that of the America then assembled. The whole force of defenders now fell back to a hill about eighty rods from the centre of the village, where Colonel Barrett formed them in two battalions. This was scarcely done when the flashing of bayonets and of scarlet uniforms in the early morning sun, not more than a quarter of a mile distant, showed the immediate presence of the enemy. A short consultation of officers was held. Some were for giving fight on the spot where they stood, while others, more wise, perceiving that it would be simple murder of the men to cause them to fight against such odds, proposed to fall back a little distance and wait until they were made stronger by the militia from the surrounding towns, who were then flocking in. They did so and took post upon rising ground beyond the North Bridge, about a mile from Concord Common.

The British entered Concord in two divisions; one by the main road and the other over the hill from which the Americans had retired. Smith and Pitcairn remained in the town, and sent six companies to secure the bridges, prevent the militia from crossing them, and to discover and destroy the secreted stores, the hiding-places of which had been revealed by Tories. A party went to the house of Colonel Barrett to destroy stores supposed to be there, but were disappointed. The inhabitants had worked so industriously for the salvation of the treasure, that very little was left for the marauders. A few gun-carriages were there and those they burned. They demanded refreshments at the hands of Mrs. Barrett, and offered to pay for it. She refused the money, saying, "We are commanded to feed our enemy, if he hunger." In the village they broke open sixty barrels of flour, one-half of which was afterward saved. They broke off the trunnions of their iron twenty-four pound cannon, burned sixteen cannon carriage wheels, a few barrels of wooden trenchers and spoons, cut down and burned the Liberty-Pole, set the Court-house on fire, and cast about five hundred pounds of balls into a mill-pond. Mrs. Moulton put out the fire at the Court-house. The articles named were all the spoils gained by the expedition which produced a seven-years-war and the dismemberment of the British empire.

Rumors of the events at Lexington, vague and uncertain, had reached the Minute-men at Concord. All Middlesex awakened. The militia were flocking in from Carlisle, Chelmsford, Weston, Littleton, and Acton and before ten o'clock the force amounted to full four hundred men - about one-half that of the regulars. They were drawn up in line by Joseph Hosmer of Concord, acting adjutant, and Major Buttrick of the same village took the immediate command. When they saw the smoke ascend from the town, the question pressed itself upon the heart and judgment of every man: "What shall we do?" There was no Continental Congress; they had no orders from the Provincial Congress the were a little army of Middlesex farmers gathered for the defense of their homes and their rights: by what authority might they attack British troops acting under lawful orders? Would it not be treason? But the troops ere trampling upon their rights, and the smoke of their burning property w rising before their eyes. They took counsel of duty, and acted promptly. In the burying-ground on a hill near by, was the following epitaph on a stone over the grave of a slave: "God wills us free; man wills u slaves: I will as God wills God's will he done." Acting in the spirit of these lines, Isaac Davis of Acton drew his sword, and, turning to the company of which he as captain, said: "I haven't a man that's afraid to go." Then Colonel Barrett gave the word "march", and the Acton company, followed by others, al under the command of Major Buttrick, pressed forward, in double file with trailed arms, to drive the British from the North Bridge. The latter began to destroy it, when Buttrick urged his men forward to save it. As they approached the river, they were fired upon by the regulars. Captain Davis and one of his company were killed, when Buttrick shouted: Fire, fellow-soldiers for God's sake fire! Immediately a full volley was given the Minute-men, which killed three of the British and wounded several. Some other shots were fired, when the invaders retreated and the Minute-men took possession of the bridge.

The war begun at Lexington that morning w s seconded at Concord at the middle of the forenoon, and at meridian the same day, British power in America began to wane, when British regulars made a hasty retreat before an inferior number of provincial militia. Colonel Smith,

hearing the firing at the bridge, sent out reinforcements. These met the retreating detachment. Seeing the increasing strength of the Minute-men, they turned about, and at noon the whole invading force retreated toward Lexington, the main column covered by strong flanking parties. It was soon perceived that the whole country was in arms. Minute-men appeared with muskets everywhere. They swarmed from the woods and fields, from farm-houses and hamlets. It appeared as if the old fable of the sowing of dragons' teeth, that resulted in a crop of full-armed men, had become history. "The Americans," wrote a British officer, seemed drop from the clouds." The blood shed at Lexington and Concord loosed the bands of conscience, and wiped out all the scruples of those who had been governed by a nice sense of the duties of a subject, and of honor and discretion. War had begun. In open highways the exasperated yeomanry attacked the retreating invaders behind stone-walls, fences, buildings, and in wooded ravines they ambushed, and assailed their foes with single shots or deadly volleys; and man after man fell dead in the British ran or was badly wounded, until great wagons were filled with the slain and the maimed. The heat was intense, and the dust in the roads was intolerable. Exhausted by want of sleep, fatigue of marching, famine and thirst, the eight hundred men - the flower of the British army in Boston - must have surrendered to the armed yeomanry of Middlesex, soon after reaching arrived. It came in the form of reinforcements Lexington, had not relief under Lord Percy, and met the fugitives within half a mile of Lexington Common.

The request sent to Gage early in the morning for reinforcements had been promptly answered by ordering Lord Percy to lead about a thousand men to the support of Smith and Pitcairn. They left Boston at nine o'clock in the morning, and marched over the Neck and through Roxbury, to the tune of Yankee Doodle, played in derision, it being used as a sort of Rogue's March" when offenders were drummed out of the ranks. A lad in Roxbury, by many pranks, attracted the attention of Percy, who asked him why he seemed so joyful. "To think," said the boy, "how you will dance to 'Chevy Chase' by-and-bye." The ear was inclined to be superstitious, and the remark of the boy worried him all day. He was a son of the Duke of Cumberland, a lineal descendant of Earl Percy, one of the heroes of the battle of Chevy Chase, who was there slain.

Rumors of the skirmish at Lexington had reached the people along the line of Percy's march, and the gathering militia hung like an angry, threatening cloud upon his flanks and rear. Between two and three o'clock he met the retreating army, when he opened fire from his cannon upon the pursuing Americans, formed a hollow square, and received in it the exhausted fugitives. Many of the soldiers fell upon the ground completely overcome with fatigue, some of them "with their tongues hanging out of their mouths, like those of dogs after a chase." Percy dare not tarry long, for the woods were swarming with Minute-men. After a brief rest and partaking of some refreshments, the united force resumed their march toward Boston, satisfied that if they did not get back before sunset, they would not get there at all, for the militia were gathering from the neighboring counties. It was a fearful march for the troops, and for the people of the country through which they passed. The Americans relentlessly pursued, while flanking parties of the British committed many hideous excesses, plundering houses, burning buildings, and ill-treating the defenseless inhabitants. All the way to West Cambridge the retreating army concealed foes. There General William Heath, whom the Provincial Congress had appointed to the command of

the militia, accompanied by Dr. Warren, concentrated a considerable body of Minute-men, and skirmished sharply with the British. A bullet carried away a curl-pin from a lock of hair on Warren's temple, as he was moving here and there infusing his own heroic spirit into the militia, as he did on Breed's Hill a few weeks later. The contest was brief. The British kept the militia at bay, and pressed on toward Boston, narrowly escaping seven hundred Essex militia under Colonel Timothy Pickering, who attempted to bar he way to Charlestown, whither the fugitives were compelled to go. The regulars finally reached that village and the shelter of the guns of their frigates, when Heath ordered the pursuit to be stayed.

Charlestown had been in a state of panic all day. Dr. Warren rode through its streets early in the forenoon, and told the people of the bloodshed at Lexington. Then came the news rom Concord, at which many of the men had seized their muskets and hastened to the country. The schools were dismissed places of business were closed and when it was known I that the retreating British would pass through the town, many of the inhabitants gathered up their valuable effects an prepared to leave. The firing at Cambridge caused most of them to rush toward the Neck to seek safety in the country, when they were driven back in despair by the approaching fugitives. Rumors reached them that the British were slaughtering women and children in their streets, and many of the horror-stricken people passed the eight in the clay-pits back of Breed's Hill Not a single person was harmed in Charlestown. Percy ordered the women and children to stay in their houses. Reinforcements were sent over rom Boston guards were stationed; the wounded were taken to the hospital, and quiet was restored. General Pigot assumed command at Charleston the next morning, and before noon the shattered army were in their quarters in Boston. During the memorable day, the British lost in killed, wounded, and missing, two hundred and seventy-three men; the Provincials lost one hundred and three.

Three days after the fight at Lexington and Concord, the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts assembled at Water own, seven miles west of Boston, and chose Dr. Joseph Warren to be their President. A committee was appointed to draw up a narrative of the massacre." They took many depositions, by which it was proven conclusively that the British fired the first shots. This narrative, with a firm and respectful Address to the Inhabitants of Great Britain, was sent to Arthur Lee, the colonial agent in England, and were published in the London Chronicle on the 30th of May, nine days before General Gage's despatches reached his government. The ministry were confounded, and affected to disbelieve the statements, but their truth was soon established. When, on the of Gage were published, London was almost as 10th of June, the despatches much excited as Boston had been. Placards, lampoons, caricatures, and doggerel verses were hawked about the streets in profusion. The retreat of the British from Concord and Lexington was properly regarded as a defeat and a flight, and ministers were reviled because "the great British army at Boston had been beaten by a flock of Yankees."

The temporizing Dartmouth now saw the mischievous results policy of the ministry, and said: "The effects of the General Gage's attempt at Concord are fatal. By that unfortunate event, the happy moment of advantage is lost." Poor Gage was held responsible for the blunders of the ministry, and was censured without stint.

The news of the events on the 19th of April read rapidly over the land, and stirred society in the colonies as it had never been stirred before. There was a spontaneous resolution to environ Boston with an army of provincials that should confine the British to the peninsula. For this purpose, New Hampshire voted two thousand men, with Folsom and Stark as chief commanders. Connecticut voted six thousand, with Spencer as chief and Putnam as second. Rhode Island voted fifteen hundred, with Greene as their leader - Nathaniel Greene, who became one of the most efficient of the military officers in the war for independence. He was a Friend, or Quaker, in religious sentiment. He was naturally very intelligent, and had learned much from books; a skilled mechanic and expert farmer. His people admired him, and made him their representative in the Rhode Island legislature. In English jurisprudence and the theory of the art of war he had learned much; and his peace principles, in accordance with the discipline of his society, did not restrain him from making resistance to injustice by force, if necessary and at times, while the storm of the Revolution was gathering, he rode far to see grand military parades to gain some practical instruction in the art of war, for his prescience observed its approach. "In 1774, in a coat and hat of the Quaker fashion, he was seen watching the exercises and manoeuvres of the British troops at Boston, where he used to buy of Henry Knox, a bookseller, treaties on the art of war."

Meanwhile most important events had occurred in Virginia. On the 20th of March a convention of representatives of that province met in St. John's Church (yet standing) in Richmond. They approved the acts of the Continental Congress, and thanked their representatives who sat in that body. They resolved to be firm in defense of their liberties, but expressed a hope of speedy reconciliation. Patrick Henry promptly rebuked their expression of that hope. He, like Samuel Adams, Hawley, and Greene saw clearly that the colonies must fight. He knew the danger that threatened the liberties of his people. The House of Burgesses could no longer be relied upon as an auxiliary of the people in their struggle, because of the continual interference of the royal government. The colony was unprepared for the impending conflict. Only a little powder and a few muskets in the old magazine at Williamsburg comprised their munitions of war. In view of this weakness in the presence of danger which he foresaw, Henry proposed the appointment of a committee to prepare a plan for the embodying, arming, and disciplining a sufficient number of men to place the colony in a posture of defence. True patriots in the convention opposed the measure as mischievous at that time. They would not believe that armed resistance would be necessary. "It will be time enough to resort to measures of despair," they said, "when every well-founded hope has vanished." They suggested that the colonies were too weak to think of resisting the arms of Britain, and deprecated any action that should provoke war. They relied upon the innate justice of Englishmen for redress and reconciliation.

Henry's feelings kindled into a flame at these timid suggestions. "What," he exclaimed, "has there been in the conduct of the British ministry for the last ten years to justify hope? Are fleets and armies necessary to a work of love and reconciliation? Have we shown ourselves so unwilling to be reconciled that force must be called in to win us back to our love? Let us not deceive ourselves, sir. These are the implements of war and subjugation; the last arguments to which kings resort. I ask, gentlemen, what means this martial array, if its purpose be not to force us to submission? Has Great Britain any enemy in this quarter of the world to call for all this

accumulation of armies and navies. No, sir; she has none. They are meant for us; they can be meant for no other. They are sent over to bind and rivet upon us the chains which the British ministry have been so long forging. And what have we to oppose them? Shall we try argument? Sir, we have been trying argument for the last ten years; have we anything new to offer? Shall we resort to entreaty and supplication? We have petitioned; we have supplicated; we have prostrated ourselves before the throne, and have implored its interposition to arrest the tyrannical hands of the ministry and Parliament. Our petitions have been slighted; our remonstrances have produced additional violence and insult our supplications have been disregarded; and we have been spurned with contempt from the foot of the throne. In vain, after these things, may we indulge the fond hope of reconciliation. There is no longer any room for hope. If we wish to be free; if we wish to preserve inviolate those inestimable privileges for which we have been so long contending; if we mean not basely to abandon the struggle in which we have been so long engaged, and which we have pledged ourselves never to abandon until the glorious object of our contest shall be obtained, we must fight! I repeat it, sir; we must fight! An appeal to arms and to the God of hosts is all that is left us.

"They tell us, sir, that we are weak - unable to cope with so formidable an enemy. But when shall we be stronger? Will it be next week or next year? Will it be when we are totally disarmed, and when a British guard shall be stationed in every house? Shall we gather strength by irresolution and inaction? Shall we acquire the means of supinely on our backs and hugging the delusive phantom of hope, until our enemies shall have bound us hand and foot? Sir, we are not weak, if we make a proper use of those means which the God of nature hath placed in our power. Three millions of people, armed in the holy cause of Liberty, and in such a country as that which we possess, are invincible by any power which our enemy can send against us. Beside, sir, we shall not fight our battles alone. There is a great God who presides over the destinies of nations, and who will raise up friends to fight our battles for us. The battle, sir, is not to the strong alone it is to the vigilant, the active, the brave. And, again, we have no election. If we were base enough to desire it, it is now too late to retire from the contest. There is no retreat but in submission and slavery! Our chains are forged. Their clanking may be heard on the plains of Boston! The war is inevitable and let it come! I repeat it, sir; let it come! It is vain, sir, to extenuate the matter. 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 clash of resounding arms! Our brethren already in the field. What is it that gentlemen wish? What would they have? Is life so dear or peace so sweet as to be purchased at the price of chains and slavery? Forbid it, Almighty God! I know not what course others may take, but as for me," he cried, with both arms extended aloft, his brow knit, every feature marked with the resolute purpose of his soul, and with his voice swelled to its loudest note, "Give me Liberty, or give me Death!"

Henry's resolution was adopted by an almost unanimous vote, and himself Richard Henry Lee, George Washington, Thomas Jefferson and others were appointed a committee to execute their designs. In a few days they submitted a plan for the defense of the colony, which was accepted, when the convention reappointed the delegates to the first Congress to seats in the second, to convene in May, adding Thomas Jefferson "in case of the non-attendance of Peyton Randolph."

Henry's prophecy was speedily fulfilled. Almost "the next gale" that swept from the North brought to their ears the clash of resounding arms at Lexington and Concord.

These bold proceedings caused the name of Henry to be presented to the British government in a bill of attainder, with those of Randolph, Jefferson, the two Adams's, and Hancock. They excited the official wrath of Governor Dunmore, who stormed in proclamations; and to frighten the Virginians, he caused a rumor to be circulated that he intended to excite an insurrection of the slaves. He extinguished the last spark of respect for himself when, late in April, he caused marines to come secretly at night from a vessel-of-war in the York River, and carry to her the powder in the magazine at Williamsburg. The movement was discovered. At dawn, the Minute-men assembled, and were, with difficulty, restrained from seizing the governor. The people also assembled, and sent a respectful remonstrance to Dunmore, complaining of the act as specially wrong at that time, when a servile insurrection was apprehended. He replied evasively. The people demanded the immediate return of the powder. Patrick Henry was at his house in Hanover, when he heard of the act. He assembled a corps of volunteers and marched toward the capital, when the frightened governor sent a deputation with the receiver-general to meet him. Sixteen miles from Williamsburg, they had a conference with the patriot. The matter was compromised by the payment by the receiver-general of the full value of the powder. Henry sent the money to the public treasury, and returned home.

In the midst of this excitement, the governor called the House of Burgesses together, to consider a conciliatory proposition from Lord North. They rejected it and the governor now fulminated proclamations against Henry and the committees of Vigilance which were formed in every county in Virginia. He declared that if one of his officers should be molested, he would raise the royal standard, proclaim freedom to the slaves, and arm them against their masters. He surrounded his house - his "palace" as he called it, with cannon, and secretly placed powder under the floor of the magazine, with the evident intention of blowing it up, should occasion seem to call for the deed. The discovery of this 'gunpowder plot' greatly excited the people. Then came a rumor, on the 7th of June (1775), that armed marines were on their way from the York river to assist Dunmore to enforce the laws. The people flew to arms. The governor, alarmed for his personal safety, withdrew, with his family, that night to Yorktown, and the next morning took refuge on board the British man-of-war *lob*. He was the first royal governor who abdicated government at the beginning of the Revolution.

From the Fowey, Dunmore sent messages, addresses, and letters to the Burgesses in session at Williamsburg, and received communications from them in return. When all necessary bills had been passed, the House invited Dunmore to his capital, to sign them, promising him a safeguard. He declined, and demanded that they should resent the papers at his present residence, the ship-of-war. They did not go; but delegating their powers to a permanent committee, they adjourned. So ended royal rule in Virginia. Other royal governors were also compelled to abdicate; and before the close of the summer of 1775, British dominion in the English-American provinces had ceased forever, and the people were preparing for war.

News of the events of the 19th of April reached the city of New York on Sunday, the 23rd. Regarding patriotism as holy thing, the Sons of Liberty there did not refrain from doing its work on the Sabbath. They immediately proceeded to lay an embargo on vessels bound to Boston with supplies for the British troops there. In defiance of the king's collector at that port, they landed the cargo of a vessel which he had refused to admit, demanded and received the keys of the Custom-house, dismissed those employed in it, and closed it. This was done by ears and Lamb, the chief leaders of the Sons of Liberty and they boldly avowed this overt act of treason in letters to their political friends in other cities. It was soon imitated elsewhere.

As the horrid story of Lexington and Concord spread over the provinces southward, royal authority rapidly disappeared. Provincial Congresses were organized in all the colonies where they did not already exist, and so the political union of the provinces was perfected. Provision was everywhere made for war; and in May, a convention of the representatives of the towns in Mecklenburg county, North Carolina, met at Charlotte, and by their proceedings, virtually declared the inhabitants of that county independent of the British crown. Taking into consideration the fact that the crown had proclaimed the people of the colonies to be rebels, the Convention declared that all government in their county had ceased, and proceeded by a series of resolutions, passed on the 31st of May, to organize independent local government for themselves. This famous "Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence" has been the subject of much discussion, disputations, and acute historical inquiry.

In the meantime an army of patriots were gathering around Boston with a determination to confine the British troops to the peninsula, or drive them to their ships and out to sea. On the morning of the day after the massacre at Lexington and Concord, and the fight on the retreat, the Massachusetts Committee of Safety sent a circular to all the towns of the province, saying: "We conjure you, by all that is dear, by all that is sacred we beg and entreat you, as you will answer it to your country, to your consciences, and, above all, to God himself that you will hasten and arrange, by all possible means, the enlistment of men to form the army; and send them forward to headquarters at Cambridge with that expedition which the vast importance and instant urgency of the affair demands."

The call was answered by many of the people before it reached their ears. It arose spontaneously out of the depths of their own patriotic hearts. Men started from the desk, the workshop, and the field the moment when the dreadful tale was told. Many of them did not stay to change their clothing; they carried neither money nor food, intent only upon having their firelocks in order, their powderhorns well supplied, and their bulletpouches well filled. The women on their way opened wide their doors and hearts for the refreshment and encouragement of the patriotic volunteers; and very soon all New England was represented at Cambridge. Veterans of wars with the Indians and the French appeared as leaders; and before the close of April a fluctuating army of several thousand men were forming camps and piling fortifications around Boston, from Roxbury to the Mystic River, along a line of about twenty miles. So early as the afternoon of the 20th, General Artemas Ward, the senior military officer appointed by the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts, was on the ground, and assumed the chief command. That

Congress, like the Committee of Safety, worked day and night in patriotic duty. They appointed military officers; organized a bureau of supplies, and issued bills of credit for the payment of the troops to the amount of three hundred and seventy-five thousand dollars, for the redemption of which the province was pledged. They declared that no obedience was thenceforward to be rendered to General Gage, and that he ought to be "considered and guarded against as an unnatural and inveterate enemy to the country." They took legislative and executive power into their own hands, and so abolished royal government in Massachusetts; and they forwarded deputations to the Second Continental Congress that assembled early in May, suggesting the necessity for making provision for organizing an army competent to oppose the troops expected from Great Britain.

It was at about that time, when society in the colonies was in a ferment, that Dr. Franklin arrived from England, when a poet of the day gave him a welcome in the following words:

"Welcome! once more To these fair western plains - thy native shore; Here live below'd and leave the tools at home To run their length and finish out their doom; Here lend them aid to quench their brutal fires, Or fan the flame which Liberty inspires; Or fix the grand Conductor that shall guide The tempest back, and 'lectrify their pride. Rewarding Heaven will bless thy cares at last, find future glories glorify the past. Why staid apostate Wedderburn behind, The scum, the scorn, the scoundrel of mankind? Whose heart at large to ev'ry vice is known, And every devil claims him for his own Why came he not to take the large amount Of all we owe him, due on thine account?"

Chapter LXII

Perfidy of Gage - Capture of Ticonderoga and Crown Point - The Second Continental Congress - Declarations of Their Views and Intentions - Petitions and Addresses - Preparations for War - National Functions of Congress - Connecticut Troops at Harlem - Fortifications in New York Ordered - The Forces at Cambridge Made a Continental Army - British in Boston - Washington Appointed Commander-in-Chief - Continental Paper Currency - The Army at Cambridge - Gage's Proclamation - Battle of Bunker's Hill.

GAGE now saw the real peril of his situation, surrounded as he was by an army of exasperated men outside of Boston, and deadly foes within it. Instead of relaxing his rigor, he increased it for a moment in order to secure an unfair advantage. He forbade all intercourse with the country, and no one was allowed to leave the town. Their supplies of food and fuel thus cut off, famine stared the people in the face. The worst horrors of civil war were impending; and at that moment of their agony of dread, Gage offered to give safe conduct out of Boston to all who wished to go, provided they would surrender their arms, and promise not to join in an attack on his troops or works. In their extremity they accepted his proposition, and delivered their arms at Faneuil Hall. The exodus immediately began, when the Tories interfered. They begged Gage to keep the patriotic citizens as hostages. He violated his solemn pledge, and kept many of the disarmed inhabitants there, some of them separated from portions of their families, and exposed to bitter insults.

The patriots now determined on aggressive movements to weaken the British power on the continent. It was believed that the ministry entertained a scheme for separating New England from the rest of the colonies by a military occupation of the Hudson Valley and Lake Champlain, the latter the Indian door of the country opening between the Hudson and the St. Lawrence. On Lake Champlain were the two powerful fortresses of Ticonderoga and Crown Point, which might be made most efficient in executing the proposed scheme, for they would secure free intercourse with Canada. Are the Canadians friendly to us? was then a question of great importance for the patriots. In March, Samuel Adams and Dr. Warren, members of the Committee of Correspondence, sent John Brown of western Massachusetts, as a secret agent of that province, to seek an intelligent answer. He sent word that the Canadians were lukewarm, at the best, and advised the seizure of Ticonderoga and Crown Point the moment the impending conflict should be commenced and he assured them that the Green Mountain Boys, as the men of Vermont (then the New Hampshire Grants) were called, whose leader was sturdy, patriotic, honest Ethan Allen, were ready to undertake the enterprise.

When the blow was struck on the 19th of April, it was resolved to secure the lake fortresses at once. Samuel Adams and John Hancock conferred personally on the subject with the governor of Connecticut, at Hartford, when funds were appropriated from the public treasury for the expedition, and powers delegated to two citizens as a committee to superintend the expedition. An express was sent to Allen, asking him to hold his Boys" in readiness. The whole movement was done in secret, yet hints of it reached the ears of Benedict Arnold, who was about to leave for

Cambridge with a Connecticut company of which he was captain.

The committee gathered sixteen men at Salisbury and marched to Pittsfield, where they were joined by Brown and Colonel Easton, with a small force of Berkshire volunteers. Pushing on to Bennington, they were joined by Allen and his men; and on Sunday, the 7th of May, 1775, they rendezvoused at Castleton. There they were joined by Arnold. On his arrival at Cambridge he had proposed to the Provincial Congress an expedition against the forts, and received from them a commission of colonel, and authority to raise and lead not more than four hundred men against the lake fortresses. By virtue of this commission, he claimed the leadership, though he came with only one man. The militiamen chose Allen as their leader, and Arnold accompanied the expedition as a volunteer.

On the evening of the 9th of May, the expedition was at Shoreham, opposite Ticonderoga. Only a few boats could be found there. In these, eighty-three men, with Allen at their head and accompanied by Arnold, passed over. The boats were sent back for more men under Colonel Seth Warner; but as a surprise of the garrison was necessary, and the day was dawning, the intrepid leader resolved not to wait. "It is a desperate attempt," said Allen to his men, in a low voice: "I don't urge it contrary to will you that will undertake voluntarily, poise your firelocks." Every musket was poised. The men followed Allen up the bank to the sally-port, led by a lad familiar with the fort. The sentry snapped his fuzee, and ran into the fortress through a covered way, closely followed by Allen and his men. As they rushed into the parade they gave a tremendous shout, and ranged themselves in two lines against opposite walls. The aroused garrison leaped from their beds, seized their arms, and hastened to the parade, only to be made prisoners by the New Englanders.

Captain Delaplace, the commandant of the garrison, awakened by the shout, sprang from his couch, followed by his alarmed young wife, and without dressing hastened to the door of his quarters in the upper story. Allen had already ascended the outside steps leading to that door, and giving three loud raps with the hilt of his sword, shouted, "Come out instantly, or I will sacrifice the whole garrison!" As the captain opened the door, the pretty face of his frightened wife peering over his shoulders, Allen said, in a loud voice: "I order you instantly to surrender! Delaplace and Allen were old friends. The astonished captain exclaimed: "By what authority do you demand a surrender?" Allen raised his sword and thundered out: "In the name of the Great Jehovah and the Continental Congress!" The captain began to speak, when Allen pointed to his men, and ordered him to be silent and surrender immediately. Delaplace obeyed; and the strong fortress, which had cost the British government millions of pounds sterling and many lives, passed into the possession of a few undisciplined men without the loss of a drop of blood. The Continental Congress, as an organized body, were not in existence until some hours after the surrender but Allen knew they were to assemble on that day, the 10th of May, 1775. With the fort were surrendered about fifty men, more than a hundred cannon, mortars, howitzers and swivels, many small arms, and a considerable quantity of ammunition and stores. Some of the great guns were afterward used by the patriots in the siege of Boston. Colonel Warner had crossed the lake with the remainder of the volunteers, and reached the fort at the moment of the surrender. On the 12th he led a

detachment, in boats, against Crown Point, and captured that strong fortress without bloodshed.

In a large room of the State-house in Philadelphia, now known as Independence Hall, the Second Continental Congress met on Wednesday, the 10th of May, and chose Peyton Randolph of Virginia for the President, and Charles Thomson, Secretary. Again Mr. Duche was invited to become the chaplain of Congress. Representatives of all the colonies were present on that day, except from Georgia, but late in July there were delegates present from that province. They met under a dense cloud of difficulties, through which, for awhile, few rays of sunlight could pierce. They had met as the representatives of separate colonies that were in a state of virtual rebellion against a powerful government which had declared its intention to bring them into submission by force of arms. Armies and navies were already on their coasts for the purpose, and more men were on the way. War had actually begun in two of the colonies, and overt acts of treason had been committed in nearly all. As an executive body, they were legally powerless. They had no authority from any one to employ a soldier or levy or collect a tax. They had no executive head, no legislative functions, no treasury. They were assembled, as was the First Congress, simply as a great advisory committee composed of smaller committees from the several colonies. They were representatives of colonies groaning under serious grievances and petty tyrannies, and ready to fight for their rights, and yet loyal and loving subjects of the king of Great Britain. Even so radical a Son of Liberty as Dr. Warren, wrote from the Massachusetts Provincial Congress after the 19th of April, expressing a hope that the government would see the folly of its course and act justly, and saying: This I most heartily wish, as I feel a warm affection still for the parent state." The delegates were more varied in their nationalities, their theological views, and their local interests than the prismatic colors; how were they to combine and become white, powerful, life-giving sunlight? was the vital question of the hour. The unexpected kindling of war compelled them to consider measures for defence, and yet there was indecision, for many members believed reconciliation possible, and wished to keep the door open.

The Congress having resolved themselves into a committee of the whole to take into consideration the state of the colonies, reported on the 26th of May, that war had been commenced by Great Britain that they had no intention to cast off their allegiance to the crown and that they anxiously desired peace. At the same time they declared that the colonies ought to be put in a posture of defense against any attempt to coerce them into submission to parliamentary taxation. They resolved that no provisions ought to be furnished the British army or navy; that no bills of exchange drawn by British officers ought to be negotiated, and that no colonial ships ought to be employed in the transportation of British troops. They considered it useless to memorialize the Parliament but after strenuous opposition from the Massachusetts delegation, among whom the idea of independence was fast blossoming, it was resolved that another petition to the king should be drawn up and sent to his majesty. It was done. An Address to the Inhabitants of Canada; a Declaration setting forth the causes and the necessity for the colonies to take up arms an Address to the Assembly of Jamaica, to the Inhabitants of Great Britain, and to the People of Ireland, were also adopted. To the king they expressed their continued devotion to his person, and their deep regret that circumstances had in the least weakened their attachment to the crown. To the people of Great Britain, they truthfully declared that their acts were wholly

defensive; that the charge that they were seeking absolute independence was a malicious slander, and that they had never applied to a foreign power for countenance or aid in prosecuting a rebellion, as had been falsely alleged. They set forth, in very nervous sentences, that ill-treatment by the British government in the rejection of petitions, and oppressive acts of Parliament, was the cause that placed them in the attitude of resistance which they then assumed, contending that it was necessary and justifiable, and worthy of the free character of the subjects of Great Britain. They boldly said, when commenting upon the wanton exercise of arbitrary power: "Shall the descendants of Britons tamely submit to this? No, sirs! We never will, while we revere the memory of our gallant and virtuous ancestors, we never can surrender those glorious privileges for which they fought, bled, and conquered. Admit that your fleets could destroy our towns, and ravage our sea-coasts; these are inconsiderable objects, things of no moment to men whose bosoms glow with the ardor of liberty. We can retire beyond the reach of your navy, and, without any sensible diminution of the necessaries of life, enjoy a luxury which, from that period, you will want - the luxury of being free."

From this time the Continental Congress were less timid. From the beginning they had evinced a determination to sustain Massachusetts in her defense of her charter. Now they assumed comprehensive authority without any fixed limits of action. They did not wait for the result of their petition to the king, but went forward in preparations for a struggle for life. They exercised supreme executive, legislative, and sometimes judicial functions; and in the ready obedience to their mandates observed by the several colonies, they derived their authority. The supporters of the Congress throughout the land were so strong in character and intelligence, that, from the summer of 1775 until the end of the war, that body never lacked moral strength for the exercise of the functions of a national government. All subjects of a general character were submitted to the consideration of the Congress. For example: When a rumor prevailed that a British regiment had been ordered from Ireland to New York, the Committee of One Hundred, of that city, which had been appointed to supersede that of Fifty-one, asked the Congress how they should act; and when a Provincial Congress had been organized in that colony in May, 1775, that body submitted grave questions of public policy to the Continental Congress as a national and supreme tribunal, and suggested to them the propriety of issuing bills of credit in the name of the United Colonies, to furnish funds for defraying the expenses of defending the whole people. This was the first suggestion for the Congress to exercise national functions.

New York was advised to permit the troops to land, and live in barracks, but not to fortify the city. They also suggested the inviting of General Wooster to come to their borders with his Connecticut regiment to assist in defending the city against any hostile movement of the expected troops. It was done, and Wooster was encamped at Harlem, whence he sent detachments to Long Island to guard against British cruisers and foragers, and to intercept supplies of provisions sent to the troops in Boston.

At first the Continental Congress hesitated to approve the capture of the forts on Lake Champlain, but when timidity gave place to courage, they were anxious to maintain possession of them as a means for keeping the control of the Hudson Valley. For the like purpose, they directed

the Provincial Congress of New York to fortify posts at the upper end of New York Island, and on both sides of the Hudson in the Highlands. At about the same time, when President Randolph was called to the chair as Speaker of the Virginia House of Burgesses, they chose John Hancock to succeed him. Mr. Harrison of Virginia, as he conducted Hancock to the chair, said: We will show Britain how much we value her proscriptions."

The Congress were now called upon to exercise still higher national functions. It was soon perceived that the aged, good, and virtuous General Ward was not possessed of sufficient military ability to be chief commander of the motley forces which had been suddenly gathered at Cambridge. The Provincial Congress of Massachusetts apprehended the fading away of that army unless a more efficient commander might be found, and they gladly perceived a way for making a change without offence by asking the General Congress to assume the regulation and direction of that army. The war was, evidently, to become a continental one, and it was proper that a continental army should be organized. The request was made, and in a private letter written by Joseph Warren to Samuel Adams, it was intimated that the request was to be interpreted as a desire for the appointment of a generalissimo or commander-in-chief of all troops that might be raised. The request was immediately followed by the news that reinforcements for the army in Boston were arriving, and that Generals Howe, Clinton, and Burgoyne were already there. The Congress felt compelled to act promptly, for there were indications that war would be commenced at some points remote from Massachusetts, in order to distract the colonies. They did not then know that Gage had advised his government to send fifteen thousand troops to Boston, ten thousand to New York, and seven thousand Canadians and Indians to operate in the region of Lake Champlain, falsely accusing the Americans of employing savages against British troops.

Feeling that the union of the colonies was complete, notwithstanding Georgia was not yet represented in the Congress, that body, on the 7th of June, in a resolution for a general fast, had spoken, for the first time, of "the twelve United Colonies." To make the bond stronger, they now, on motion of John Adams, adopted the forces at Cambridge as a Continental Army, and proceeded to choose a commander-in-chief. At the suggestion of the New England delegation, Thomas Johnson of Maryland nominated George Washington, of Virginia, then a member of the Congress, for that important office, and he was elected by a unanimous vote. That was on the 15th of June. When, on the following morning, President Hancock officially announced to Washington his appointment, that gentleman arose in his place, and formally accepted the office. In his modest speech on that occasion, after expressing doubts of his ability to perform the duties satisfactorily, he said: As to pay, sir, I beg leave to assure the Congress that, as no pecuniary consideration could have tempted me to accept the arduous employment at the expense of my domestic ease and happiness, I do not wish to make any profit from it. I will keep an exact account of my expenses. Those, I doubt not, they will discharge, and that is all I desire." Washington was then forty-three years of age. Four major-generals and eight brigadier-generals were appointed in the course of a few days. The former were Artemas Ward, Charles Lee, Philip Schuyler, and Israel Putnam the latter were Seth Pomeroy, Richard Montgomery, David Wooster, William Heath, Joseph Spencer, John Thomas, John Sullivan, and Nathaniel Greene.

On the 22nd of June, the Congress resolved to issue a sum not exceeding two million dollars, on bills of credit, for the defense of America," prescribed the form of the bills, and appointed a committee of five to attend to the printing of them. The plates were rudely engraved by Paul Revere, of Boston, and printed on such thick paper, that the British called the currency the paste-board money of the rebels." Each denomination had a separate and significant device and motto, which bore the stamp of the mind of Dr. Franklin, who was one of the committee. Twenty-eight gentlemen were appointed to sign them. New issues were made at various times until the close of 1779, when the aggregate amount was \$242,000,000. Then the bills had so much depreciated that one hundred dollars in specie would buy twenty-six hundred in paper currency. They very soon became worthless. In January, 1781, Captain Allan McLane paid \$600 for a pair of boots, and \$10 for a skein of thread.

At the beginning of June (1775) the army at Cambridge numbered about sixteen thousand men, all New Englanders. General Ward was the chief and John Thomas was his lieutenant. Richard Gridley, who was the engineer-in-chief at the reduction of Louisburg thirty years before, was commissioned to command an artillery corps and to be chief engineer, and was assisted by Henry Knox, a Boston bookseller, who had commanded an artillery company in that town. The British force in Boston was increasing by fresh arrivals. It numbered then about ten thousand men. Generals Howe, Clinton, and Burgoyne had arrived late in May, and heartily joined Gage in forming and executing plan for dispersing the rebels. Feeling strong with these veteran officers and soldiers around him, and the presence of several ships-of-war under Admiral Graves, the governor issued a most insulting proclamation, declaring martial law, branding those citizens in arms, and their abettors, as rebels and "parricides of the Constitution," and offering pardon to all who should forthwith return to their allegiance, excepting Samuel Adams and John Hancock, who were reserved for condign punishment as traitors. This proclamation produced intense indignation throughout the province. All the records of time," wrote Mrs. John Adams to her husband, "cannot produce a blacker page. Satan, when driven from the regions of bliss, exhibited not more malice. Surely the father of lies is superseded. Yet we think it the best proclamation he could have issued."

At about the middle of June, the British officers in Boston waked to the consciousness that rebel batteries at Dorchester Heights on the south, or on Charlestown Heights - Bunker's or Breed's Hills - on the north, might make the situation of the troops in the town not only disagreeable but perilous. They resolved to sally out and fortify these heights themselves, Dorchester on the 18th of June, and Bunker's Hill a few days later. Rumors of this intention reached the Committee of Safety, to whom the Provincial Congress had delegated all discretionary powers to regulate the movements of troops, and they proposed the immediate fortification of Bunker's Hill before their enemy should come out.

On the 16th of June, an order was issued for the regiments of Colonels Frye, Bridges and Prescott, Samuel Gridley's company of artillery, and a fatigue party of Connecticut troops, under Captain Thomas Knowlton, of Putnam's regiment, to parade in the camp at Cambridge at six o'clock in the evening, with intrenching tools. The whole were placed under the command of

Colonel William Prescott of Pepperell, who received written orders from General Ward to proceed to and fortify Bunker's Hill on the Charlestown peninsula. At nine o'clock in the evening, after a prayer by Dr. Langdon, President of Harvard College, a larger portion of these regiments, accompanied by General Putnam, marched over Charlestown Neck and along the road to Bunker's Hill. The whole force numbered about thirteen hundred men. They proceeded silently in the darkness. A council was held in the gloom, when it was decided that Breed's Hill, nearer Boston, would be the most effective point for a fortification. They accordingly proceeded to that eminence overlooking Charlestown on the edge of the water, and there, in the star-light, a thousand men began the work with pick and spade. The waning moon rose at midnight, and in its pale light they worked in such silence until dawn, that they were not discovered by the sentinels on the ships-of-war that lay in sight below them, and whose voices, crying out hourly All's well they could distinctly hear. There lay the Lively, Gage, Somerset, and Cerberus, with floating batteries, in fancied security, while the toilers piled the earth so vigorously, that a redoubt rose six feet above the earth at daybreak on Saturday, the 17th of June. Then they were discovered by the sentinel on the Lively. The captain beheld the strange apparition with wonder and alarm, and without waiting for orders from the admiral, he put springs on his cable and opened a sharp fire on the unfinished work. Other vessels opened broadsides upon that seeming creation of magic, while the Americans within the redoubt, unhurt by the shots, worked steadily on.

That cannonade at dawn on a beautiful summer morning, broke the slumber of the troops and citizens in Boston, and filled both with astonishment. Very soon roofs, balconies, and steeples were alive with gazers upon the strange scene. Gage summoned his principal officers to a council, when it was decided that the Americans must be dislodged, at all hazards. The newly-arrived generals proposed to land troops on Charlestown Neck, and taking the rebels in reverse, cut off their retreat and prevent their reinforcement. Gage decided to attack them in front and about twenty-five hundred troops, composed of infantry, grenadiers, and artillery, with twelve pieces of cannon, crossed the Charles River in boats, at a little past noon, under cover of a tremendous cannonade from the shipping and Copp's Hill, and landed toward the eastern extremity of the Charlestown peninsula, at the head of the present Chelsea Bridge. There Howe reconnoitered the American position, ordered his men to dine, and sent back to Boston for reinforcements. The men at the redoubt had toiled all the forenoon, completed their work, and at meridian exchanged the pick and spade for the accoutrements of war. Almost twelve hours had they labored, with little rest and food. They had cast up a redoubt about eight rods square, and an embankment on its left extending about a hundred yards toward the Mystic River; also a similar line on the right. The troops, wearied with work and want of food and sleep, asked for relief but their leader said "No you have cast up the redoubt, and you shall have the honor of defending it." They asked for reinforcements, which he at first declined calling for, supposing the British would not attack him. At length there were indications in the city that they were coming out, and Prescott sent to General Ward for reinforcements. That officer tardily complied with the request, and sent the New Hampshire regiments of Stark and Reed also some small field pieces. Some other detachments joined Prescott, and Dr. Joseph Warren, who had just received a commission as major-general, arrived with the cheering news that other reinforcements were coming. Putnam was there, flying from point to point to make dispositions for securing a victory, and urging Ward,

who was afraid of an attack upon Cambridge, to send on reinforcements.

When Howe was about to move at three o'clock in the afternoon, the Americans were prepared for the contest. Prescott, with Warren, and the constructors of the redoubt, were within that work, excepting the Connecticut troops, who, with the New Hampshire forces, were at a rail fence and breastworks on the west of the redoubt. The artillery companies were between the breastwork and a rail fence on the eastern side, and three companies were stationed in Charlestown at the foot of Breed's Hill.

Just as the fight was about to begin, reinforcements came for Howe and landed at the present entrance to the Navy Yard. They consisted of a regiment, some companies of light infantry and grenadiers, and a marine battalion led by Major Pitcairn of Lexington fame. The entire British force now confronting the Americans on the peninsula numbered more than three thousand.

At half-past three o'clock, Howe's great guns moved toward the redoubt, and opened fire upon the works. They were followed by the troops in two columns, commanded respectively by Generals Howe and Pigot, the infantry and grenadiers assailing the outworks. At the same time the guns on the ships and the battery on Copp's Hill hurled random shot in abundance upon the little earthwork. In the midst of the roaring thunder, the Americans were silent in the redoubt, and mostly so along the lines of intrenchments and fences, for their leader had ordered them not to fire until they could see the whites of the eyes of the approaching foe. The silence was a riddle to the English. It was soon solved. When they were within the prescribed distance, up rose the concealed host, fifteen hundred strong, at the word Fire! and poured such a tremendous and destructive storm of bullets upon the climbers of the green slope, that whole platoons and even companies were prostrated as a scythe would have mown down the long grass through which they were wading. Flags fell to the ground like the tall lilies in a mown meadow, and the shattered army was horror-struck for a moment. The bugles sounded, and they fell back to the shore, when a shout of triumph went up from the crest of Breed's Hill. Howe soon rallied his men, and repeated the attack with a similar result.

The British were greatly annoyed by shots from houses in Charlestown, and, at the request of Howe, shells were thrown into it from Copp's Hill, and set the village on fire. Very soon almost two hundred wooden buildings, dwellings, and churches were in flames, and Breed's Hill was shrouded in black smoke for awhile, until a gentle breeze that suddenly sprang up blew it away. At the same time General Clinton, who, from Copp's Hill, had seen the second recoil of the British troops, hastened across the river, and at the head of some broken battalions shared in the perils and success of a third attack, for Howe had again rallied his troops, and was pressing toward the Americans. The British had been ordered to march at quick step, and use only their bayonets. These and the artillery soon drove the defenders of the breastworks into the redoubt. Again from that flaming centre went out dreadful volleys that shattered the head of the British column. The powder of the Americans was now almost exhausted. Their fire became more feeble. The British pushed up to and over the ramparts; and after a hand-to-hand struggle in the redoubt with bayonets and clubbed muskets, the Americans were driven out. They fled toward Charlestown

Neck, where reinforcements had been arrested by a severe enfilading fire from the British vessels. The retreat of the main body was covered by the prolonged fighting of Stark, Reed, and Knowlton at the outworks, with some reinforcements. Warren was the last to leave the redoubt, and was hurrying toward Bunker's Hill, where Putnam was trying to rally the fugitives, and was shot dead by a bullet that pierced his brain. The British loss in this battle - killed, wounded, and prisoners - was ten hundred and fifty-four. Among the officers slain was Major Pitcairn. His pistols are now in the possession of descendants of General Putnam. The Americans lost in killed, wounded, and missing, four hundred and fifty.

This conflict, known as the Battle of Bunker's Hill, though fought on Breed's Hill, lasted almost two hours. It was gazed upon by anxious thousands who were on the neighboring hills and the roofs, and steeples in Boston, deeply interested spectators of a terrible scene in which dear kindred were engaged. When the redoubt was carried and the Americans retreated, the whole body of troops on the peninsula were compelled to run the gauntlet of cannon-balls from the British vessels, as they fled across Charlestown Neck. Many were slain there. The survivors encamped that night on Prospect Hill, and the British reposed on their arms on the field of battle until the next morning, when they passed over the water to Boston never again to appear on the main land of Massachusetts.

Chapter LXIII

Washington Takes Command of the Continental Army - Preparations for the Siege of Boston - Disposition of the Opposing Armies - Dealings with the Canadians - Canada to be Invaded - Exploits on Lake Champlain - Instructions to General Schuyler - The Indians and the Johnson Family - Benedict Arnold - The Canadians - Character of the Troops at Ticonderoga - Montgomery Summoned to Command Them - St. Johns Besieged and Captured - Allen Made Prisoner - Arnold's Expedition - Preparations to Besiege Quebec.

WASHINGTON did not go to his home at Mount Vernon after his appointment to the chieftainship of the Continental Army; but six days after that appointment (June 21), he left Philadelphia for the east. He was accompanied by Generals Lee and Schuyler. They were escorted to New York by Philadelphia light-horsemen. At Trenton they met a courier riding in haste to give the Congress news of the battle of Bunker's Hill. He relieved the mind of Washington of a great burden of anxiety by assuring the general that the militia behaved nobly in the battle, for of such materials the Continental Army was composed.

Washington arrived in New York on Sunday afternoon, the 25th of June, where he was received by the Provincial Congress, and addressed by their President, Philip Livingston, in a highly conservative speech for the royal governor, Tryon, had just arrived also, and public sentiment in New York was almost equally divided in favor of the two distinguished men. After returning the salutation in a few words, Washington retired to his lodgings, where he spent the whole evening with Schuyler in consultation about operations in the Northern Department, over which the latter was placed. It was then the most important field, for it had a broad frontier on unfriendly Canada, a wily and treacherous foe in the Indians within its bosom, and a demoralizing element of loyalty to the crown pervading its more influential society.

On Monday morning Washington and Lee, accompanied by Schuyler, rode to New Rochelle, where they conferred with the veteran soldier, General Wooster. There Schuyler left them, when they journeyed on toward the New England capital, receiving the warmest greetings of the people who flocked to the highways to catch a glimpse of the eminent Virginian. These officers reached Watertown, seven miles from Boston, on the morning of the 2nd of July, where they received congratulatory addresses from James Warren, resident of the Provincial Congress in session there. They arrived at Cambridge early in the afternoon, when Washington established his headquarters in the house provided for him, lately the residence of Professor Longfellow, the poet. At nine o'clock the next morning (July 3), he appeared, with his suite, under a large elm tree yet standing at the northerly end of Cambridge Common. The Continental forces were drawn up in line, when Washington, with uncovered head, stepped a few paces forward, drew his sword, and took formal command of the Army. In that important office he served without intermission almost eight years, when he resigned his commission into the custody of the Congress, from which body he received it.

On the 4th of July, Washington issued his first general order, in which he recommended

sobriety, harmony, order, and the constant exercise of patriotism and morality, and a humble reliance upon God. On the 9th, he held his first council of war; and ten days afterward Adjutant-General Gates reported present, fit for duty, 13,743 men, and an enrollment of 16,770, all from the colonies of Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Hampshire, and Rhode Island. Some riflemen from Maryland, Virginia, and Western Pennsylvania, led by Daniel Morgan, a man of sturdy frame and unflinching courage, who had seen service in the French and Indian War, joined the army soon afterward.

Washington immediately began the siege of Boston by so disposing his forces as to confine the British to the peninsula and the adjacent islands and shores. He arranged his army in three grand divisions, each division containing two brigades. The right wing was placed under General Artemas Ward, with brigadiers Thomas and Spencer. They were stationed at Roxbury. The left wing was commanded by General Lee, and consisted of the brigades of Sullivan and Greene. These occupied Winter and Prospect Hills. The centre was commanded by General Putnam. One of his brigades was commanded by Heath, and the other by a senior officer of less rank than a brigadier, for Pomeroy had declined the office conferred upon him by the Congress. The Americans cast up strong lines of intrenchments between the extremities of the army. The British were strongly intrenched on Bunker's Hill, about half a mile from the battle-ground on Breed's Hill. Their sentries occupied Charlestown Neck floating batteries were moored in Mystic River, near Bunker's Hill, and a twenty-gun ship was anchored at the ferry between Boston and Charlestown. On Copp's Hill, in the city, the British had a strong battery. The bulk of the army under General Howe (who had succeeded Gage in the chief command) lay upon Bunker's Hill, and some cavalry and a small corps of Tories remained in the City. Such was the relative position of the belligerent forces during the summer and early autumn of 1775.

Meanwhile the civil powers of the General Congress and of the province were strengthened by consolidation. In Massachusetts a House of Representatives was organized under the original charter, which vested executive powers in a council chosen by the people, in the absence of the governor and his lieutenant. That body, therefore, assumed such powers, as a single executive committee, vested with all the functions of Committees of Correspondence, Inspection, and Safety. Under such a government the people of Massachusetts lived, until they formed a State Constitution in 1780.

We have observed that the General Congress sent an address to the inhabitants of Canada. It was affectionate in its terms. It invited them to join the other colonies in efforts to obtain a redress of grievances. But the duplicity of the Congress of 1774 had made the Canadians lukewarm, as John Brown reported them, if not actually hostile. That Congress had also addressed them in affectionate terms; but in their address to the people of Great Britain, who delighted in shouting No Popery! they had, unfortunately, in alluding to the Quebec Act, said: "We think the Legislature is not authorized by the constitution to establish a religion fraught with sanguinary tenets, in any part of the globe; nor can we suppress our astonishment that a British Parliament should ever consent to establish in that Country [Canada] a religion that has deluged your island in blood and dispensed impiety, bigotry, persecution, murder, and rebellion through

every part of the world." This address, like the one to the Canadians, was translated into the French language, and scattered among the priests and the people by the press. It created much indignation for awhile, but the resentment soon cooled, for the national hatred of the English by the French population made the latter soon feel kindly toward the Bostonians," as the patriots were called.

Carleton proclaimed martial-law in Canada, and denounced the borderers who seized the lake posts as rebels and traitors. He sought alliances with the Indian tribes, and proposed to invade New York for the purpose of recovering those posts. When, in June (1775), the Continental Congress heard of these things, the conquest of Canada seemed to them and to the people as a simple act of self-defence, and it was resolved to undertake that task. It ought to have been attempted sooner. Allen urged it with vehemence soon after the posts were taken. Hoping his advice to invade Canada at once would be followed, he began to prepare for the important work. A party of his Green Mountain Boys captured Skenesborough, at the head of Lake Champlain (now Whitehall), with a son of Skene, the proprietor, and many of his people. They also took away from them a schooner and several bateaux. Colonel Arnold armed the schooner with guns from Ticonderoga, fully manned it, and with some bateaux sailed down the lake to attack the fort at St. Johns, on the Sorel, its outlet, followed by Allen, with one hundred and fifty men, in boats and bateaux. Arnold left the schooner at the foot of the lake, and with thirty- five men, who went in boats, he captured the little garrison at St. Johns, destroyed some vessels there, and sailed for Ticonderoga with his prisoners. He met Allen on the way. After a brief conference, the latter pressed forward to garrison the captured fort but on the approach of a superior force of Canadians from Montreal and Chambly he retreated. Then it was that Allen, by an earnest letter, entreated the Congress to invade Canada. The exploits of the Green Mountain Boys and of Arnold showed how easily the conquest might be achieved. But the Congress then regarded the letter of the bold leader as the utterances of the wild fancy of an ambitious adventurer drunk with sudden success. But events soon changed their minds. After the information of Carleton's movements had been received, and the battle of Bunker's Hill had startled the continent, the Congress and the people saw the folly of the delay. The operations of the patriots on Lake Champlain had aroused the British authorities in Canada to a sense of their danger the delay had enabled them to take measures for arresting that danger.

General Schuyler was ordered to repair to the lake fortresses, where Colonel Hinman was in command with a few Connecticut troops. He had been appointed to that station with the sanction of the Continental Congress. Schuyler was authorized, if he should find it practicable and not disagreeable to the Canadians, immediately to take possession of St. Johns and Montreal, and pursue such other measures in Canada as might have a tendency to promote the peace and security of the province." These mild and cautious words were properly interpreted as an explicit order to invade Canada. Agents were sent among the Indians in the Mohawk country at the same time, to secure their neutrality, but not to force military alliances with the savages. The Congress also appointed a Board of Commissioners of Indian Affairs, of which General Schuyler was appointed chairman. His family had always maintained a great influence over the chiefs of the Six Nations; and the general was popular among them. The value of his services in keeping these

nations neutral or passive during the struggle cannot be estimated.

Schuyler did not reach Ticonderoga until the 18th of July, having been detained at Albany and vicinity in consequence of alarming news from the Indian country. It was asserted that Guy Johnson, the Indian agent, who had espoused the ministerial cause, was endeavoring to make the Six Nations the allies of the British in the impending struggle and that Sir John Johnson, the son and heir of Sir William, was organizing a military force for the same purpose, among his retainers who were chiefly Scotch Highlanders and the Tories of Tryon county. These rumors were largely true, and demanded instant attention.

When Schuyler arrived at Ticonderoga, he found great confusion prevailing. Colonel Arnold, who claimed precedence to all others because of his earlier commission from the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts, refused to acknowledge the authority of Colonel Hinman and most of the Green Mountain Boys, disgusted by Arnold's offensive bearing toward Allen and other officers, had returned home. Complaint of his conduct was made to the body who commissioned him. It was a difficult case to deal with. Nobody doubted Arnold's bravery and skill, and his usefulness as a leader. But he was ambitious, unscrupulous, and so quarrelsome that few could endure him in his mood at that time. A committee was sent to investigate the matter. They were empowered to order his return to Massachusetts, or to submit to Hinman's authority. When their errand was revealed to Arnold, he was enraged. He stamped, swore, cursed all Congresses and kings, fate, committee-men in general and his present inquisitors in particular, and, with horrid oaths, he declared that he would be second to no man. Then he threw up his commission, disbanded his men, and rode to Cambridge to lay his grievances before Washington.

Schuyler's first object was to ascertain the state of the province he was about to invade. He employed Major Brown, an American resident on the Sorel, employed by Adams and Hancock for the same purpose, to obtain desired information. The major soon reported that there were only seven hundred regulars in Canada; that the militia would not serve under French officers lately appointed that the peasantry were generally friendly toward the Bostonians, and that it was a most auspicious time to invade the province. Meanwhile Schuyler had attempted to organize the crude army which had been slowly gathering at Ticonderoga, composed chiefly of Connecticut troops under Wooster. The general was, in his daily habits of life, a strict disciplinarian, and the insubordination which he encountered at the outset annoyed him exceedingly. The Connecticut troops were extremely democratic in their notions. Each man felt himself equal to his officers in command, and could not brook the restraint of necessary discipline. Schuyler chafed under this state of things, and the friction then visible prevailed during the whole campaign.

Schuyler had a divided duty as leader of the army and head of the Indian Commission. The duties of the latter then imperatively demanded his attendance, and he summoned Montgomery, his favorite brigadier, to the actual leadership of the expedition. This handsome Irish gentleman, then forty years of age, had achieved distinction in the British army, and had lately married a sister of Robert R. Livingston, who was afterward the eminent chancellor of the State of New York. His devoted young wife accompanied him as far as the country seat of General Schuyler, at

Saratoga, where he bade her adieu, kissed the tears from her cheeks, and with cheerfulness said at parting: "You will never have cause to blush for your Montgomery." Arriving at Ticonderoga on the 17th of August, he was placed in active command of the expedition, and Schuyler returned to Albany, where he soon afterward received a letter from General Washington, urging him to hasten the invasion of Canada.

Meanwhile Montgomery, with a little more than a thousand men, had gone to Isle La Motte to prevent British vessels a-building on the Sorel, passing into Lake Champlain. There he was joined by Schuyler on the 4th of September. They pushed on to Isle aux Noix, and with a considerable force appeared before the fort at St. Johns, the first military post within the Canadian border. Deceived concerning the strength of the garrison and the disposition of the Canadians, they fell back and waited for reinforcements. There Schuyler was prostrated with sickness, and at the middle of the month he was compelled to return to Ticonderoga. Fever, gout, and rheumatism tortured him for a long time, and he did not rejoin the army, but did better service in sending forward reinforcements and supplies.

Montgomery was now in full command of the army. He immediately invested St. Johns with about a thousand men. New York troops had already joined him. Lamb's company of artillery came late in September. Some troops from New Hampshire under Colonel Bedel, and Green Mountain Boys led by Colonel Seth Warner, also joined him. The garrison was commanded by Major Preston, and was well supplied with provisions and ammunition. This circumstance, the injudicious movements of Colonel Ethan Allen and Major Brown, who were recruiting south of the St. Lawrence, and the insubordination and mutinous spirit displayed by the Connecticut and New York troops, prolonged the siege. It lasted fifty-five days. On the evening of the 2nd of November, when Preston heard of the defeat of a considerable force under Carleton, on their way to relieve him, he surrendered the fort, garrison, and munitions of war to Montgomery. The spoils of arms, ammunition, provisions and clothing, were considerable. Five hundred regular soldiers, and one hundred Canadian volunteers, were made prisoners of war.

Some victories and disasters had occurred at other points during the siege. Colonel Allen, with about one hundred recruits, mostly Canadians, crossed the St. Lawrence to attack Montreal. He was misled by the advice of Major Brown, who agreed to cross at another place and join in the attack. General Robert Prescott was in command of the city. He sallied out with a considerable force of regulars, Canadians and Indians, and after a sharp skirmish made Allen and his men prisoners. For reasons never explained, Brown did not cross the river, and the attacking party were overwhelmed. When Prescott learned that Allen was the man who seized Ticonderoga in May, he was greatly enraged. He ordered his chief prisoner to be bound hand and foot with irons, and sent to England to be tried for treason. Prescott caused his shackles to be fastened to a bar of iron eight feet in length. With this, Allen was thrust into the hold of a war-vessel, where he was kept five weeks without a seat, or a bed to lie upon, when she sailed for England, and more humane treatment was given him. Allen was kept in close confinement in England, Halifax, and New York until the spring of 1778, when he was exchanged.

At the close of October (1775), detachments under Colonel Bedel and Majors Brown and Livingston, captured the strong fort (but feebly garrisoned) at Chambly, a few miles from St. Johns, with a large amount of provisions and munitions of war. When Carleton heard of this disaster, he left Montreal with a mixed force to reinforce Major Preston. He crossed the St. Lawrence in flat-boats and bateaux, and was about to land at Longueuil, when Green Mountain Boys and New Yorkers under Colonel Seth Warner, rising suddenly from a hiding-place, opened a terrible fire from their muskets and a storm of grape-shot from a four-pound cannon, which drove them across the river in great confusion. These two events caused Preston to surrender, as we have observed.

After the capture of St. Johns, Montgomery pushed on toward Montreal. Carleton, conscious of his weakness, prepared to fly, with the garrison, to Quebec. Montgomery sent a detachment to the mouth of the Sorel, where the flotilla bearing General Prescott and the garrison was intercepted and captured, with a considerable quantity of munitions. Carleton, passing by in the night, in a boat with muffled oars, escaped to Quebec. On the 13th of November, Montgomery entered Montreal in triumph. He treated the inhabitants so generously, that he gained their confidence and respect. There he found a large supply of woollen goods with which he clothed such of his men who agreed to remain beyond the term of their enlistment, and he prepared for further aggressive movements. Although the strongholds in Canada, excepting the capital, were then in his possession, he wrote to the Congress: Till Quebec is taken, Canada is unconquered."

Meanwhile the co-operating expedition mentioned by Washington in his letter to Schuyler, had done its marvelous work. Late in August, the commander-in-chief had perfected his plan. Arnold was then at Cambridge making loud complaints of ill-usage upon Lake Champlain. The proposed expedition, promising wild adventure and the exercise of rare courage and skill, seemed to be suited to his nature, and Washington, to silence his complaints and to secure his services, commissioned him a colonel in the Continental Army, and gave him the command of the troops to be used, comprising eleven hundred hardy men selected from the forces at Cambridge. These were composed of New England musketeers and riflemen from Virginia and Pennsylvania under Captain Daniel Morgan. At the middle of September they sailed from Newburyport, in transports, for their general rendezvous at Fort Western on the Kennebec River, opposite the present city of Augusta. They were then on the verge of an uninhabited wilderness, excepting by a few Indian hunters. There they were furnished with bateaux wherewith to navigate shallow streams and little lakes; and at Norridgewock Falls, where Father Rale had his Indian mission, already mentioned, their first labors began. Their bateaux were drawn by oxen, and their provisions were carried on their backs around the falls - a wearisome task often repeated afterward. But they pressed on with cheerfulness toward the headwaters of the Kennebec, often wading and pushing their bateaux against swift currents. At length they left that stream, and over craggy knolls, tangled ravines, deep morasses and gentle brook) they made their way to Dead River - a portage of fifteen miles broken by three ponds. Upon the placid bosom of that sluggish stream, on the great watershed between the St. Lawrence and the Atlantic, they moved quietly, in fine weather, and were suddenly confronted by a lofty mountain capped with snow. At the foot of this hill Arnold encamped. Major Bigelow ascended to its summit, hoping to see the spires of Quebec; and it has

been called Mount Bigelow to this day.

Sickness and desertion now began to reduce the number of effective men. It was late in October. Keen winds came from the north. They were thirty miles from Lake Megantic, the source of the Chaudiere, a tributary of the St. Lawrence, down which Arnold intended to voyage in the bateaux. When the expedition moved, a heavy rain had set in. Torrents came roaring from the hills and filled the Dead River to its brim. Its banks were soon overflowed and its channel was filled with drift-wood, among which several of the boats were overturned and much provision was lost. Food for only twelve days remained. A council of war determined to send the sick and wounded to Norridgewock, where Colonel Enos was yet with the rear division. He was ordered to come on with provisions for fifteen days. Instead of obeying, he returned to Cambridge with his whole division, where he was looked upon as a traitor or coward. Though acquitted by a court-martial, he was never restored to public favor.

Arnold's situation was now becoming critical. The rain changed to snow, and ice formed upon the still waters. The men were often compelled to wade in the freezing floods, waist deep, and push the bateaux before them. In that dreadful journey two women, wives of two soldiers, participated, wading with their husbands. At length Lake Megantic was reached, and they encamped on its borders; and the next day, Arnold, with fifty-five men, started to voyage down the Chaudiere to the nearest French settlement, there to procure provisions and send them back to the main army. It proved to be a most perilous undertaking. They had no guide. As soon as they entered the river, they found the current running swiftly over a rocky bed. They lashed their baggage and provisions to the bateaux, and committed themselves to the seething flood. They were soon among foaming rapids, when three of their vessels were dashed to pieces and their contents engulfed. No life perished. The men were saved by those in the other boats which were moored in shallow estuaries. This seeming calamity was a mercy in disguise, for, had they not been checked, the whole party, in a few minutes, would have been plunged over a fearful cataract, the sullen roar of which they could distinctly hear.

For seventy miles further, falls and rapids succeeded each other, when Sertigan was reached, and Indians were sent back to the main body with provisions, and to guide them to the settlements. This relief-party found the soldiers in a starving condition. Their boats and provisions had been destroyed, and they had slaughtered their last ox several days before. They had subsisted upon a scanty supply of roots, and tried to obtain mucilage by boiling their moose-skin moccasins, but in vain. A dog was killed and furnished soup for a few, and they were suffering the despair of hopelessly starving men when the Indians found them. A few days afterward, the whole army, united, were marching toward the St. Lawrence; and on the 9th of November they suddenly appeared on the heights of Point Levis, opposite Quebec, veiled in falling snow. To the eyes of the wondering people of that city, they seemed like a spectre army just fallen from the clouds. Morgan's riflemen, in their linen frocks, had been seen by the messenger, who carried the news of their arrival to Quebec. "They are vetu en toile" (clothed in linen cloth), said the messenger. The last word was mistaken for tole (iron plate), and this created a panic. The city was soon in a tumult. The drums beat to arms, and the garrison was

strengthened.

Arnold relied upon the friendship for the Americans of a large portion of the inhabitants of Quebec, and believed they would compel the garrison to surrender, if he should appear with a force before the city. He was anxious to cross over at once, but was detained by a storm of sleet until the 13th. That night he crossed the river with five hundred and fifty men in birch canoes. They landed at Wolfe's Cove, ascended the ravine, and at dawn stood in battle array on the Plains of Abraham, where Wolfe had stood sixteen years before. Believing that a shout from his little army would bring out a friendly response from the city, he marched his men toward the two gates opening upon the Plains, and ordered them to give three cheers. He expected to bring out the regulars to attack him, when he hoped, by the assistance of the citizens, to be able to rush in and take possession of the town. But the commanders were wise enough not to open the gates, and the citizens were restrained by fear of the garrison. After making a ridiculous display of arrogance and folly a few days, by issuing proclamations and demanding the surrender of the city, all of Mich were treated with contempt by the commanders of the garrison, Arnold was startled by the news that Carleton was coming down the St. Lawrence with a force of Canadians and Indians, and information from his friends in the city, that the garrison were on the point of sallying out to attack him with field-pieces. He had no cannon, and his numbers were few, though the remainder had come over from Point Levis, and joined him and he prudently fled up the river to Point aux Trembles (Aspen Trees Point), and there awaited instructions from Montgomery.

Impressed with the importance of taking Quebec to insure the conquest of Canada, Montgomery placed small garrisons in the forts at St. Johns and Chambly, and left Montreal in charge of General Wooster, preparatory to marching on the Canadian capital. He had heard that the British authorities there were much alarmed by the presence of Arnold. They expect to be besieged," he wrote to Schuyler, which, by the blessing of God, they shall be, if the severe season holds off and I can prevail on the troops to accompany me." Montgomery's greatest difficulty was involved in the last consideration. A large portion of his men were indisposed to go further, or remain longer than their enlistment papers compelled them to - the first of December. Day by day his army was melting away. The frequent appeals of General Schuyler and himself to Congress for reinforcements had not been responded to, and he took the responsibility of making an unauthorized engagement with troops who were willing to go. With the comparatively few men who agreed to follow him, he left Montreal on the 26th of September, and joined Arnold at Point aux Trembles, on the 3rd of December, and took command of the combined troops. With woollen clothing which he took with him, Montgomery made Arnold's thinly-clad troops comfortable.

Chapter LXIV

Quebec Assailed - Death of Montgomery - Arnold and Lamb Wounded - Americans Repulsed - Montgomery's Remains - Condition of the Republican Armies - Franklin's Plan for a Civil Government - General Post-Office Established - A General Hospital - The Army Before Boston - Committee of Congress - Insubordination - Events Near Boston - A Continental Navy - A Changing Army - Officer's Wives in Camp - Union Flag - British Troops in Boston - Artillery Procured - Dorchester Heights Fortified - Boston Closely Besieged.

THE little army of republicans under Montgomery, less than a thousand in number, with two hundred Canadian volunteers led by Colonel James Livingston, pressed on toward Quebec from Point aux Trembles, and arrived before the town on the evening of the 5th of December. The general made his quarters at Holland House, two or three miles from the city, and on the following morning he sent a flag with a message to Governor Carleton, demanding an instant surrender of the post. The flag was fired upon. Montgomery, indignant at such treatment - such violation of the rules of war among civilized nations - sent a threatening letter to Carleton, and another to the inhabitants. These were taken into the city by a woman, and a copy of the latter was shot over the walls, into the town, on an arrow from an Indian bow. Carleton refused to have any intercourse with the "rebel general," and the latter prepared to assail the walled town with his handful of men, ill-clad, ill-fed, and exposed to storms and intense cold on the open Plains of Abraham.

The ground was too hard frozen to be penetrated with pick or spade, and the snow covered it in huge drifts; so Montgomery filled gabions (a sort of wicker-work baskets) with snow, poured water over the mass, which instantly congealed, and soon raised a huge ice-mound. Upon this glittering embankment Lamb placed in battery six 12-pound cannon and two howitzers. In the Lower Town he placed four or five mortars, from which he sent bombshells into the city and set a few buildings on fire. Montgomery made further unsuccessful efforts to communicate with the governor and continued to throw shells into the city. At length some heavy round shot from the citadel shattered Lamb's crystal battery into fragments, and compelled him to withdraw. The cannon of the Americans made no impression on the heavy walls, and Montgomery was compelled to resort to other measures for taking the city. It was now determined to wait for expected reinforcements, but for a fortnight they waited in vain. The Congress were tardy in their actions and for want of hard money Schuyler was almost powerless to procure men or supplies. He used his own personal credit largely, but he could not send on men. A friend in Montreal had helped Montgomery to the extent of his ability, and, the general was left to his own resources. The terms of the enlistment of many of his men had almost expired, and the deadly small-pox had appeared among them. A web of fearful difficulty was thus gathering around the general but worse than all was a quarrel between Arnold and some of his officers, which caused the latter and their men to threaten to leave the service unless they were placed under another commander. Montgomery, by the exercise of wisdom and justice, healed the dissensions and at Christmas time a plan was arranged by a council of officers to assail the town at two points simultaneously; one division of the troops to be under the immediate command of the general, and another under

Arnold. The latter was to make a night attack upon the Lower Town, setting fire to houses in the suburb St. Roque so as to consume the British stockade in that quarter, while the main body should attempt to take Cape Diamond Bastion, a strong part of the city walls on the highest point of the rocky promontory. It was determined to make the assault on the first stormy night.

At length the serene, cold days and nights were ended, and on the evening of the 30th of December (1775) a snow-storm set in. Montgomery's force was now reduced by sickness and desertion to seven hundred and fifty men, but the brave soldier was determined to assail the town with this handful. He gave orders for his troops to be ready to move at two o'clock in the morning of the 31st. Colonel Livingston was directed to make a feigned attack on St. Louis Gate and set it on fire, while Major Brown should menace Cape Diamond Bastion. Arnold was directed to lead three hundred and fifty men, with Lamb's artillery and Morgan's riflemen, to assail and fire the works in St. Roque, while Montgomery should lead the remainder below Cape Diamond along the narrow space between the declivity and the St. Lawrence, carry the defenses at the foot of the rocks, and endeavor to press forward and join Arnold. Being thus in possession of the whole Lower Town, the combined forces were to destroy Prescott Gate, at the foot of Mountain street, and rush into the city. No doubt full success would have rewarded their efforts had not a Canadian deserter revealed the plot to Carleton, who caused his troops to sleep on their arms and to be ready for action at all points.

In order to recognize each other, the republican soldiers were ordered to fasten a piece of white paper to the front of their caps. On some of them they wrote the words of Henry, "Liberty or Death." The narrow path along which Montgomery led his men at the foot of the acclivity, was blocked with ice and snow, and a strong wind blew blinding sleet and cutting hail in the faces of the patriots. They pressed on, and passing a deserted barrier, they approached a block-house, at the foot of Cape Diamond, pierced for musketry and cannon. All was silent there. Believing the garrison not to be on the alert, Montgomery, burning with impatience to win success, shouted to his immediate followers - the companies of Captains Cheeseman and Mott - "Men of New York, you will not fear to follow where your general leads; push on, my brave boys, and Quebec is ours!" and rushed forward to surprise the garrison and take the battery. There were vigilant eyes and ears in the block-house. In the dim light of a winter's dawn, through the thick snow-veil, forty men watched the coming republicans; and when Montgomery shouted to his followers, and was within fifty yards of the works, they opened a deadly fire of grape- shot from their cannon. Montgomery, his aid McPherson, Captain Cheeseman and ten others were instantly killed. The remainder retreated to Wolfe's Cove, where the senior officer, Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell, rallied them, but did not renew the effort to reach Prescott Gate.

While these sad events were occurring on the St. Lawrence side of the town, Arnold was making his way near the St. Charles, along a narrow way filled with snow-drifts. The town was in an uproar. The bells were ringing; the drums were beating a general alarm and cannon were beginning to thunder. The storm was raging violently, and Arnold was compelled to march in single file. Lamb had to leave his cannon behind in the drifts, and join the fighters with small arms. At a narrow pass Arnold was wounded in the leg, and was carried to the General Hospital, when

the command devolved on Morgan. The troops pressed forward under their new leader, captured a battery, and fought fiercely for three hours to capture another, and succeeded. Then Lamb was severely wounded. Morgan was about to push on to attack Prescott Gate, when the sad news came that troops under Dearborn, stationed near Palace Gate, had been captured by a party who had sallied out of the city, and had then cut off the retreat of Arnold's division in front. At ten o'clock, after he had lost full one hundred men, Morgan was compelled to surrender with more than four hundred followers. A reserve force of Arnold's division had retreated, and were soon joined to those under Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell. So ended the siege of Quebec.

When the contest was over, and it was known in the city that General Montgomery was slain, Governor Carleton, who had been his companion in arms under Wolfe, sent out a detachment to search for his body. It was found, with those of Cheeseman and McPherson, shrouded in snow-drifts. They were carried into the city and buried within the walls. There Montgomery's remains rested forty years, when they were taken to New York and deposited beneath a beautiful mural monument erected by order of Congress on the exterior of the wall of St. Paul's Church that fronts on Broadway.

The Continental Congress, in the meantime, had been working industriously in perfecting a national organization and in supporting the armies in the field, at the same time taking pains not to give mortal offence to the British government until an answer to their petition should come from the king. They had tremendous difficulties before them, and heavy responsibilities to bear. The first reports from Washington and Schuyler, concerning the troops, were very discouraging, and they continued to be so for several months - the spirit of democracy everywhere producing insubordination and consequent weakness. The inefficiency of the executive powers of the Congress was keenly felt. These were delegated to a single committee of that body. The sagacious Franklin saw the futility of attempting to carry on the inevitable war with such a feeble instrument, and late in July he submitted the basis of a form of confederation, similar in some respects to the one he proposed in the Convention at Albany twenty-one years before, but generally more like our present national constitution. The plan was a virtual declaration of independence; the government it proposed was to be perpetual unless the British rulers should accede to the claims of the colonies. It was not then acted upon.

The colonial post office system had been broken up by the public did orders, and on the 26th of July (1775) the Congress made provision for a new one, and appointed Dr. Franklin postmaster-general. From that office he had been dismissed by the British government the year before, as we have observed. Very little else was done during the year toward organizing civil government, for military affairs occupied almost the whole attention of the Congress. They established a general hospital, and appointed the unworthy Dr. Benjamin Church as chief director. Soon after his appointment, he was detected in holding secret correspondence with General Gage. He was immediately expelled from every position of trust which he held, and by order of the Continental Congress was lodged in the Norwich (Connecticut) jail. His health failing, he was allowed to leave the country for the West Indies. The vessel in which he sailed was never heard of afterward. So perished the first traitor to the American cause. Dr. John Morgan took his place

at the head of the hospital.

The army before Boston received the special attention of the Congress. The term of enlistment of all the troops would expire with the year, and Washington foresaw the dissolution of his forces then. He asked the Congress to assist him in providing plans for preventing such a fatal disaster. They sent a committee composed of Dr. Franklin, Thomas Lynch, and Benjamin Harrison to the camp at Cambridge for the purpose, and at the headquarters of Washington they opened their conference with the commander-in-chief on the 18th of October. There they were joined by delegates from the several New England colonies, and in the course of a few days they matured a plan that was satisfactory to Washington, and was effectual.

For a long time the army was not only weak in numbers, but feeble in moral strength and material supplies. In August it was discovered that the supply of gunpowder was not sufficient for nine rounds to each man, and other munitions were lacking in the same proportion. For months the American army was compelled to play the part of jailer to the British troops in Boston. It was even difficult to sustain that part; and had the royal forces known the real impotence of their jailers, they might have burst their prison doors with impunity, and scattered the republican army to the winds. In the individuality - the self-assertion of each soldier - to which allusion has been made, was found moral weakness as regarded the strength of discipline. Each man had left his home to fight for freedom, and was disposed to first assert it in his own behalf. The consequence was general insubordination, which had to be humored until the common sense and experience of the soldier taught him the value and necessity of discipline. Washington managed this matter with great tact, and accomplished, by argument and persuasion, that which he could not have gained by force.

Comparative inaction marked the siege of Boston for several months. There was some cannonading in August when General Sullivan, in imitation of Prescott, cast up a redoubt in a single night upon an eminence within cannon-shot of Bunker's Hill. Three hundred shells were thrown upon this redoubt from Bunker's Hill and British shipping with very little effect. There were occasional skirmishes between republican detachments and royal foragers on the islands in Boston harbor and the shores of the main, but there was no serious engagement. Washington tried to bring on one by various challenges. He did not feel strong enough to attack his foe, but he was ready to meet any sortie or sallying-out the British troops might make. But Gage was too prudent to attempt another excursion into the country. He contented himself with threats; in the sending out of alarming stories about Russian and German troops coming to help the British, and in treating the few whigs who remained in Boston in a barbarous manner. Gage was called to England, in October, to answer for his inefficiency, when General Howe assumed the chief command of the British army in America. Howe strengthened his defenses, and increased the number of British cruisers sent out to harass the coast towns of New England, hoping thereby to cause Washington to weaken his besieging army by sending detachments for the relief of the distressed regions. Falmouth (now Portland, Maine,) was burned in October, and other towns were sorely smitten by the marauders. These acts failed to draw a regiment away from Cambridge, but caused a swarm of American privateers to appear upon the waters. Captain

Manly, in a vessel sent out by Washington to intercept supply-vessels bound for Boston, maintained a position off the harbor of the New England capital for some time, and made three important captures. One of his prizes contained heavy guns, mortars, and entrenching tools; the very things most needed by the Americans at that time.

Howe imitated Gage in treating the open whigs and suspected persons in Boston with harshness. His excuse was that they were active, though secret, enemies, keeping up a communication with the "rebels" either by personal intercourse, or by signals from church steeples and other high places. He forbade all persons leaving the city without permission, under pain of military execution and he ordered all of the inhabitants to associate themselves into military companies.

At about this time the Congress was putting forth its energies for the establishment of a Continental Navy. The separate colonies were doing the same thing. A Marine Committee was appointed, and in December (1775) the Congress ordered the construction of thirteen armed vessels. Meanwhile Washington, under instructions, had caused floating batteries to be built in the Charles River, from one of which shells were thrown into Boston late in October, producing much alarm and some injury.

Six months had passed away since the battle of Bunker's Hill, and yet the relative position of the belligerent troops had changed very little. The people murmured; Congress fretted, and Washington was impatient to begin a vigorous siege. But he was almost powerless. At the beginning of December his old army began to dissolve, and not more than five thousand new recruits were enrolled. There seemed to be a fatal flagging of spirits. The cold was increasing; many of the soldiers lacked comfortable clothing it was difficult to procure wood for fuel, and whole regiments were compelled to eat their provisions raw for the want of it to cook them. Fences and fruit trees around the camp were seized for use, and groups of shivering soldiers were often seen hovering around smoldering embers. The Connecticut troops demanded a bounty, and when it was refused, because Congress had not authorized it, they resolved to leave camp in a body on the 6th of December. Many did go and never came back. These untoward circumstances filled the mind of Washington with the keenest anxiety; when suddenly a salutary change was visible. Within the space of a fortnight new hopes and renewed patriotism seemed to fill the bosoms of the people, and at the close of the year the regiments were nearly all full, and ten thousand Minute-men, chiefly in Massachusetts, were ready to swell the ranks when called upon. The camp was well supplied with provisions; order was generally preserved; the commander-in-chief was more hopeful than at any time since his arrival, and general cheerfulness prevailed. The wives of several of the officers had arrived in camp. Mrs. Washington, with her son John Parke Custis and his young spouse, came on the 11th of December, and the Christmas holidays were spent at Cambridge quite agreeably.

The new Continental army was organized on the first of January, 1776, when it consisted of almost ten thousand men, of whom more than a thousand were absent on furlough which it had been necessary to grant as a condition of re-enlistment. The event was signalled by the raising of

a new flag composed of thirteen stripes, alternate red and white, emblematic of the union of the thirteen colonies (for Georgia had lately sent delegates to the Congress), and in the dexter corner, the British Union - the combined crosses of St. George and St. Andrew on a blue ground as indicative of the loyalty of the colonies to the British crown. As it fluttered in the keen winter wind on that clear morning, shouts from a thousand voices greeted it, and in token of their feelings many of the soldiers threw their hats high in air. This incident produced erroneous impressions upon the British officers in Boston. On that day printed copies of the king's speech on the opening of Parliament late in October were received by General Howe, and he sent a package of them to General Washington. The king, after declaring his intention to enforce obedience in the colonies, proposed the appointment of Commissioners to offer the olive branch of peace and pardon to all individual offenders in America, as well as whole communities or provinces that might sue for forgiveness. The hoisting of the Union flag - the flag with the British Union - was regarded with joy in Boston as a token of the deep impression the gracious speech had made upon the Americans, and as a signal of submission. The Union flag had been raised before the speech was received, and the latter was burned with contempt by a party of Massachusetts soldiers.

The British troops in Boston, at this time, numbered about eight thousand, exclusive of marines on the ships-of-war in the harbor. They were well supplied with provisions from Barbadoes and Great Britain, and having been promised ample reinforcements the coming season, they were prepared to sit quietly in Boston and wait for them. They had converted the Old South Meeting-house into a riding-school, and Faneuil Hall into a theatre, and were whiling away the winter quite pleasantly, while Washington was chafing with impatience to break up the nest." He had received a temporary reinforcement of five thousand militia, and he waited for the ice in the rivers to become strong enough to bear his troops to make an assault upon the town. But the winter was exceedingly mild and no opportunity of that kind offered until February, when a council of his officers deemed the undertaking too hazardous. The temporary militia had retired, and Washington was compelled to call upon the New England colonies to furnish thirteen regiments more.

Just at that time news came from the north of the death of Montgomery and the repulse at Quebec, with an urgent request from General Schuyler for the commander-in-chief to send three thousand soldiers immediately to reinforce the little army in Canada to retrieve its losses, and to maintain the republican cause in that province. The necessity for strength at Boston was as great as at Quebec, yet Washington, ever ready to act for the general good, asked Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Connecticut to furnish a regiment each, enlisted for a year, and send them to Canada. To relieve these colonies of an increased burden, he allowed three regiments to be taken from his last requisition, reserving ten for the main army. They were raised and sent to Canada during the winter.

In small arms and ammunition the army at Cambridge was yet sadly deficient. Powder was very scarce, and it was difficult to get a supply. General Putnam was specially charged with the procuring of it. Colonel Moylan wrote from the camp in January: The bay is open - everything thaws here except Old Put. He is still as hard as ever, crying out for powder - powder - ye gods,

give us powder! Colonel Knox, who had been sent to the Champlain forts, had, with great enterprise and perseverance, brought, upon forty sledges drawn by oxen, more than fifty cannon, mortars, and howitzers. The strange procession of cattle and sledges, and rough teamsters carrying their guns slung over their knapsacks on their backs, had made their way over frozen lakes and rivers, wild morasses and rugged hills covered with almost impassable snows; and a supply of bomb-shells came from New York. Late in February powder began to arrive. The ten militia regiments came in to strengthen the lines. Heavy pieces of ordnance were placed in position before Boston, and Washington, who had been urged by the Congress to attack the city as soon as possible, before expected reinforcements should arrive, now prepared to do so. General Howe, meanwhile, felt perfectly secure. He wrote to Dartmouth that he had not the least apprehension of an attack from the rebels, and wished they would "attempt so rash a step, and quit their strong entrenchments," to which they might attribute their safety.

From this dream of security Howe was suddenly awakened, and his wish was gratified. His young officers had got up a farce entitled "Boston Blockaded," in which Washington was burlesqued as an uncouth figure with a large wig and wearing a rusty sword, accompanied with a country servant with a rusty gun. They were now called to perform in the serio-comic drama of Boston Bombarded, with appropriate costume and scenery, and Washington and Howe as the principal characters. The American commander determined to occupy and fortify Dorchester Heights which overlooked Boston, and which Howe had strangely neglected to secure. The design was kept a profound secret. To divert the attention of the British, a severe cannonade and bombardment was opened upon the town from Lechmere's Point, Roxbury, Cobble Hill, Ploughed Hill and Lamb's Dam, on Saturday night, the 2nd of March. This was repeated on Sunday and Monday nights, the latter the eve of the anniversary of the Boston Massacre. At seven o'clock that evening, General Thomas, with two thousand men provided with entrenching tools, proceeded to take possession of Dorchester Heights. A train of three hundred carts and wagons, laden with fascines and screwed hay, followed. They all moved in perfect silence and within an hour they were on the Heights, undiscovered by the British sentinels in the city, where every ear was filled with the incessant noise of cannon on the American batteries, and which was kept up all night - from seven o'clock till daylight. The working force were divided, one-half of them taking post on an eminence nearest Boston the other on a hill opposite the castle. The bundles of hay were placed on the Boston side of Dorchester Neck as a covering for the teams and troops passing over it, from a raking fire that might be opened from the town. The weather was moderately cold. The ground was frozen to the depth of eighteen inches. The full moon was shining in splendor; and through that long winter night - several hours longer than the summer night when the redoubt on Breed's Hill was erected - worked on under the direction of the veteran Gridley, the same engineer, and the eye of Washington, who perceived with joy that his movement was unsuspected by his enemy. At about three o'clock in the morning, a relief party appeared; and at dawn on the 5th of March, 1776, the astonished Britons saw two redoubts on Dorchester Heights skillfully planned, strong enough to protect their inmates from grape-shot and musketry, armed with cannon that seriously menaced all Boston, and manned with resolute patriots. On the summits of the steep hills were barrels filled with stones to be rolled down upon ascending assailants, and strong abatis formed of the trees of adjacent orchards, protected the foot of the Heights. Perhaps

there never was so much work done in so short a space of time," wrote General Heath. Howe was overwhelmed with astonishment, and exclaimed "I know not what I shall do ! The rebels have done more in one night than my whole army would have done in a month." A Loyalist of the time wrote:

"Like Titans of old the Rebels had piled Huge stone-heaps on Dorchester Hill, And with murderous plan like savages wild, So prepared our poor soldiers to kill, Who might he compelled to scale the rough Height To drive the bold Yankees away in affright."

Chapter LXV

Perils of the British in Boston - British and Tories Leave the City for Nova Scotia - Honors to Washington - Stirring Events in New York - Affairs in the Middle Provinces in 1775 - Exciting Scenes in Virginia - Battle at Great Bridge - Destruction of Norfolk - Events in North Carolina in 1775 - Battle at Moore's Creek Bridge - Doings in South Carolina and Georgia in 1775 - Condition of the Americans - Mercenary Troops Sought for by the British.

GENERAL HOWE fully comprehended the perils of his situation. American officers whom he had affected to despise had outgeneraled him. He overestimated the numbers of the republican army, and supposed that the work on Dorchester Heights had been done by twelve thousand men. To the minds of his cultivated officers it seemed like the realization of a tale of the Arabian Nights. But it was the work of less than three thousand New England farmers, meanly clad, poorly fed, and inadequately armed and disciplined. To dislodge them was the prime necessity of the British. If they retain possession of the Heights," said Admiral Shulldham, "I cannot keep a ship in the harbor." It was therefore determined to assault the Americans, and attempt to drive them from their redoubts. Washington was prepared for such an emergency. He had boats and floating batteries that would carry four thousand men into Boston.

Twenty-four hundred picked soldiers - the flower of the British army in the New England capital - were placed under the command of Lord Percy, and ordered to drive the Americans from the entrenched hills. Howe freely declared the expedition to be a perilous one. Percy remembered Lexington and Bunker's Hill, and had no wish to go. His men shared in the consternation which the order had produced among the officers. But British honor, and the safety of the British troops in Boston, demanded the effort. When Percy and his soldiers entered boats to pass over, the Americans were delighted; and Washington reminded them that it was the anniversary of the Boston Massacre - an act yet unavenged. This thought added strength to their resolution, and they were further nerved to the performance of valorous deeds, because the neighboring heights, on that mild, sunny spring morning, were crowded with anxious spectators who looked for a repetition of the dreadful scenes on Breed's Hill. But Percy did not intend to scale the heights before night; and with his men he passed over to the Castle. That afternoon a violent storm of wind and rain came up from the south, and increased to a furious gale before midnight. Some of the British vessels were driven ashore by the storm, and on the morning of the 6th the rain fell so thickly and furiously, that nothing could be done.

Howe, in dismay, now called a council of war. It was evident that the fleet and army were in great peril. The terrified Loyalists demanded of the general the sure protection which he had promised them. It was known that Washington was preparing to bombard Boston; also that the divisions of Generals Greene and Sullivan were ready at Cambridge to be led by General Putnam, in boats covered by floating batteries in the Charles River (which was now clear of ice), to assail the town at two prominent points, at a signal to be given by Thomas's guns. The council, therefore, determined to evacuate Boston as soon as possible. This resolution spread dismay among the Tories, for they had reason to fear the retaliation of the Whigs whom they had sorely

oppressed for almost two years. They saw the power on which they had confidently leaned becoming like a broken reed. The perils of a dangerous sea-voyage and privations in a strange land seemed less fearful to them than the righteous indignation of their abused country men, and they prepared to go with the fleet and army.

Howe now began to make ready for leaving Boston. He wished to do so quietly, if Washington would allow it, and threatened to destroy the town in case his troops should be molested at his departure. His war-vessels and transports, one hundred and fifty in number, were drawn nearer the town to be in readiness to convey his troops peaceably away or to spread destruction, as circumstances might seem to require. His determination was communicated to the American commander by the selectmen of Boston, and a tacit assent to the peaceful arrangement was given. But Washington did not relax his vigilance. He planted a new battery, and was ready at any moment to attack the foe on perceiving the least sign of bad faith.

The evacuation was delayed until Sunday, the 17th of March, Howe lingering, no doubt, with a hope of receiving reinforcements. Washington determined to wait no longer for a peaceable departure of his enemy. On Saturday, the 16th, he seized and fortified Nook's Hill, by which he held the British completely at his mercy. Howe knew this, and at four o'clock the next morning he began the embarkation of his troops and the Loyalists. During the few preceding days Boston had been the theatre of great confusion and alarm. The warships and transports were too few to carry much of the effects of the Tories. What they could not take with them they destroyed. The soldiers broke open and pillaged many stores. Crean Brush, a sycophantic New York Loyalist, was authorized by Howe to seize all the clothing and dry goods belonging to Whig merchants, and place them in the vessels. Furniture was wantonly defaced by the soldiers, and valuable goods were cast into the waters. These outrages produced wide spread distress. But the fearful drama was ended on the beautiful Sabbath day in March. Before sunset, the great fleet had left Boston, bearing away to Nova Scotia artillery, ammunition, stores, and Loyalists - the latter to the number of about eleven hundred. Then the American troops marched in and took possession of Boston, where General Putnam was placed in chief command. The event gave great joy to the American people, and the Continental Congress caused a gold medal to be struck and presented to Washington with the thanks of the United Colonies.

While these events were occurring in Northern New York and New England, important movements in most of the other colonies were made during the year 1775. There were stirring events in the city of New York. The Provincial Congress, early in its session, was strongly imbued with Toryism and timidity. Schemes for conciliation rather than for defense occupied their attention. We have seen how timidly they paid honors to Washington when he passed through the city. The same escort of honor which that Congress ordered for Washington, they ordered for Governor Tryon, who arrived at the same time, in the *Asia* man-of-war. The Committee of One Hundred, governed by the will of the people, soon taught the latter to be circumspect. Under their sanction the Sons of Liberty acted with extreme boldness. Captain Lamb, assisted by some of the military, and citizens led by King Sears, removed the cannon from the royal battery, at the foot of Broadway, to a place of safety for the use of the people. There was an encounter at that

time with armed men who came from the Asia. It drew from that vessel several broadsides, which, taking no life, spread dreadful alarm. The story went abroad that the city was to be sacked and burned, and hundreds of men, women and children were seen flying in terror at midnight toward the Harlem River. The indignation of the people was so demonstrative, that Tryon, alarmed for his personal safety, fled on board a British sloop-of-war (October, 1775), from which he attempted, but in vain, to exercise royal authority, in imitation of Governor Dunmore, of Virginia. He was greatly assisted by Rivington, the publisher of a Tory newspaper in New York, in stirring up disaffection among the people. Rivington, in total disregard of truth and common fairness, abused the republicans without stint, especially Captain Sears, a native of Connecticut, but then a retired New York merchant. That patriot being in Connecticut in consultation with ardent Whigs, soon after the flight of Tryon, exasperated by some of Rivington's abuse, went to New York at the head of one hundred horsemen, and at noon-day (November, 1775) placed a guard around the printing-office of the offending Tory, demolished his presses, and putting his type into bags, left the city to the tune of Yankee Doodle in the order in which he entered it. He took with him the metal letters, which were made into bullets. Before this the Provincial Congress, yielding to public opinion, had authorized the raising of four regiments the construction of military works at Kingsbridge, and the erection of fortifications in the Hudson Highlands. Royal government was virtually at an end in New York at the close of 1775.

The Provincial Congress of New Jersey, disregarding the authority of the royal governor (a son of Dr. Franklin), assumed all the functions of regular government with the sanction of the people. They proceeded to regulate the militia. They authorized the raising of two battalions for the Continental service to be commanded respectively by William Maxwell and William Alexander (Lord Stirling), and the issuing of bills of credit to defray the public expenses. In Pennsylvania, through the influence of timid or wavering leaders, there was much hesitation during 1775, while Delaware, under the same executive head, took a decided stand in favor of the republican cause. Maryland, laying aside local disputes, did likewise. A Provincial Council of Safety superseded the royal government, and took vigorous measures for sustaining the war that was begun. Comparative tranquillity prevailed during 1775 in New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware and Maryland, while in New York, Virginia, and all New England, the people were excited by political discord or actual hostilities within their borders.

After Governor Dunmore of Virginia fled to the Fowey, the people of that colony assembled at Richmond in a representative convention, and exercised the functions of government by providing for the common defense and for the security of the province from invasion from without, and a servile insurrection within, which the fugitive governor threatened to excite. They regulated the militia, provided for the raising of troops, and for issuing treasury notes. They also authorized the raising of independent companies for the defense of the frontiers.

Early in the autumn Dunmore proceeded to execute his threat concerning the slaves. He unfurled the royal standard over the Fowey at Norfolk, and proclaimed freedom to all slaves who should rally under it. He also proclaimed martial-law over all Virginia. He sent a party ashore to destroy the printing-office of John Holt, an ardent Whig journalist and at the head of a motley

band of Tories and negroes, he committed depredations in southeastern Virginia. With the aid of some British vessels he attacked Hampton, near Old Point Comfort, late in October, when he was repulsed by the militia. Exasperated by his defeat, he openly declared war against the people. The militia of Lower Virginia flew to arms and under Colonel Woodford, who had been sent there with a body of Minute men they prepared to drive the traitor governor from their soil. He became alarmed, and after fortifying Norfolk, he caused some works to be thrown up at the Great Bridge over the Elizabeth River, near the Dismal Swamp, by which he expected the approach of Woodford. There a short but severe battle was fought on the morning of the 9th of December, 1775, between the Virginia militia and a band of Tories and negroes under Captains Leslie and Fordyce. The latter were routed and fled back to Norfolk in confusion, where Dunmore, covered as he was, had remained in safety. In his rage he threatened to hang the boy who had brought him the first news of the disaster.

Woodford pushed on toward Norfolk, drove Dunmore to the small vessels-of-war, and entered the city in triumph, where he was joined by Colonel (afterward General) Robert Howe, with a North Carolina regiment, who took the chief command. That spirited officer annoyed Dunmore exceedingly by desultory cannon-shots, attacks upon British foraging parties, and the discharge of musketry from the houses in Norfolk. At length the British frigate Liverpool came up the river from Hampton Roads, when the governor sent a message to Howe demanding the instant cessation of the firing, and also a supply of food, and threatening to cannonade the town in case of a refusal. A prompt refusal was sent back, when the governor executed his threat, and more. On the morning of the first of January, 1776, his vessels-of-war opened a cannonade upon Norfolk, and he sent a party of marines and sailors to set the city on fire. The conflagration raged for fifty hours, during which time the cannonade was kept up. The distress occasioned by this wicked act at that inclement season was terrible and the remembrance of it nerved the arms of the Virginia soldiers and the hearts of the Virginia people all through the struggle for independence.

After prowling along the Virginia sea-coasts and up its rivers with his; hips and motley horde of followers for several months, Dunmore established fortified camp on Gwyn's Island in Chesapeake Bay, from which he was dislodged by Virginia militia under General Andrew Lewis. Then he went up the Potomac with the evident intention of seizing Mrs. Washington to hold her as a hostage, and to lay waste the Mount Vernon estate; but heavy storms and the Prince William militia at Occoquan frustrated his designs. He finally sailed to the West Indies, taking with him about a thousand negroes whom he had collected by promises of freedom or by violence during his marauding expeditions, and sold them for slaves to the planters there. Thence he returned to England.

In North Carolina resistance to oppression began early, as we have seen. The Mecklenberg Declaration of Independence in May, 1775, was but a culmination in action of the patriotic sentiments of the province. Governor Martin, who succeeded Tryon, alarmed by the threatening aspect of the popular will, first fortified his palace at New Berne, and then took refuge in Fort Johnson, near the mouth of the Cape Fear River. From that stronghold he was driven by the patriots in arms in July, to the Pallas sloop-of-war in the Cape Fear. The fort was destroyed, and

the governor fulminated menacing proclamations from his floating quarters. His political friends were numerous but under the wise leadership of Cornelius Harnett, John Ashe, and a few others, the Whigs were so well organized that they silenced the Tories, and kept the most obnoxious ones prisoners on their own plantations. The Continental Congress voted to furnish supplies for a thousand men in that province to counteract the influence of Governor Martin and his friends; and a popular convention that assembled at Hills-borough in August, and assumed the control of the colony, authorized the raising of two regiments, with Robert Howe and James Moore to command them. The governor, from the Pallas, sent a proclamation in which he denounced the Convention as treasonable, and the Convention denounced his manifesto as "a scandalous, malicious and scurrilous libel, tending to disunite the good people of the province," and ordered it to be burned by the common hangman.

Many Scotch Highlanders who were involved in the rebellion in 1745 in favor of the Young Pretender had settled in North Carolina, and were firm Loyalists. Among them was Flora MacDonald, who, in her beautiful young maidenhood, had saved the life of the Pretender after the battle of Colloden. She had settled at Cross Creek (now Fayetteville), with her husband and children, and had great influence among her countrymen. They were all true to King George; and when late in 1775, Governor Martin was acting in concert with Dunmore in southwestern Virginia, and was expecting a British force on the coast of North Carolina, he resolved to strike an effectual blow against the republicans of the province. He commissioned Donald MacDonald, an influential Scotchman at Cross Creek, a brigadier-general, and Flora's husband took a captaincy under him. He was authorized to embody the Highlanders and other Loyalists into a military corps, and raise the royal standard at Cross Creek. It was formally unfurled, at a large gathering of the clan, by Flora herself, who was then a handsome matron between forty and fifty years of age. Very soon fifteen hundred armed Tories gathered around it, while Colonel Howe was absent with his regiment, assisting the Virginians against Dunmore.

When Colonel Moore heard of this gathering of the Tories he marched with his regulars and some Hanover militia - eleven hundred strong - to disperse them. At the same time the Minute-men were gathering in large numbers. MacDonald was alarmed and fled toward the Cape Fear, hotly pursued by Moore. At a bridge over Moore's Creek (an affluent of the South River, a principal tributary of the Cape Fear), he was met by armed patriots of the Neuse region, under Colonels Caswell and Livington, on the evening of the 26th of February, 1776. The following morning a sharp fight occurred there, in which the Loyalists were defeated and dispersed many of them were killed, and more were made prisoners. Among the latter were the general, and the husband of Flora MacDonald. This victory greatly inspirited the Whigs and discouraged the Tories and soon afterward the MacDonalds returned to Scotland in a sloop-of-war, encountering a French cruiser on the way. During an engagement between the two vessels, the brave Flora remained on deck, and was wounded in the hand.

In South Carolina armed resistance was active in 1775. The Provincial Congress, over whom Henry Laurens presided, issued \$600,000 in paper money and voted to raise two regiments, of which Christopher Gadsden and William Moultrie were chosen colonels. Lieutenant-Governor

Bull tried in vain to suppress the republican spirit and when, in July, Lord William Campbell arrived at Charleston with the commission of governor, and called an assembly, that body declined to do any business under him. Executive powers were intrusted to a Council of Safety, who proceeded to organize civil government on a republican basis, and to put the province in a state of defence. The Tories in the back country, who were very numerous, were disarmed by a force under William Henry Drayton, a nephew of the lieutenant-governor. An armed vessel was sent to seize an English powder-ship lying in the harbor of St. Augustine, and returned to Charleston with fifteen hundred pounds of that much needed article. Early in September, Colonel Moultrie was ordered to take possession of the little fort on Sullivan's Island near the entrance to Charleston harbor. In so doing he found no resistance for the garrison, expecting the hostile visit, had fled to the British sloops-of-war Tamar and Cherokee, lying near, where they were soon joined by Governor Campbell, who took refuge there from a storm of popular indignation which had been created by a knowledge that he had tried to incite the Indians on the frontier to attack the Carolinians, and had tampered with the Tories in the interior. So ended royal rule in South Carolina, and republicanism reigned supreme.

Early in 1776, Moultrie was ordered to build a fort on Sullivan's Island large enough to accommodate a garrison of a thousand men, because information had been received by the Council of Safety that a British land and naval force were preparing to attack Charleston. The fort was built of palmetto logs and earth, and was named Fort Sullivan. Over it was unfurled the flag of South Carolina, which Moultrie had designed. As there was then no national flag, and the provincial troops who garrisoned the fort were dressed in blue, and wore a silver crescent on the front of their caps, he had a large blue silk flag prepared with a white crescent in the dexter corner. This was the first American flag displayed in South Carolina.

Georgia, tardy in joining the Continental movement, felt the flame of Patriotism warming the hearts and minds of her sons early in 1775. In February, the inhabitants of the parish of St. Johns, in that province, chose Lyman Hall to represent them in the second Congress, and he took his seat as such at the middle of May. In July the Provincial Convention that had been formed adopted the American Association, and chose delegates to represent the whole province in the Congress; and then the bright galaxy of the Old Thirteen was perfected. The royal governor, Sir James Wright, had tried in vain to suppress the rising tide of republicanism in Georgia. So early as May, 1775, when it was suspected that he was about to imitate General Gage, by seizing the ammunition of the province, several members of the Council of Safety and others broke open the magazine, sent a greater portion of the powder to Beaufort, South Carolina, and hid the remainder in their own garrets. When the governor and the Tories were preparing to celebrate the king's birthday, on the 4th of June, by firing the cannon on the battery in Savannah, some of the leading Whigs spiked the guns there, and hurled them to the bottom of the bluff. Not long afterward, a letter written by the governor to General Gage, asking him to send troops to Georgia to suppress the rising rebellion there, was intercepted at Charleston. The republicans were greatly exasperated and a day or two afterward they seized a British ship at the mouth of the Savannah River, with thirteen thousand pounds of gunpowder on board. The spirit of resistance waxed stronger and stronger, until, in January, 1776, the Whigs resolved to endure the adverse influence

of the governor and the Tories no longer. Joseph Habersham, a member of the popular legislature, with some armed volunteers, seized Governor Wright and made him a prisoner on parole at his own house. A sentinel was placed before it, with orders not to allow any intercourse between the governor and the Loyalists. During a stormy night in February, Sir James escaped through a back window of his house, walked five miles down the borders of the river with a friend, and then entering an open boat, fled in the pelting rain, under the cover of darkness, for shelter to the British vessel-of-war Scarborough, lying in Tybee Sound. Stuart, the Indian agent for the Southern Department, had fled for safety to St. Augustine. He had incurred the bitter resentment of the patriots by trying to execute an atrocious order from Gage, as commander-in-chief of the forces, in these words:

"The people of Carolina in turning rebels to their king have lost all faith; improve a correspondence with Indians to the greatest advantage, and even when opportunity offers make them take arms against his majesty's enemies, and distress them all in their power; for no time is now to be kept with them they have brought down all the savages they could against us here, who, with their riflemen, are continually firing upon our advanced sentries; in short, no time should be lost to distress a set of people so wantonly rebellious; supply the Indians with what they want, be the expense what it will, as every exertion must now be made on the side of government." Gage had borne the same false testimony concerning the employment of the savages by the Americans, to the British ministry, as an excuse for his barbarous recommendations to make allies of them with the British army. At the same time the British emissaries were among the savage tribes of the north trying to form alliances with them, and to incite them to war against the Patriots."

So was ended royal rule in Georgia. At the same time royal authority had really ceased in all the colonies. Each had formed a provisional government for itself, and each looked to the Continental Congress as the central director of the civil and military movements of the United Colonies in the great struggle before them. They were waging a defensive war against a powerful nation, whose maritime superiority was universally acknowledged; and the contest would have been hopeless on their part but for the geographical, topographical, and social conditions which were substitutes, in a large degree, for numerous and well-disciplined and well-furnished armies, which they lacked. The American settlements were sparsely sprinkled along a comparatively narrow selvedge of the continent on the western shores of the Atlantic Ocean, for a thousand miles. Their country was broken by rugged hills, considerable rivers and vast morasses, and heavily wooded almost everywhere. The population were occupied chiefly in farming, and presented very few salient points of attack by military or naval forces, such as cities and large villages. The only towns of considerable size were Boston, Newport, New York, Philadelphia, Norfolk, and Charleston. Of these, three of the larger ones did not contain twenty thousand inhabitants each, while neither of the others had half that number. It was next to impossible to subdue a country so extended and so populated, if the people were tolerably united. This fact dawned upon the minds of the headstrong king and his supple ministry, after the events at Lexington and Concord, as a new and ominous light. They had declared before the world their intention to crush the rebellion in America, and to enforce obedience; but they saw with alarm that

their military establishment was not strong enough to spare sufficient troops and ships from the necessary police force of the kingdom to do it; so they began to look for foreign mercenaries in America and Europe - the savages of our forests and the soldiers of the old world despotisms - to aid them in enslaving between two and three million of their best subjects.

The king first applied to the Empress of Russia, whom he was disposed to regard as a half-barbarian sovereign of a barbarous nation, for the loan of her soldiers. Her ministers expected a ready compliance, for could not British gold purchase anything Gibbon, the historian, wrote to a friend in October, 1775: "When the Russians arrive, will you go and see their camp We have great hopes of getting a body of these barbarians; the ministers daily and hourly expect to hear that the business is concluded; the worst of it is, the Baltic will soon be frozen up, and it must be late next year before they can get to America." But Catharine sent a flat refusal to enter into such nefarious business, half-barbarian as the British king thought her to be. She said, in a letter written by her minister, I am just beginning to enjoy peace, and your majesty knows that my empire needs repose. It is also known what must be the condition of an army, though victorious, when it comes out of a long war in a murderous climate. There is an impropriety in employing so considerable a body in another hemisphere, under a power almost unknown to it, and almost deprived of all correspondence with its sovereign. My own confidence in my peace, which has cost me so great efforts to acquire, demands absolutely that I do not deprive myself so soon of so considerable a part of my forces. Affairs on the side of Sweden are but put to sleep, and those of Poland are not yet definitely terminated. Moreover, I should not be able to prevent myself from reflecting on the consequences which would result for our own dignity, for that of the two monarchies and the two nations, from this junction of our forces, simply to calm a rebellion which is not supported by any foreign power."

This letter, which conveyed reproof in sarcastic words, stung and irritated the king. He was also surprised and offended by what he deemed her want of politeness, in not answering his gracious autograph letter with her own hands, and with soft words becoming a woman. He sputtered out his indignation in his rapid way, and said: "She has not had the civility to answer me in her own hand; and has thrown out expressions that may be civil to a Russian ear, but certainly not to more civilized ones." The king was compelled to pocket his wrath, which he did with dignity and composure after the first ebullition of feeling, and turning to the needy German princes - the rulers of a people out of whom had come his own dynasty - he was rewarded with success.

Chapter LXVI

Foreign Troops Hired by the British - Condition and Wants of the Republican Army in Canada - Temper of the Canadians - Commissioners of Congress in Canada - Retreat of the Americans from Quebec - Affair at the Cedars - Death of General Thomas - Disaster at Three Rivers - Retreat of the Americans from Canada - Terrible Sufferings - Sir John Johnson and His Conduct - Schuyler Defeats His Plans - The Royal Greens - Lady Johnson - Washington's Army - Lee in New York - Clinton in North Carolina - Battle in Charleston Harbor.

FAILING to procure barbarians from Russia, the British monarch asked Holland for the loan of a brigade of troops. Deputies said "A commercial State should avoid quarrels if possible and Vander Capellan, the greatest statesman of the Netherlands at that time, remarked A republic should never assist in making war on a free people." Unwilling to offend England, the brigade was offered on the condition that it should not serve out of Europe. This was a polite and adroit denial of the request, and the troops were not accepted.

While these negotiations were going on, bargains were made by the British government with some of the less scrupulous German rulers for the hire of the required number of soldiers. The bargains were perfected at the close of 1775, and early in 1776. The contracting parties were the reigning governors of Hesse-Cassel, Hesse-Hanau, Brunswick, Anhalt, Anspach, and Waldeck, and the King of Great Britain. They were governed in the negotiations by the common law of trade expressed by supply and demand. England needed troops; the German rulers needed money. The former had the money and the latter the troops, which, in time of peace, were a heavy burden upon the resources of the princes. The bargain was a natural one on business principles the morality of the transaction was quite another affair.

About seventeen thousand German troops, most of them well-disciplined, were hired. Their masters were to receive for each soldier a bounty of twenty-two dollars and a half besides an annual subsidy, the whole amounting to a large sum. The British government also agreed to make restitution for all soldiers who might perish from contagious diseases while being transported in ships in engagements, and during sieges: and they were all to take an oath of allegiance to the British monarch, without its interfering with their oaths of allegiance to their respective rulers. They were, according to the agreement, to constitute a corps made up of four battalions of grenadiers, each four companies fifteen battalions of infantry of five companies each, and two companies of Yagers (riflemen), all to be well equipped with the implements of war. The chief commanders of these troops, best known to Americans, were General Baron de Riedesel, General Baron Knyphausen, and General De Heister. The name of Hessians was given to them all, and, because they were mercenaries (men fighting only for pay), they were particularly detested by the Americans. The employment of them was a disgrace to the British government, and the method used in forcing many of them was a crime against humanity. Laborers were seized in the fields, mechanics in the workshops and worshippers in the churches, and hurried to the barracks without being allowed a parting embrace with their families. The king of Great Britain, to avoid complicity in the horrid work, refused to give commissions to German recruiting officers (who, it

was known to the British ministry, intended to impress men), saying: "It, in plain English, amounts to making me a kidnapper, which I cannot think a very honorable occupation." All Europe cried "Shame!" and Frederick the Great of Prussia took every occasion to express his contempt for the scandalous man-traffic of his neighbors. Whenever any of these troops were compelled to pass through any part of his dominions, he claimed the usual toll for so many head of cattle, since, as he said, they had been sold as such. Of the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, he remarked in a letter to Voltaire: The sordid passion for gain is the only motive of his vile proceeding."

Without these troops the war would have been short; with them the British were not successful. A part of them under Riedesel went to Canada in the spring of 1776, to assist in driving the republicans out of that province. Another part under Knyphausen and De Heister joined the British army under General Howe before New York, in the summer, and had their first encounter with the patriots on Long Island.

We left the little army of republicans in Canada, bereaved of their brave leader, shattered in strength and shivering with cold outside the walls of Quebec. The time of the enlistment of many of the soldiers expired with the year, and they went home; and the besieging army was reduced to about four hundred Americans, and as many uncertain Canadian volunteers. Arnold, on whom the command devolved, though disabled by his wound, retired with them to Sillery, above Quebec, where he formed a camp and passed a rigorous winter. He was full of pluck. From that suffering camp he wrote: I have no thought of leaving this proud town until I enter it in triumph." But he needed ten thousand well-provided troops to do that and effect the conquest of Canada. The army needed not only men, but hard money and everything necessary for a siege and conquest. General Wooster, on whom the chief command of the army in Canada devolved, on the death of Montgomery, wrote to Schuyler from Montreal, that with hard money supplies might be procured in that province. Money we must have," he wrote, "or give up everything. If we are not immediately supplied with hard cash we must starve, quit the country, or lay it under contribution." He wrote in every direction for aid, but it did not appear. Schuyler, when he heard of the disaster, was anxious to fly to the relief of the imperiled army. Like all true patriots he was grieved at the loss of Montgomery. He could not take his place, for he was then tortured with gout and confined to his house. He was also watching the suspicious movements of Sir John Johnson and the Tories and Indians of the Mohawk region. He sent urgent appeals to the Continental Congress and that of New York for men, money, and munitions. How could they be furnished? With difficulty the army of Washington on the sea-coast, in the midst of a populous region, could be supplied with these; how then could they be furnished for service on the St. Lawrence, more than three hundred miles from the sea, with a desolate wilderness between, and the broad forests and few open fields and lakes covered with snow and ice? It was impossible. The Canadians were restrained from enlisting by the priests, whom Wooster had offended by his injudicious exhibition of his hatred of "popery." His prejudices were so strong, that he could hardly be civil to the Roman Catholics by whom he was surrounded, and whose friendship it was important to cultivate. The petty tyranny of Arnold offended and disgusted the nobility, who were taught by circumstances to regard his troops as intruders and a scourge, rather than deliverers, as they were considered when Montgomery was in command. The priests and nobles

led all the rest, and the people held back. Had Montgomery lived, no doubt Canada would have been standing side by side with the other British-American colonies in the strife for freedom.

That Wooster, on account of his age and temperament, was unfit to command the army in Canada, all contemporary writers agree. He took personal charge of the troops at Quebec, on the first of April. They lay scattered around the town, in groups, some distance from each other, about two thousand in number. only one-half of whom were fit for duty, for the small-pox and other diseases had filled the hospitals with sick men. To dislodge the British garrison required several thousand men and a good train of artillery. These were wanting. Reinforcements from the colonies went forward tardily. The Canadians had changed from lukewarm friends into active enemies, and were gathering around the standard of Carleton. It seemed as if the little army of republicans must be captured or destroyed very speedily, when Washington, who was then at New York with a little more than eight thousand troops, sent three thousand of his best men, under General Sullivan, for service in Canada. Thomas of Massachusetts had already been commissioned a major-general and sent to take command of the troops near Quebec for the health of Schuyler, and his important duties in relation to the Tories and Indians in the Mohawk region, would not permit him to go to the head of the troops in Canada.

Meanwhile Congress had appointed Dr. Franklin, Samuel Chase, and Charles Carroll a board of commissioners invested with full authority to proceed to Canada and direct military affairs there to promise a guaranty of the estates to the clergy to establish a free press to offer the Canadians free trade with all nations to invite them to form a free and independent government for themselves, and to join the confederated colonies. The commissioners arrived at Montreal, where Arnold was in command, at the close of April. They were too late. A general impression prevailed there that the American army would soon be driven out of the province, for reinforcements for Carleton were on their way. Without an army, without hard money, and without credit, the commissioners could not ask the Canadians to join them. They perceived that the main objects of their mission could not be obtained, and it was determined to withdraw the troops to St. Johns, and there to fortify and reinforce them, so that they might be an impassable barrier to an army that might attempt to penetrate the country below.

General Thomas arrived at Quebec on the first of May. He found there nineteen hundred troops, one-half of whom were sick with the small-pox and other diseases. They had, in the magazine, only one hundred and fifty pounds of powder. Some of the troops were clamorous for a discharge, for their term of enlistment had expired. This inauspicious state of affairs caused Thomas to prepare for a retreat toward Montreal. While he was making ready for the movement, British snips arrived at Quebec with troops, when a thousand men of the garrison, with six cannon, sallied out and attacked the Americans, who fled in their weakness far up the St. Lawrence, to the mouth of the Sorel. A fortnight after this retreat, Captain Foster, with some British regulars and Canadians, and about five hundred Indians under Brant, the celebrated Mohawk chief, came down the river from Oswegatchie (now Ogdensburg) and captured a small garrison at the Cedars Rapids, not far above Montreal. They were a part of Colonel Bedel's New Hampshire regiment. The colonel was sick at Lachine, and his major (Butterfield), terrified by a

threat made by Forster, surrendered without fighting. Arnold went out to attack the captors, but to prevent the prisoners being murdered by the Indians, he consented to a compromise for an exchange.

While the enemy was thus pressing upon Montreal from up the river, word came from below that General Thomas was sick with the small-pox. He died on the 2nd of June, when the command devolved on General Sullivan, who felt sure that in the course of a few days he would reduce the army to order," and "put a new face on affairs" there. To Washington he wrote: I am determined to hold the most important posts as long as one stone is left upon another." But Sullivan did not know that British and German troops, under Generals Burgoyne and Riedesel, were then landing at Quebec, and so putting the republican army in Canada in a position of great peril. By the arrival of these reinforcements, Governor Carleton found himself in command of about thirteen thousand soldiers, most of them thoroughly equipped for war. Some of the vessels, with troops, were sent directly up the river, and assisted in repelling an attack upon a British post at Three Rivers by a force under General Thompson, composed of Pennsylvania troops commanded respectively by Colonels St. Clair, Wayne, and Irvine. Thompson was badly beaten, and he and Irvine, with one hundred and fifty private soldiers, were made prisoners.

This disaster was discouraging to Sullivan. It was immediately followed by the startling news of an overwhelming military force coming up the river by land and water. Sullivan was compelled to retreat up the Sorel, carrying most of his boats and his cannon around the rapids at Chambly. He pressed on to St. Johns. Arnold, who seeing approaching danger had abandoned Montreal without waiting for orders, had joined him near Chambly, and on the 17th of June the remainder of the invading army were all at that post which Montgomery had captured when he entered Canada about seven months before. The fugitive troops were in a most pitiable condition. Nearly one-half of them were sick, and all of them were half-clad, and scantily fed with salt meat and hard bread. "At the sight of so much privation and distress," wrote Dr. Stringer, the medical director, I wept till I had no more power to weep." The force was too weak to make a successful stand at St. Johns against the great army of Burgoyne that were slowly pursuing, and they continued their flight to Crown Point, in open boats without awnings (for they could get none), exposing the sick to the fiery sun and the drenching rain.

Terrible were the scenes at Crown Point after the fragments of the army were gathered there. More than thirty victims of disease were buried daily, for awhile. Every spot and every thing seemed to be infected with pestilence. For a short time the troops were poorly housed, half-naked, and inadequately fed; their daily rations being raw salt pork, hard bread, and unbaked flour. Five thousand men were there. During two months the Northern Army had lost by desertion and sickness full five thousand soldiers. So ended in disaster the remarkable invasion - one of the boldest ever undertaken, all things considered.

Meanwhile the Congress had, by resolutions, given ample support to the army in Canada. They had told General Thomas to "display his military qualities and win laurels." They resolved that, General Schuyler be desired to take care that the army in Canada be regularly and effectually

supplied with necessaries that hard money could not be sent into Canada, but provisions should be forwarded from the neighboring colonies, and that "six thousand militia be employed to reinforce the army in Canada." As these resolutions were not followed by corresponding performances, and as the army could not fight and subsist upon resolutions, there was disastrous failure - a failure caused chiefly by neglect.

The exertions of General Schuyler to reinforce and supply the army in Canada were untiring, and the amount of labor to accomplish that end, which he performed while tortured with bodily suffering, was prodigious. At the same time he was defeating, by vigilance, wisdom and energy, the efforts of Sir John Johnson to bring upon the rear of the Northern Army the Tories west of Albany, and the Six Nations of Indians. Early in January (1776) he was told that Sir John had fortified his manor-house at Johnstown, and that his retainers, mostly Scotch Highlanders, seven hundred in number, were in arms. The general called for volunteers to enable him to disarm this formidable conspiracy. The response was marvelous. They came in such numbers, that, when he was within a few miles of Johnson Hall, he was at the head of almost three thousand men, including nine hundred of the Tryon County militia. He had met Sir John on the way and made friends of the Mohawks; and he compelled the baronet and his followers to surrender all the arms and military stores which they had collected. He also took Johnson's parole of honor that he would not take up arms against the republicans, nor tamper with the Indians. Sir John deceived Schuyler with false promises. He violated his parole and when Schuyler sent an armed force to arrest him in May, he fled, with his followers, through the great wilderness between Lake Champlain and the Adirondack Mountains to the St. Lawrence, and joined the British army in Canada. He was commissioned a colonel in that army, and raised two battalions - a total of a thousand men, composed of his retainers and other Tories. These were the formidable corps known in the border warfare of that period as the Royal Greens, because of their green uniform. Lady Johnson, who was a daughter of John Watts, one of the king's counsellors of the province, was sent to Albany on horseback in that pleasant spring-time, attended by a military escort, where she was kept in durance several months, as a hostage for the restraint of her husband.

The army under Washington, which had driven the British out of Boston, soon afterward appeared in other fields of duty, a part of them, as we have seen, in Canada, but more at New York and in its vicinity. At the beginning of the year Washington ascertained that Sir Henry Clinton was about to sail from Boston, with troops, on a secret expedition. It was suspected that New York was his destination, where Governor Tryon was ready to head a formal demonstration in favor of the crown. The Tories there were active and numerous. Disaffection prevailed extensively and it was fostered by Tryon, whose palace was the armed-ship *duchess of Gordon*, lying in the harbor. Fearing that province might be lost to the republicans, Washington ordered General Charles Lee, then recruiting in Connecticut, to embody the volunteers and march to New York. Governor Trumbull lent his official aid to Lee, and within a fortnight after the latter received his orders, he was in full march for the Harlem River with twelve hundred men, and the bold Son of Liberty, Isaac Sears, as his adjutant-general. His approach caused many Tories to flee, with their families, to Long Island and New Jersey; and the Committee of Safety, timorous and undecided, protested against his entering the city, because the commander of the *Asia* had

threatened to cannonade and burn the town if "rebel" troops should be allowed to enter it. Lee did not heed the threats nor the protests. He encamped his troops in the Fields (now the City Hall Park), made his headquarters at the house of Captain Kennedy, No. 1 Broadway (yet standing), and issued a proclamation, saying: I come to prevent the occupation of Long Island or the city, by the enemies of Liberty. If the ship-of-war are quiet, I shall be quiet if they make my presence a pretext for firing on the town, the first house set in flames by their guns shall be the funeral pile of some of their best friends." Before these brave words the Tories cowered. The proclamation sent a thrill of patriotism among the weak-kneed in the Provincial Congress, and that body adopted measures for fortifying the city and the approaches to it, and garrisoning it with two thousand men.

Sir Henry Clinton's vessels appeared off Sandy Hook on the day when Lee arrived in New York. He was bound for the coast of North Carolina to execute a plan of the ministry for the subjugation of that province, suggested by Governor Martin the previous autumn. It was believed by the king and his advisers that the people of the southern provinces would join the royal troops when they should appear; but Dartmouth, evidently having some doubts, instructed Clinton, in case the people were not loyal, to distress them by burning any of their towns that might refuse to submit.

A fleet commanded by Sir Peter Parker, and designed to act under Clinton's orders, did not leave Ireland until February. Then the vessels were delayed by storms. Clinton, meanwhile, had been awaiting their arrival with impatience. It was May before he entered the Cape Fear River with some of them. From the Pallas he issued a proclamation (May 5, 1776) which declared North Carolina to be in a state of rebellion, ordered all Congresses to be dissolved, and offered pardon to all penitents excepting the arch-rebels Cornelius Harnett and Robert Howe. The latter was then a brigadier-general in the Continental army. The people laughed at the manifesto, and the irritated baronet vented his wrath upon the property of Whigs. Earl Cornwallis had come with troops in the transports convoyed by Parker's fleet, and he was sent, with nine hundred men, to ravage the plantation of General Howe at Brunswick. Governor Martin sent a party to burn the house of William Hooper, who was then a delegate in the Continental Congress and some mills in the neighborhood were destroyed. Satisfied that the North Carolinians could not be coaxed nor frightened into submission, the British forces proceeded to attempt the reduction of Charleston, South Carolina, as a prelude to the fall of Savannah. General Lee, who had been ordered by Washington to watch the movements of Clinton, had made his way southward by land, and arrived at Charleston on the 4th of June.

Lee's arrival was at an auspicious moment. Four days before, John Rutledge, President of the Provincial Congress of South Carolina, had been informed that a British fleet of armed vessels and transports filled with troops lay anchored off Dewee's Island, twenty miles north of Charleston bar. Rutledge had been industriously preparing for a defense of Charleston. Almost one hundred cannon were mounted at various points around Charleston harbor, and a strong battery had been erected at Georgetown. Brigadier-General Armstrong of Pennsylvania was in command of troops there; yet the story of the formidable British force being near, spread a panic among the

inhabitants. The arrival of Lee, whose experience and skill were known, inspired the patriots with confidence, and the alarm subsided. The people worked cheerfully to perfect the defenses and the garrison of Fort Sullivan labored day and night to complete that work and arm it. When, on the day of the arrival of General Lee, the British forces appeared off Charleston bar, about thirty pieces of heavy cannon were mounted on it.

The militia from the surrounding country now flocked into Charleston at the call of President Rutledge. These, with Carolina regulars and the troops from the North brought by Armstrong and Lee, made an available force of almost six thousand men. Colonel Gadsden commanded the garrison in Fort Johnson, on James Island, three miles from the city. Colonel Moultrie was at the head of the troops in Fort Sullivan, on Sullivan's Island, and Colonel Thompson commanded riflemen from Orangeburg, stationed on the eastern end of that island. A considerable force were at Haddrell's Point on the northerly side of the harbor, under the immediate command of Lee, assisted by General Robert Howe. Rutledge proclaimed martial-law in the city. Some valuable store-houses on the edge of the water were pulled down, and a line of defenses were erected there. The streets near the water were barricaded lead window-sashes were melted into bullets, and seven hundred negro slaves belonging to Loyalists, with tools, were pressed into the service.

After long delay Clinton completed his arrangements for a combined attack of ships and troops upon Fort Sullivan, which was chosen to receive the first blow. It was garrisoned by about four hundred men, mostly South Carolina regulars, with a few volunteer militia and its only aid was a sloop, with powder, anchored off Haddrell's Point. Lee had pronounced the fort absolutely untenable, and called it a slaughter pen and he advised Rutledge to withdraw the garrison and abandon Sullivan's Island without striking a blow. Rutledge refused. Lee, with sharp words and angry tone, persisted in his views, and if he dared he would have withdrawn the troops in spite of the wiser President. He annoyed Moultrie by his orders looking to a flight from the fort, directing him to build bridges for retreat to the main; but Moultrie did not believe that he could be driven from his little fortress of soft palmetto logs, for he knew, better than Lee, their resisting power. Lee tried to weaken his force by ordering detachments to be sent from the fort and up to the last moment he wished to have Moultrie removed from the command. Had he been acting in favor of the enemy he could not have given better advice; and in view of his subsequent treason, which will be noticed hereafter, the historian cannot be sure that he was not, at that time, acting the part of a traitor. The vehemence of his language impressed others. The brave Captain Lempriere, while viewing the British vessels that had come over the bar, said to Moultrie: Well, Colonel, what do you think of it now?" "We shall beat them," Moultrie said. "The men-of-war," answered the captain, will knock your fort down in half an hour." "Then we will lie behind the ruins and prevent their men from landing," replied the imperturbable colonel.

Clinton had landed soldiers on Long Island, a strip of sandy land separated from Sullivan's Island by a shallow creek. There he erected batteries to confront those of Thompson on Sullivan's Island, and awaited the pleasure of Admiral Parker. On the morning of the 28th of June, Sir Peter, from his flag-ship the Bristol, gave a signal for attack. The Thunder-bomb opened a bombardment on the fort; and between ten and eleven o'clock the flag-ship and Experiment each

carrying fifty guns, and the Active and Sotabay, of twenty-eight guns each, moved forward and anchored within cannon-shot distance of the fort, with springs on their cables. Lord Campbell, the fugitive royal governor, was on board the Bristol, expecting to be reinstated in power the next day, for no officer of the fleet doubted the entire success of the British forces in demolishing the fort and seizing Charleston. It was supposed that two broadsides would end the fort and secure the garrison; but when these were delivered, Moultrie, who had not a tenth as many guns as were brought to bear upon him, returned the fire with spirit and effect. The broadsides of the British ships only jarred the fort. The spongy palmetto logs received the round-shot and were not fractured. The missiles were imbedded in the soft wood, and so gave increased strength to the fort while Moultrie's guns, fired slowly and with precision, sent balls that shivered hulls and spars, and spread death over the decks. The roar of three hundred guns shook the city, where a multitude of anxious spectators beheld the terrible scene from windows, balconies, roofs, and steeples, and along the edges of the water. At length, perceiving the unfinished state of the fort on its western side, Parker ordered the Sphynx, Active, and Siren, each carrying twenty-eight guns, to take a position in the channel on that side, so as to enfilade the garrison - to fire on their flank. Had they done so, destruction or surrender would have been the fate of Moultrie and his men. But all three struck on a shoal called The Middle Ground, and could not be got off until they were severely battered by balls from the fort. One of them could not be moved. The people at Charleston, seeing this, sent up a shout of joy; but they were soon saddened. A few moments afterward the flag that waved over the fort suddenly disappeared. Had Moultrie surrendered? No! A cannon-shot from a British vessel had cut the flag-staff, and the blue banner of South Carolina, with its silver crescent, had fallen outside of the fort. Seeing this, Sergeant Jasper exclaimed: Colonel, we mustn't fight without a flag! and going quickly through an embrasure he picked up the precious piece of silk while cannonballs were flying thickly around him, re-entered the fort, fastened the banner to a sponge-handle, climbed to the parapet, fixed its new staff firmly there, and flung it to the breeze.

At this time, Clinton with his two thousand land troops and six hundred seamen, attempted to co-operate with the fleet by landing on Sullivan's Island and attacking the fort on its unfinished side. He opened his batteries on Long Island, upon Thompson, who had only two guns, but his Carolina riflemen were expert and dangerous sharpshooters. Clinton embarked some of his troops in boats covered by floating batteries in the creek; but the soldiers could not land in the face of the terrible volleys from Thompson's men, and were speedily disembarked. The baronet accomplished almost nothing during the furious conflict of ten hours on that bright and hot June day. Thompson held him at bay until the battle ceased at evening.

Moultrie's powder was scarce at the beginning, and he used it sparingly. At length it was nearly exhausted, and he sent to Lee for more, notwithstanding that officer had written to him: "If you should, unfortunately, expend your ammunition without beating off the enemy or driving them aground, spike your guns and retreat." A little later, braver words were uttered and better deeds were done by President Rutledge. He wrote "I send you five hundred pounds of powder. You know our collection is not very great. Honor and victory to you, and our worthy countrymen with you! Do not make too free use with your cannon. Be cool and do mischief." The powder

was forwarded by Lee. Moultrie resumed his fire, and did such "mischief" that the British were glad to end the fight. The firing from their vessels slackened at sunset, and at half-past nine ceased altogether.

The Bristol and Experiment were nearly wrecks, so fatally accurate had been the firing from the fort. Had the sea been at all rough, the flag-ship must have gone to the bottom. The fleet withdrew out of reach of Moultrie's guns; and the next morning the crew of the Actaeon, which was hopelessly aground, set her on fire, and fled in boats, leaving her colors flying. These and some of her munitions of war the Americans secured half an hour before she blew up.

In that battle - one of the most severe of the war - the British lost in killed and wounded two hundred and twenty-five men. Of the four hundred and thirty-five in the beleaguered fort, only ten were killed and twenty-two wounded, though thousands of shot and many shells were hurled against them. Charleston was saved, and South Carolina was defended from invasion by the valor of her own sons; and in honor of the brave colonel who commanded the garrison, the palmetto log-fortress was named Fort Moultrie. After remaining a few days at Long Island to repair damages, the British fleet, with Clinton's army, sailed for New York, where they joined the forces under General and Admiral Howe.

The loss on board the British ships, in this action, was frightful. Every man stationed on the quarter-decks of the vessels at the beginning of the battle was either killed or wounded. On board the flag-ship forty men were killed, and seventy-one were wounded. Governor Lord William Campbell, who was serving as a volunteer, was severely wounded at the beginning of the action. The commodore suffered a slight contusion. The Bristol had not less than seventy balls put through her. When the spring of her cable was cut, she swung round with her stern toward the fort, and instantly every gun that could be brought to bear upon her hurled deadly shot into the exposed vessel, for Moultrie, at the beginning, had said, "Mind the commodore and the fifty-gun ship."

Although the Thunder-bomb cast more than fifty shells into the fort, not one of them did any serious damage, for in the centre of the works there was a large moat, filled with water, which received nearly all of the shells, and extinguished the fuses before the fire reached the powder. Others were buried in the sand and did no harm. After the battle, the Americans picked up in and around the fort, twelve hundred shot of different caliber that were fired at them, and a great number of thirteen-inch shells.

Chapter LXVII

British Vessels Driven from Boston Harbor - British Troops Sail for New York - Washington in New York - Action of the Continental Congress - Schuyler and the Indians - A Horrible Plot Defeated - Movements in Favor of Independence - Paine and His "Common Sense" - Independence in Congress and Elsewhere - Silas Deane Sent to France - Positive Action of the Colonies in Favor of Independence - The Formation of State Governments Recommended - Declaration of Independence.

IMMEDIATELY after the evacuation of Boston, Washington hastened to New York with a greater part of his army, for he suspected Howe of an intention to attack that city. British war vessels lingered in Boston harbor even so late as June, and there was a prevailing fear in New England that Howe intended to return to their shattered capital. It was therefore determined by the Massachusetts Assembly to drive the ships to the sea. This was done at the middle of June, by General Lincoln, at the head of militia and a few regulars, who so annoyed the ships with cannon planted on the shores, that they departed never to return. Howe went to Halifax to prepare for attacking the Americans at what he supposed to be a more vulnerable point.

In June, 1776, General Howe sailed with his recruited army from Halifax for New York, and arrived at Sandy Hook at near the close of that month. There he was soon afterward joined by a large fleet commanded by his brother Richard, Earl Howe. The latter had been made joint commissioner with the general, and authorized by the king to offer pardon to all rebels, in his name, and to negotiate for peace or to prosecute the war as circumstances might demand. The admiral was the pleasant gentleman whom Dr. Franklin met at the chess-playing with Mrs. Howe, in London, and had some diplomatic correspondence with him. He addressed a courteous letter to Franklin, on his arrival, with copies of a proclamation of pardon, which the Congress permitted the shrewd American diplomat to answer. It was done in terms that made Howe shrink from the task of replying to it.

When Washington arrived in New York, he pushed forward the defenses of the city, and in the Hudson Highlands, for already intimation had reached the Americans that a grand scheme of the ministers for dividing the colonies, was to effect a junction between troops going up the Hudson Valley, and others coming down from the St. Lawrence, the latter being already at the foot of Lake Champlain. Fort Washington was built on the highest part of Manhattan Island (now Washington Heights); and strong batteries were constructed near it as well as in the more immediate vicinity of the little town whose northern verge was on The Fields, now City Hall Park.

The commander-in-chief went to Philadelphia to confer with the Continental Congress on the topic of the general defense of the colonies, for the theatre of war was evidently about to expand along the entire sea-board. It was then known that the mercenaries of the British monarch were on their way to America; and it was believed that the city of New York was destined to receive the first stunning blow from the combined British and German armies. Danger appeared imminent, and Congress authorized the enlistment of thirteen thousand troops from New England, New

York, and New Jersey also the establishment of a Flying Camp under General Hugh Mercer, composed of men from Pennsylvania, Delaware, and Maryland. These were to rendezvous at Amboy, in New Jersey, opposite Staten Island. The Congress also authorized the forming of a body of Indians, two thousand in number, for service in Canada, to oppose the savages employed by Carleton. General Schuyler, who was wiser concerning the Indians than the senators at Philadelphia, asked the significant question "Where are the Indians to be found?" He knew it would be impossible to gather so large a number for such a purpose. "I think," he said, "that if the Indians can be kept from joining the enemy, it will be as much as we have a right to expect." Knowing their cruel disposition, he was averse to employing them in war; he knew, also, that their maxim in alliances with the white people was to adhere to the strongest, most liberal in giving rewards, and with whom there was the least danger. Schuyler labored successfully in effecting that neutrality; he held the Six Nations in restraint from 1775 until 1783.

Washington returned to New York early in June, and made his summer headquarters at Richmond Hill (now the intersection of Charlton and Varick streets), afterward the country seat of Aaron Burr. Soon after his return a foul conspiracy, hatched by the unscrupulous Governor Tryon on board the *Duchess of Gordon*, was discovered. The brothers Howe were hourly expected to enter the harbor of New York with a powerful fleet and army, and a plan was formed for causing the uprising of the Tories in New York and in the lower valley of the Hudson at that moment to cut off all communication with the mainland to fire the magazine to murder Washington, his staff and other leading officers of the American army in the city or to seize them and send them to England for trial on a charge of treason and, making prisoners of the great body of the troops, carry out the separating design of the ministry just mentioned. The mayor of New York (Matthews) was Tryon's chief vehicle of communication with the Tories. A large number of persons were concerned in the plot. Their influence was felt even above the Hudson Highlands, by the offer of large rewards for those who should join the king's troops when they should land. The up-river recruits were to spike the great guns on the fortifications in the Highlands, and then hasten to join the Loyalists below. Washington's Life Guards were tampered with, and two of them were seduced from their fidelity. To one of them, an Irishman named Hickey, was entrusted the task of destroying Washington. He resolved to poison his commander, and tried to make the general's housekeeper, a faithful maiden, an accomplice in the deed. She pretended to favor his plans. It was arranged for her to put poison, that he should prepare, into green peas, a dish of which Washington was very fond. At the appointed time he saw the poison mixed with the peas and watched the girl, at an open door, as she carried the fatal mess to the general's table and placed it before him. The maiden had revealed the plot to Washington, and he made an excuse for sending the peas away. He ordered the arrest of Hickey, who was tried by a court-martial, and was condemned. He was hanged on a tree in Colonel Rutger's field a little east of the Bowery, on the 28th of June, 1776, in the presence of twenty thousand people. Already Mayor Matthews and more than twenty others had been arrested by order of the Provincial Congress, but only Hickey suffered death. It was the first military execution in the Continental Army; and it is a notable fact that the delinquent was from a body of men who were specially chosen for their trustworthiness. The horrible plot was traced directly to Governor Tryon, as its author. Ten days after the execution of the Life-Guardsman, General Howe landed nine thousand troops on Staten Island,

and there awaited the arrival of his brother Lord Howe with a large fleet.

At the moment when British armies and navies were hovering on the American coasts charged with the unrighteous business of suppressing by force of arms the uprising of a free people in defense of their liberties, that people, by their representatives in Congress assembled, were laying broadly the foundations of an independent nation. In all their debates, petitions and remonstrances, the colonists had steadily disclaimed a desire for political independence of Great Britain. As a body, they were sincere; and it was only when dependence was made a synonym for slavery, that any great number of Americans sincerely entertained a wish for independence. That desire had been cherished in the hearts of a few like Samuel Adams and Christopher Gadsden, from the time when Writs of Assistance and the Stamp Act foreshadowed the oppressive measures toward the Americans which the new king would be willing to sanction but not until late in 1775, when the respectful petition of the Congress had been treated by the sovereign and the legislature with scorn, and it was known that there were negotiations on foot for the hire of foreign troops to enslave the Americans, did any considerable number of thinking men, in the colonies, openly expressed opinions favorable to independence. When Great Britain sent armies hither to coerce submission to her injustice to plunder our seas, ravage our coasts, burn our towns, harass our people, and eat out their substance when King, Lords, and Commons became totally "deaf to the voice of justice and of consanguinity," the colonies were forced to acquiesce in the necessity which compelled them to dissolve the political bands which connected them with the parent state, and to assume among the powers of the earth the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature, and of nature's God, entitled them."

At the beginning of 1776 when the king had proclaimed the colonists to be rebels, rejected their petitions with disdain, and was preparing to send a crushing force hither, men in every station in life began to speak out boldly in favor of independence. Washington did not hesitate; and General Greene wrote to a delegate in Congress from his colony: The king breathes revenge, and threatens us with destruction America must raise an empire of permanent duration, supported upon the grand pillars of truth, freedom, and religion." And later Washington declared that when he took command of the army he "abhorred the idea of independence;" but I am now fully convinced," he wrote, that nothing else will save us." The flame of desire for absolute independence glowed in almost every bosom. It was fanned by the brave words of Thomas Paine, the son of an English Friend who had lately come to America as a literary adventurer and missionary of freedom. He was full of aspirations for liberty, and the opportunity to do good for mankind. At the beginning of 1776, he put forth a powerful plea for independence, suggested by Dr. Rush of Philadelphia. In terse, sharp, incisive and vigorous sentences, glowing with zeal and sincerity, he embodied the sentiments of reflecting men and women throughout the colonies in telling words of common sense, like these:

The nearer any government approaches to a republic, the less business there is for a king; in England a king hath little more to do than to make war and give away places. Volumes have been written on the struggle between England and America. Arms must decide the contest the appeal was the choice of the king, and the continent hath accepted the challenge. The sun never shone

on a cause of greater worth. 'Tis not the affair of a city, a county, a province, or a kingdom, but of a continent - of at least one-eighth part of the habitable globe. 'Tis not the concern of a day, a year, or an age posterity are virtually involved in it even to the end of time.

It matters little now what the king of England either says or does. He hath wickedly broken through every moral and human obligation, trampled nature and conscience beneath his feet, and by a steady and constitutional spirit of insolence and cruelty, procured for himself a universal hatred. . . . Independence is now the only bond that will keep us together. We shall then see one object, and our ears will be legally shut against the schemes of all intriguing, as well as cruel, enemy. We shall then, too, be on a proper footing to treat with Great Britain for there is reason to conclude that the pride of that court will be less hurt by treating with the American States for terms of peace, than with those whom she denominates rebellious subjects' for terms of accommodation. It is our delaying it that encourages her to hope for conquest, and our backwardness tends only to prolong the war - . . . Every quiet method for peace hath been ineffectual our prayers have been rejected with disdain reconciliation is now a fallacious dream. Bring the doctrine of reconciliation to the touchstone of nature; can you hereafter love, honor, and faithfully serve the power that hath carried fire and sword into your land? Ye that tell us of harmony, can ye restore to us the time that is past? The blood of the slain, the weeping voice of nature cries, 'Tis time to part.' The last chord is now broken; the people of England are presenting addresses against us A government of our own is our natural right. Ye that love mankind, that dare oppose not only tyranny but the tyrant, stand forth! Every spot of the old world is overrun with oppression; Freedom hath been hunted round the globe; Asia and Africa hath long expelled her; Europe regards her like a stranger; and England hath given her warning to depart: O! receive the fugitive, and prepare an asylum for mankind."

So pleaded this earnest man, and he called his appeal by the significant name of Common Sense. The effect of the pamphlet was marvelous. It carried dismay into the camp of the enemy, and illustrated the truth of the assertion, that the Pen is mightier than the Sword." Its trumpet tones wakened the continent, and made every patriot's heart thrill with joy. It was read with avidity everywhere and the public appetite for its solid food was not appeased until a hundred thousand copies had fallen from the press. Satisfied of its worth and salutary influence, the Legislature of Pennsylvania voted the author two thousand five hundred dollars. Washington wrote to Joseph Reed from Cambridge: "A few more such flaming arguments as were exhibited at Falmouth and Norfolk, added to the sound doctrine and unanswering reasoning contained in the pamphlet Common Sense, will not leave members at a loss to decide upon the propriety of a separation." It probably did more to fix the idea of independence firmly in the public mind than any other instrumentality.

Legislative bodies soon began to move in the matter. The Continental Congress was firm at heart but timorous in action, for awhile. In January (1776), Franklin called up his plan for a confederation, and endeavored to have a day set for its consideration, but was defeated by Dickinson, Hooper, Jay and others, who were not ready for separation. But in February, a proposition from Wilson, for Congress to send forth an address to their constituents in which they

should disclaim the idea of renouncing their allegiance, disgusted that body and the people. The constituency everywhere were ahead of their representatives in aspirations for independence. The proposition of Wilson brought out Harrison of Virginia, who said: "We have hobbled on under a fatal attachment to Great Britain. I felt that attachment as much as any man, but I feel a stronger one to my country." The honest and able George Wythe, from the same province, was also fired with righteous indignation at the proposition, and exclaimed, after asserting the natural and prescriptive rights of the Americans We may invite foreign powers to make treaties of commerce with us but before the measure is adopted, it is to be considered in what character we shall treat! As subjects of Great Britain? As rebels! No we must declare ourselves a free people." These were the first brave words on the floor of Congress in favor of independence. They were followed by a resolution offered by Mr. Wythe, "That the colonies have a right to contract alliances." That means independence," said timid ones; but the question whether the resolution should be considered was carried by the vote of seven colonies against five. In less than a month afterward, Silas Deane was appointed by the Committee of Secret Correspondence, a political and commercial agent to operate in France and also elsewhere, and to procure necessary supplies of every kind for an army of twenty-five thousand men. He was instructed to say to the French government, in substance, We first apply to you, because if we should, as there is an appearance we shall, come to a total separation with Great Britain, France would be the power whose friendship it would be fittest for us to obtain and cultivate." Already an emissary from France had been sent to America, with the consent of young King Louis, who had doubtless given some of the members of the Congress to understand that aid would be offered by France, if it could be done secretly, for that country was not then in a condition to engage in war with Great Britain.

The subject of independence came up in other forms in Congress. In their instructions to the commissioners to go into Canada, reported by John Adams, these words were used You are to declare, that it is our inclination that the people of Canada may set up such a form of government as will be most likely, in their judgment, to produce their happiness." To this Jay and others objected, because it meant independence." But the sentence was adopted. Then, after long debate, the Congress resolved, in April, to throw open the ports of the colonies to the commerce of the world, not subject to the king of Great Britain," and that no slaves be imported into any of the thirteen United Colonies." This resolution abolished British custom-houses, and swept away the colonial system here. It was a most important step in the direction of absolute independence.

North Carolina was the first colony that took positive action on the subject of independence. On the 22nd of April, 1776, a provincial Convention in that colony authorized its representatives in the Continental Congress to concur with those in the other colonies in declaring independence. The people of Massachusetts did the same on the next day. Those of Rhode Island and Virginia instructed their representatives to propose independence. Those of Connecticut told their delegates to assent to independence. The Provincial Congress of New Hampshire issued similar instructions and the delegates from New Jersey, just elected, were left to act in the matter as their judgment might dictate. Several months before, the subject had been hinted at in the Pennsylvania Assembly, when the startled Conservatives procured the adoption of instructions adverse to that idea These restrictions were removed, but the delegates received no official instructions on the

subject. At the close of May the Maryland Convention positively forbade their delegates voting for independence, but at the close of June they were in accord with Virginia. Georgia, South Carolina and Delaware, took no official action in the matter, and their delegates were left free to vote as they pleased. William Franklin (son of Dr. Franklin), the royal governor of New Jersey and the last of the crown-officers who held his seat, had been arrested by order of the General Congress, and sent, a prisoner of State, to Connecticut. So the sovereignty of that body was asserted in this treatment of the direct representative of the king. It was the act of an independent nation.

Meanwhile the desire for independence had become a living principle in the Continental Congress, and that principle soon found courageous utterance. On the 10th of May, that body, on motion of John Adams, resolved, That it be recommended to the several assemblies and conventions of the United Colonies, where no government sufficient to the exigencies of their affairs hath hitherto been established, to adopt such a government as shall, in the opinion of the representatives of the people, best conduce to the happiness and safety of their constituents in particular, and America in general." This was a bold but cautious step. It was not sufficiently comprehensive to form a basis of energetic action in favor of independence. There was need for some one courageous enough to offer an instrument which should sever the cord that bound the colonies to Great Britain. That man would be marked as an arch-traitor, and incur the undying resentment of the royal government. He appeared in the person of Richard Henry Lee, of Virginia, whose constituents had instructed him to "propose" independence; and on the 7th of June, 1776, he arose in his place in the hall of Congress - a spacious room in the State-house at Philadelphia, and ever since known as Independence Hall - and with his clear, musical voice read aloud this resolution:

"That these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States; and that all political connection between us and the State of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved."

John Adams instantly seconded the resolution. To shield him, and Mr. Lee, from the ministerial wrath, the Congress, whose sessions were always hid with closed doors, directed their secretary to omit the names of the mover and seconder of the resolution, in the Journal; and the entry simply declares that certain resolutions respecting independence being moved and seconded, it was resolved that the further consideration of them should be postponed until the next day. The postponement was afterward extended to the first of July; and in order to avoid a loss of time, in case the resolution should be adopted, a committee was "appointed to prepare a declaration to that effect." The committee was composed of Thomas Jefferson, John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, Roger Sherman, and Robert R. Livingston. Mr. Lee was not appointed on the committee, because he had been compelled to leave Philadelphia for his home, in consequence of the serious illness of his wife.

The Declaration was fully discussed in committee, and when its topics were settled, the task of putting the whole in proper form was committed to Mr. Jefferson, because he was a colleague of

Mr. Lee, and his acknowledged superior in the art of literary composition. At the end of two days he submitted a draft which was adopted unanimously by the committee, after some slight verbal alterations by Adams and Franklin. Debates upon it in Congress were long and animated, for there was not unanimity therein, on the subject. Several amendments were made. Among these was the striking out of a long paragraph, in which the King of Great Britain, in the general indictment, was held responsible for the African slave-trade carried on by the colonies, and the perpetuation of slavery here. The charge was not strictly correct, and a sacred regard for truth caused the clause to be omitted in the indictment.

It was evident from the beginning that a majority of the colonies would vote for independence, but their unanimous consent was most desirable. To secure that result, the friends of the measure bent every effort. The Assemblies of Maryland and Pennsylvania, as we have seen, had refused to sanction it, and Georgia, South Carolina, and New York remained silent. The delegates from Maryland were all in favor of it those from Pennsylvania were divided. At length, on the 24th of June, the people of Pennsylvania, in a convention held at Philadelphia, consented to concur in a vote of Congress, declaring the United Colonies free and independent States;" and by the unwearied exertions of Chase, Carroll, and other delegates from Maryland, the Convention of that province, on the 28th of June, recalled their former instructions and empowered their representatives to concur with the other colonies in a Declaration of Independence. So the most important obstacles in the way of unanimity were removed; and when a vote was taken in the committee of the whole House on Mr. Lee's resolution, on the 2nd of July, all the colonies voted for it excepting Pennsylvania and Delaware, four of the seven delegates from the former voting against it, and the two delegates from Delaware, who were present, being divided Thomas McKean favoring it, and George Read opposing it.

The all important resolution being adopted, it remained for final action in the Declaration of Independence. It was warmly debated on the 2nd and 3rd of July. Meanwhile news of the arrival of General Howe, with a large British army, at Sandy Hook, had been received by the Congress, and made a profound impression on that body. McKean, burning with a desire to have Delaware speak in favor of Independence, sent an express after Caesar Rodney, the other delegate from that colony, who, he knew, was in favor of the measure. Rodney was eighty miles from Philadelphia. He tarried only long enough to change his linen. Ten minutes after receiving McKean's letter, he was in the saddle, and riding day and night, he reached Philadelphia on the 4th of July, a short time before the final vote on the Declaration was taken. So Delaware was secured - Read had changed his mind and voted for the Declaration. Robert Morris and John Dickinson of Pennsylvania were absent. The former was in favor, the latter was opposed to the measure. Of the other five Pennsylvania delegates who were present, Dr. Franklin, James Wilson, and John Morton were in favor of it, and Thomas Willing and Charles Humphreys were opposed to it; so the vote of Pennsylvania was also secured. When the question was taken on that bright, cool day, the 4th of July, 1776, the Declaration of Independence was adopted by the unanimous vote of the thirteen colonies, and Charles Thompson, the Secretary of Congress, made the following modest record of the great event, in their journal:

"Agreeably to the order of the day, the Congress resolved itself into a committee of the whole, to take into their further consideration the Declaration and, after some time, the President resumed the chair, and Mr. Harrison reported that the Committee have agreed to a Declaration, which they desired him to report. The Declaration being read, was agreed to."

In that Declaration, after reciting their reasons for making it, in a series of definite charges against 'the British monarch, the Congress said:

"We, therefore, the representatives of the United States, in general Congress assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the World for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the name and by the authority of the good people of these colonies, solemnly publish and declare that these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown; and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved, and that, as free and independent States, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and do all other acts and things which independent States may of right do. And for the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other, our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor."

Having, by this act, given birth to a nation, it was necessary to have, for use, a token of national authority, and on the afternoon of the same day, the Congress resolved: "That Dr. Franklin, Mr. J. Adams, and Mr. Jefferson be a committee to prepare a proper device for a Seal for the United States of America."

The Declaration of Independence was signed on the same day by every member present, who voted for it. As the voting in the Congress was by colonies, a majority of the members of that body could not bind a single colony; it was therefore necessary for the members to sign it, to show that a majority of the delegates of the several colonies represented were in favor of it. Their signature, only, could be received as a proper authentication of the instrument. These signatures were attached to a copy on paper, and the instrument was ordered to be engrossed on parchment. This was done, and the copy on parchment was signed by fifty-four delegates on the 2nd of August. Two others afterward signed, one in September and the other later in the autumn.

Immediately after the adoption of the Declaration it was printed, and was sent out in every direction, with the names of only John Hancock, the President of Congress, and Charles Thompson, Secretary, appended to it' The erroneous impression has prevailed that only these two officers signed it on the Fourth of July.

In January, 1777, it was printed on a broadside, with the names of all the signers, and sent to the several assemblies, conventions and committees, or Councils of Safety, and to the several commanding officers of the Continental troops.

Chapter LXVIII

Reception of the Declaration of Independence - State Governments Formed - Arrival of British Forces Before New York - Peace Commissioners Foiled - Lord Howe, and Washington and Franklin - The Belligerent Armies - Preparations for a Conflict - The Battle on Long Island - The Retreat of the Americans from Brooklyn - Peace Commissioners Again Foiled - Internal Perils of the Army - Evacuation of New York by the Americans - Its Possession by the British.

THE far-reaching results of the Declaration of Independence were not appreciated, at the time, by the great body of the people. There was general joy, because there was a vague idea in the public mind that something beneficial might immediately ensue. A Whig newspaper in the city of New York announced the great act of the Congress "on Thursday last," without a word of comment, and in only six lines. But there were seers and sages in every community whose discernment penetrated the veil of the future, and beheld glorious visions beyond of a great and free nation on the soil of America.

These were the men who led in public demonstrations of joy all over the country on that occasion. When the Declaration was read in public from Rittenhouse's Observatory on the Walnut-street front of the State-house in Philadelphia, on the 8th of July, it was greeted with loud huzzas by the people. These thoughtful men testified their belief that the great act had ended royal rule in the United States, by taking down the king's arms that were over the seat of justice in the State-house, and burning them in the street, with other symbols of royalty. The same kind of men, with similar prescience, after the Declaration had been read to the republican army in New York, toward the evening of the 9th of July, led the excited populace, composed of citizens and soldiers, at early twilight, to the Bowling Green at the foot of Broadway, where stood aloft an equestrian statue of the reigning monarch, which had been set up by grateful Americans after the repeal of the Stamp Act, ten years before. They put ropes around the necks of the man and horse, pulled them from the pedestal, and broke them in pieces. The statue was made of lead, and gilded. The pieces were carried away and the metal was cast into forty thousand bullets by patriotic women wherewith to fight the royal troops. So," said a contemporary writer, "they had melted majesty hurled at them." Everywhere in America multitudes of men and women perceived the full significance of the act, and these led in chanting the great song of deliverance that filled the hearts of republicans and found expression from their lips. In Europe the act gave hope to tens of thousands of aspirants for freedom, and thrones began to tremble.

Meanwhile the resolution of Congress adopted in May, recommending the colonies to form State governments, had been acted upon by several of them. New Hampshire had prepared for a State government, in January, 1776. The royal charters of Rhode Island and Connecticut were considered sufficiently democratic and that of the latter remained the fundamental law of the State until 1842. New Jersey adopted a State constitution on the 2nd of July; Virginia adopted one on the 5th, and Pennsylvania on the 15th. On the 14th of August, Maryland followed their example; Delaware on the 20th of September, and North Carolina on the 18th of December. Georgia adopted a State constitution on the 5th of February, 1777, and New York on the 20th of April

following; but South Carolina did not follow the example until the 19th of March, 1778. Massachusetts, the most eager champion for local self- government, deferred the important measure that secured it, until the 2nd of March, 1780. Within a year after the Declaration of Independence was made, most of the States had organized settled governments, but no national government was established until the armed struggle had been going on for six years, as we shall observe hereafter.

We left Washington and his main army in and around the city of New York, in the summer of 1776. General Howe arrived at Sandy Hook from Halifax at the close of June, and on the 8th of July - four days after independence was declared - he landed nine thousand men on Staten Island, that lies between New York harbor and the sea. There he awaited the arrival of his brother, Admiral Howe, with his fleet bearing British regulars and German hirelings. These, and the broken forces of Clinton and Parker from the Carolinas, soon joined General Howe; and by the middle of August, the British, land and naval., numbering almost thirty thousand men, prepared to fall upon the American forces. With this great force the British commanders, who counted largely upon the moral strength of the Tories in favor of the crown, felt confident that they would soon bring the rebellion to an end, either by negotiations or by crushing it under the heel of military power. Lord Howe had said, at Halifax, "Peace will be made within ten days after my arrival." Like the ministry who sent them, the commissioners were profoundly ignorant of the spirit of the people they were to deal with. The powers with which they were vested were very limited. They could grant pardons to individuals on their return to allegiance, and grant amnesty to insurgent communities which should lay down their arms and dissolve their governments. They might converse with individuals in America on the public grievances and report their opinions, but they might not be judges of their complaints nor promise redress; and they were not allowed to treat with any Congress, either provincial or continental, nor with any civil or military officer commissioned by such bodies.

The brothers entered upon their narrow diplomatic mission immediately after the arrival of the admiral. They sought first to open communication with Washington. For this purpose they sent a note to him by a flag, inclosing a copy of a declaration of the royal clemency, and the willingness of the king to grant a free pardon to all penitents. The superscription of the letter did not bear the official title of the commander-in-chief - only "George Washington, Esq." - and he refused to receive it. Another was sent by the hand of Major Paterson, General Howe's adjutant, less marked by omissions, but it was not received. Wishing to make some arrangement about an exchange of prisoners, Washington permitted the major to visit the American camp. When the adjutant was about to depart, the latter expressed the hope that his visit would be accepted as the first advance of the commissioners toward reconciliation. He assured the general that they had large powers. "From what appears," said Washington, "they have power only to grant pardons - having committed no fault, we need no pardon we are only defending what we deem to be our indisputable rights." The admiral addressed a friendly letter to Dr. Franklin in a similar manner, and received from the statesman a reply, courteous in tone, but in no wise soothing to his feelings as a soldier or a Briton. Franklin concluded his letter by saying: "This war against us is both unjust and unwise; posterity will condemn to infamy those who advised it; and even success will

not save from some degree of dishonor those who voluntarily engage to conduct it." The brothers suspected Franklin uttered the sentiments of the Congress with whom they were not permitted to treat; and that the words of Washington were in accordance with the views of the same body. The generous and noble-hearted admiral was grievously disappointed by these rebuffs. He saw that he was powerless as a minister of peace that he had been deceived, and that he was placed by a sense of duty to his king in a position most distasteful to him, and repugnant to his convictions of right. War, and not peace, now occupied the attention of the brothers for awhile.

August had now arrived. A large army and navy were threatening the city of New York and its vicinity. Already ships-of-war had run up the Hudson River past American batteries, and were menacing the country in the rear of Manhattan Island, with the intention of keeping open a free communication with Carleton then on Lake Champlain, and furnishing arms to the Tories in Westchester county. In the city of New York, a majority of the influential inhabitants were active or passive Tories. The provincial authorities were yet acting timidly. It was even proposed by Jay to lay Long Island waste, burn the city of New York, and retire to the rugged fastnesses of the Highlands. Washington's whole effective force, for manning batteries, securing passes, and occupying posts, some of them fifteen miles apart, did not then exceed eleven thousand men; the most of them were militia coming and going and poorly armed, and a regiment of artillery without skilled gunners and furnished with old iron field-pieces. Sectional jealousies were dividing the troops. Gates was already showing his jealousy of Washington, and an itching to take his place and faction in his favor was breeding in the Congress, from which came frequent resolutions that interfered with the well-laid plans of the commander-in-chief and the efficient General Schuyler in Northern New York. Yet Washington was hopeful. An appeal to the country was nobly responded to at that hour of imminent danger. From the farms of Connecticut, New York, Pennsylvania, Delaware and Maryland, where ripening harvests needed them, came patriotic yeomanry, and swelled the American army to seventeen thousand effective men. The whole number, sick and well, was almost equal to that of the British.

Both parties made preparations for an inevitable conflict. Hulks of vessels were sunken in the channel of the Hudson River opposite the heights on which Fort Washington was built. Fort Lee was erected on the Palisades beyond. Batteries were constructed at various points on Manhattan Island, and a considerable body of troops were sent over to take post and cast up fortifications on Long Island, back of Brooklyn, under the command of General Greene. That officer was soon prostrated by bilious fever and resigned the leadership to General Sullivan, who had lately come from Lake Champlain. A small detachment was placed on Governor's Island near the city another was sent over to Paulus's Hook, where Jersey City now stands, and a body of New York militia, under General James Clinton, took post in Westchester county to oppose the landing of the British from vessels on Long Island Sound. Parsons' brigade took post on the East River, at Kipp's Bay (now foot of Thirty-fourth street), to watch British vessels if they should enter those waters. Sullivan placed guards at several passes through a range of hills on Long Island, which extend from the Narrows to Jamaica; and late in August he had a line of defenses extending from the vicinity of Greenwood Cemetery to the Navy Yard, a distance of a mile and a half. These

were armed with twenty cannon, and there was a redoubt of seven guns on Brooklyn Heights.

The British army moved on the morning of the 22nd of August. About fifteen thousand troops were landed on the west end of Long Island on that day. Washington sent reinforcements to Sullivan and the idea that the American troops were about to evacuate the city, and leave it exposed to the shells of the British shipping in the Bay, greatly terrified the inhabitants. Many Whig families fled to the country and did not return until the close of the war.

General Putnam now took the chief command on Long Island, with particular instructions from Washington to guard the passes through the wooded hills. Regiments of Germans under General De Heister followed the British troops, and on the 26th, the combined forces of the enemy composed a most perfect army in experience and discipline. Its chief leaders were Generals Clinton and Cornwallis, accompanied by General Howe, and it was supported by over four hundred ships and transports. Among the former were ten ships-of-the-line, twenty frigates, and some bomb-ketches. On the evening of the 26th, the number of effective American troops on Long Island did not exceed eight thousand men. Between this weak force of republicans and the strong army of the king now stretched the densely wooded hills, with their steep sides and narrow passes, from the flat lands to the Brooklyn ferry. One of these was south of the present Greenwood Cemetery; another in Prospect Park (now marked by an inscription); a third near the village of Bedford, and a fourth toward Jamaica. About twenty-five hundred Americans were set to guard these passes, not so much to prevent the British pressing through them (for this Washington did not expect to do), but to harass and confuse them in their march. When Washington left the camp at Brooklyn on the evening of the 26th, it was obvious that the British intended to gain the rear of the Americans by the Bedford and Jamaica passes, and he gave strict orders for them to be closely watched and strongly guarded.

At three o'clock on the morning of the 27th of August (1776), General Putnam was told that his pickets at the lower pass (south of Greenwood) had been driven in. He ordered Brigadier General Lord Stirling, with some Delaware and Maryland troops, to march and "repulse the enemy." Stirling instantly obeyed, and was followed by General Parsons with some Connecticut troops. They all crossed the marsh-bordered Gowanus Creek over a causeway and bridge at some tide-mills on the creek, when Stirling soon found himself confronted by an overwhelming division of the British army under General Grant, with Howe's ships-of-war in the Bay, on his right flank, for they had come up in a menacing attitude toward the city, and lay not far from Governor's Island. Stirling placed his only two cannon on the side of a wooded height (now known as Battle Hill, in Greenwood), so as to command the road. This formed the left of his line. His right was nearly on the Bay, and the troops of Colonels At Lee and Kiechlein, which had been guarding the pass, formed his centre.

The Germans under De Heister and Knyphausen were moving at the same time to force their way through the pass at Prospect Mount (now Prospect Park), while Howe, with the main body of the British army led by Sir Henry Clinton and Lord Cornwallis, was moving toward the Bedford and Jamaica passes, to gain the rear of the Americans. Putnam had utterly neglected to

place a competent guard at the latter pass, as Washington had ordered him to do; and when he was told of the movement of the British in that direction, instead of informing the commander-in-chief of the imminent danger, or directing Stirling to retreat from almost certain destruction, he allowed Sullivan to go out with a few troops, and take command of New Jersey and other forces on Mount Prospect. When, at eight o'clock in the morning, the British had reached the Bedford and Jamaica passes, not more than four thousand Americans were out of the lines at Brooklyn - a handful to oppose five times that number, then stretched along a line more than five miles in extent. The Americans on the left did not perceive their danger until the British had gained their flank and began the attack. The incapacity of Putnam for such important service had allowed a surprise.

The British attack was severe and persistent. The troops composing the American extreme left fled in confusion, and with fearful loss to the lines at Brooklyn; and some Connecticut fugitives, unmindful of the safety of those behind them, burned the bridge over the Gowanus Creek, thereby cutting off the retreat of their fellow-soldiers by that way. Meanwhile the Germans had attacked Sullivan, on the site of Prospect Park, and a desperate fight ensued. While it was going on, Clinton unexpectedly appeared, endeavoring to gain Sullivan's rear. As soon as the latter saw his peril, he ordered a retreat to the Brooklyn lines. It was too late. Clinton drove him back upon the German bayonets. After a sharp hand-to-hand conflict, and seeing no chance for success, Sullivan ordered his men to shift for themselves. Some fought their way through the cordon of soldiers, some hid in the woods, and Sullivan, concealed in a field of corn, was made prisoner by some German grenadiers.

Stirling and his party were now the only Americans in the field with unbroken ranks. They fought the enemy with great spirit four hours, when, hopeless of receiving reinforcements, and seeing the main body of the British army rapidly approaching his flank and rear, Stirling ordered a retreat. The bridge was in flames, and the tide was rising. There was no alternative but to wade the morass and the creek, and that passage was about to be cut off by Cornwallis, who was rapidly descending the Port Road with grenadiers and Highlanders. What was to be done? Could any be saved? Stirling's valor quickly answered the questions. He ordered the Delaware troops and one-half of the Marylanders to cross the mud and water with some German prisoners which they had taken, while he and the rest of the Marylanders should keep Cornwallis in check. The order was obeyed. The five Maryland companies that remained fought with desperate valor while the whole of their companions- in-arms crossed the water in safety, excepting seven who were drowned. This movement was seen by Washington from the redoubt on Brooklyn Heights. He was sorely grieved by the disasters of the day. And now the final one occurred. Stirling, having saved a majority of his troops, could no longer resist the pressure of overwhelming numbers on his front, flank and rear, and he surrendered. He would not yield up his sword to a British commander, but sought De Heister, to whom he delivered it. The Germans were the principal victors on that day. They received the surrender of Sullivan, Stirling, and more than half the prisoners. The loss of the Americans did not, probably, exceed one thousand, of whom one-half were prisoners; more than half the loss fell upon Stirling's command. Many of the prisoners were afterward sufferers in the loathsome British prisons in the city of New York and the prison-ships

near by.

The victors encamped before the American lines on the night succeeding the battle, and prepared to besiege the works of their foe. Washington was anxiously watching every movement, for there was no one on whose judgment and vigilance he might implicitly rely. For forty-eight hours he did not sleep. Fortunately for the republicans, Howe was very indolent and sluggish in thought and movement. A devotee of sensual pleasures and impatient when business interfered with them, he allowed opportunities for achieving grand results to slip. Had Clinton been in command at that time, he would, doubtless, have captured the whole American army and its munitions of war, on the morning of the 28th. Howe dallied in the lap of enjoyment, and allowed them to escape. During two days after the battle the rain fell almost incessantly. Mifflin had come down from the north end of Manhattan Island with a thousand troops, but with these reinforcements the republican army was too weak to cope with the strong enemy. Washington clearly perceived this and resolved to retreat. Early on the 29th, he sent an order to General Heath to forward from Kingsbridge "every flat-bottomed boat and other craft," at his post, fit for transporting troops; and a similar order was sent to the assistant quarter-master-general at New York. Late in the afternoon he revealed his plans to a council of war at the house of Philip Livingston, on Brooklyn Heights, and they were approved.

The embarkation in boats, managed by Glover's regiment of Essex county fishermen, took place at the Brooklyn ferry after midnight, when the storm had ceased. The full moon was obscured by clouds. Silently the troops moved from the works to the river; and before dawn a heavy fog covered them from view. Before six o'clock in the morning of the 30th of August, nine thousand American soldiers, with their baggage and munitions of war excepting some heavy artillery, had safely passed over the East River to New York. The whole movement was unsuspected by the British leaders on land and water until it was too late to pursue. A negro servant had been sent by a Tory woman near the ferry to give notice of the flight, but he fell into the hands of a German sentinel, who could not understand a word that was uttered. When the astonished Howe found that his expected prey had escaped, he "swore a big oath," and then took possession of the abandoned American works. Leaving garrisons in them, he encamped the main body of his army eastward of Brooklyn as far as Flushing, and then prepared for the capture of the city of New York, with the American troops in it. The admiral moved his vessels up within cannon-shot of the city, for the same purpose. Because of this victory, General Howe (who was uncle to the king) was created a baronet - Sir William Howe.

Admiral Howe thought the discomfiture of the Americans on Long Island a propitious time for the exercise of his functions as a peace commissioner. Generals Sullivan and Stirling were prisoners on board his flagship, and he paroled the former, and sent him with a verbal message to the Congress asking that body to designate some person with whom he might hold an informal conference. They appointed Dr. Franklin, John Adams and Edward Rutledge, a Committee to meet his lordship; and the house of a loyalist, Colonel Billop, on the western side of Staten Island, was chosen to be the place for the conference. In that house they met on the 11th of September. The utmost courtesy was observed. Lord Howe told the Committee that he could not recognize

them as members of Congress, but as private gentlemen, and that the independence of the colonies lately declared could not be considered for a moment. You may call us what you please," said the Committee we are, nevertheless, the representatives of a free and independent people, and will entertain no proposition which does not recognize our independence." The gulf between them was evidently impassable, and the conference was soon terminated. Howe accompanied the Committee back to Amboy in his barge in which they had been brought over to Staten Island; and with the expression of hopes that reconciliation might speedily heal all dissensions, he bade them a courteous adieu.

Washington's army had escaped the perils of war from without, but greater perils existed within its own bosom. At no time during the long years of conflict that ensued was the usually serene and hopeful mind of the commander-in-chief more seriously clouded with doubts than in the month of September, 1776. That army seemed to contain all of the elements of dissolution - lack of permanency, unity of feeling and unalloyed patriotism, with sectional jealousies, insubordination, disrespect for superiors, and a lack of that moral stamina so essential to success in every undertaking. Contemporary writers give a sad picture of the army at that time. Among some of the subordinate officers, greed overshadowed patriotism. Officers were elected, not because of their merits, but by a compliance with the condition that they should throw their pay and rations into a joint stock for the benefit of a company surgeons sold recommendations for furloughs for able-bodied men, at sixpence each, and a captain was cashiered for stealing blankets from his soldiers. Men went out in squads to plunder from friend and foe; drunkenness was a common vice, and licentiousness poisoned the regiments. With such an army subjected to the temptations of a city, before such an enemy as confronted it, how dark must have appeared the future to the commander-in-chief? That enemy was evidently preparing to strike a crushing blow. His navy occupied the Bay and the rivers on each side of Manhattan Island, and swarms of loyalists were ready to receive him with open arms in Westchester county, where he might cut off the supplies and the retreat of the Americans, and compel them to surrender.

At that gloomy moment Washington called a council of war (September 13), when it was resolved to send the military stores to Dobb's Ferry, twenty-two miles up the Hudson, to evacuate the city and to retreat to and fortify the Heights of Harlem toward the northern end of the island, and so keep open a communication with the country beyond. It was a timely decision, for the next day, the sixteenth anniversary of Wolfe's victory at Quebec, in which Howe bore a conspicuous part, had been chosen by that commander as the time for making a descent in force on New York. On that morning the sick were taken from the city into New Jersey, and under the direction of Colonel Glover the removal of the stores by water was begun. The main body of the army, accompanied by a host of Whigs, moved toward Mount Washington, leaving a rear-guard of four thousand troops under Putnam to hold the city as long as it might seem safe. The army marched slowly, watching with keen vision the movements of the British; and on the 16th, they were on Harlem Heights, and Washington had made his headquarters at the house of his companion-in-arms on the field of the Monongahela, Colonel Roger Morris, which is yet standing. He had spent most of the 14th at the house of Robert Murray, on the Ingleberg (now Murray Hill), sending out his scouts toward various points on the East River. There he gave instructions

to Captain Nathan Hale, who entered the British camp as a spy, and whose sad fate we will consider presently.

Howe, with his usual sluggishness, did not move at the time appointed, though he had given out the significant parole of Quebec, and the countersign of Wolfe. The admiral sent more ships-of-war up the East River; and on the morning of the 15th, others went up the Hudson as far as Blooming dale, and put a stop to the removal of the American stores. On the same day, toward noon, those in the East River anchored a little below Blackwell's Island and began a heavy cannonade, to cover a force, chiefly Germans, who, in eighty- four boats, crossed the river and landed at Kip's Bay. The rest of the British army was stretched along the shore to Hell Gate, and over Ward's and Randall's Islands. Washington suspected the British would land near Harlem. He was on Harlem Plains when he heard the cannonading. Springing into the saddle, he rode swiftly, with his staff in the direction of the din of battle. He soon met fugitive Continentals flying in terror. The guard at Kip's Bay had fled at the first cannon-shot hurled against them, and the brigades of Parsons and Fellows, that were to support them, panic-stricken, were scattering in all directions, without firing a musket. Their officers tried, in vain, to check their flight. Washington was alarmed and exasperated - alarmed because Putnam must be captured if the British could not be kept back for a few hours; exasperated because of the cowardice of his soldiers at that moment of supreme necessity for sturdy valor. He used every means in his power to rally them. He set a sublime example of bold courage by pressing forward within eighty yards of the battle-line, when, finding himself without followers, he wheeled his horse and gave judicious orders for the salvation of Putnam and the security of his army on the Heights of Harlem. He succeeded in rallying the troops sufficiently to make an orderly retreat to Bloomingdale, while the invaders moved forward, took possession of a redoubt, and halted on the Inleberg, an eminence between Fifth and Sixth avenues and Thirty-fourth and Thirty-eighth streets.

Meanwhile Putnam had been apprised of his danger. He struck the flag on Fort George at the foot of Broadway, and retreated by the roads nearest the Hudson River. The fugitive Lord Dunmore, who was with the fleet, went ashore and unfurled the red-cross of St. George over the fort, while Putnam was marching speedily and stealthily along ways sheltered by the woods, to the Bloomingdale road, which he reached at Sixtieth street. At the same time, Howe, with Clinton, Governor Tryon and other officers were enjoying refreshments at the house of Mr. Murray, on the Inleberg. Mrs. Murray was a charming Quaker lady, and a warm Whig. She adroitly concealed her politics, and offered her guests her choicest wines and cakes. With sprightly conversation she captivated the warriors, and detained them and their troops long enough to allow every follower of Putnam to pass safely by within a mile of her house. The British leader was soon apprised of the startling fact, and ordered General Robertson to take possession of the deserted city with a strong force. For seven years, two months, and ten days thereafter, the British held possession of the city of New York. General Howe made the spacious Beekman mansion, at Turtle Bay (demolished in 1874), his headquarters. Washington had left the Aphthorp mansion (yet standing), at Bloomingdale, only a few minutes before British light-infantry took possession of it. That night (September 15, 1776), the American army were encamped in a line from the East River to the Hudson. Harlem Plains lay between the two armies.

Chapter LXIX

Fire-Ships - Battle on Harlem Plains - Captain Hale, the Spy - Great Fire in New York - The United States and France - Beaumarchais in England - Committee of Secret Correspondence - American Commissioners in Paris - Washington Pleads for a Permanent Army, and is Dissatisfied - Forts Washington and Mifflin - General Lee, John Adams, and Washington - British and American Armies in Westchester - Battle at Red Bank - Retreat into New Jersey - Incidents of the Capture of Fort Mifflin - Prison-Ships and Their Victims.

THE patriots who marched from the city to Harlem Heights were drenched by a shower, and slept in the open air that night. The stars were hidden by clouds until morning. Before the dawn of the 16th, a ruddy light suddenly glared along the Palisades and illumined the Hudson many miles. It was the flame of Captain Silas Talbot's fire-brig, with which he attempted to burn the British shipping in the Hudson. He failed but the vessels were scared away, leaving a free communication between the strong work on Mount Washington and Fort Lee, on the crown of the Palisades opposite.

A few hours later some Virginians under Major Leitch, and Connecticut Rangers commanded by Colonel Knowlton, were engaged in a severe fight, on Harlem Plains, with British infantry and Highlanders, using several pieces of artillery, and commanded by General Leslie, who was in charge of the British advance-guard. They fought desperately with varying fortunes, till Washington reinforced the Americans with some Marylanders and New Englanders, with whom Generals Putnam, Greene and others took part to encourage the men. The British were pushed back, and climbed to the high, rocky ground at the northern end of the Central Park east of the Eighth Avenue. There they were reinforced by Germans and Britons. Washington now fearing an ambush, and unwilling to bring on a general engagement, ordered a retreat. This affair greatly inspirited the Americans, though Major Leitch and Colonel Knowlton were killed, and about sixty others were slain or wounded. Howe was displeased with Leslie's movement, and rebuked him for imprudence. The British chief did not make any aggressive movement for about three weeks afterward.

During that period Washington strengthened his defenses, and gained much information respecting the British army. He greatly lamented the death of Knowlton, whose Rangers, called "Congress' Own," had acted as a sort of body-guard for the commander-in-chief before the Life-Guard were organized. Captain Nathan Hale, before mentioned, was one of Knowlton's most trusted officers, and was chosen by his colonel from among other volunteers for the perilous service of a spy. He entered the British camp as a plain young farmer, and made sketches and notes unsuspected. At length a Tory kinsman betrayed him, and he was taken before General Howe at the Beekman mansion. Hale frankly avowed his name, rank, and his character of a spy, which his papers revealed, and Howe ordered him to be hanged the next morning (September 22, 1776), without even the form of a trial. All night he was tortured by the taunts of a brutal jailer in Beekman's green-house, in which he was confined; and in the morning he was delivered to the savage Provost-marshal Cunningham for execution. Hale was denied the services of a clergyman

and the use of a Bible; but the more humane officer who superintended the execution, furnished him with materials to write letters to his mother, betrothed, and sisters. These Cunningham destroyed in the presence of the victim of his brutality, while tears and sobs marked the sympathy of the multitude of spectators of the scene. Hale met death with firmness. With unfaltering voice he said: "I only regret that I have but one life to lose for my country." These were the last words uttered by the young patriot, then only a little more than twenty-one years of age.

At that moment the smoke of the smoldering embers of a great conflagration was hovering over the city of New York. At one o'clock in the morning of the 21st, a fire burst out in a low groggery near Whitehall. It swept up and across Broadway, laying Trinity Church and more than four hundred tenements in ruins. While it was raging the exasperated soldiers, who had expected winter shelter in the buildings, charged the disaster to the Whigs. Some of them, who came out in the gloom to save their property, were murdered by bayonets, or were cast into the flames and perished. General Howe, in his report, without a shadow of truth, declared the accident to have been the work of conspirators.

Let us leave the belligerent armies for a moment, and see what was doing in the halls of legislation. We have seen how eagerly France watched for rebellion in America from the days of the Stamp Act excitement, as a means for avenging the injuries she had received from Great Britain. We have seen how, from time to time, emissaries were sent to America by the French government, during the quarrel between Great Britain and her colonies, to ascertain the true state of public feeling here, with the hope of finding in the dissatisfied Americans powerful allies in her intended struggle to recover what perfidious Albion had taken from her. She was always saying pleasant things to the Americans, and trying to attract them to herself by professions of friendship and sympathy. This coquetry was taken seriously by the colonies, and when the "time that tried men's souls" arrived - when Great Britain had hired German soldiers to butcher or enslave her subjects in America, the colonies naturally turned first to the French to ask for aid in their struggle for freedom. Silas Deane, as we have observed, was sent to France by Congress in the spring of 1776, as a commercial agent to obtain supplies for an army.

At that time, Beaumarchais, an irrepressible Frenchman, conspicuous in the literary and political world of Paris, was a secret agent of the French government in watching the course of the British ministry toward the colonies, and feeling the pulse of public opinion in England. He was in London in 1775, where he mingled freely with the politicians who hovered around Wilkes; and he became satisfied that civil war in England and success on the part of the Americans, then in open insurrection, were events not far in the future. He was convinced that the first reverse to British arms in America would be the signal for a revolution in London, and in this he saw the golden opportunity for France. Lord Rochford, North's minister for Foreign Affairs, had said to Beaumarchais I am much afraid, sir, that the winter will not pass without some heads being brought down, either among the king's party or the opposition." And John Wilkes (the leader of the British democracy) had boldly said to him, at the end of a public dinner: "The king of England has long done me the honor of hating me. For my part, I have always done him the justice of despising him. The time has come for deciding which of us has formed the best opinion of the

other, and on which side the wind will cause heads to fall." These, and a hundred other seditious and revolutionary sayings, the ardent Frenchman repeated to Vergennes, the most energetic of the ministers of King Louis, and said in a formal letter: "The Americans will triumph, but they must be assisted in their struggle; for if they succumb, they would join the English, turn round against us, and put our colonies in jeopardy. We are not yet in a fit state to make war. We must prepare ourselves, keep up the struggle, and with that view send secret assistance in a prudent manner to the Americans." This was the key-note to the boasted friendship of his Most Christian Majesty" - the prime motive for the "assistance" rendered by the king of France to the Americans during the War of the Revolution, as we shall observe hereafter.

Arthur Lee (brother of Richard Henry Lee), an aspiring young barrister then in England, and whom Franklin had left in charge of the agency for Massachusetts when he returned to America, became acquainted with Beaumarchais's expressed desire to aid the Americans. Of this he gave information to the Congress, through his brother, who was a member of that body. They listened to Lee's reports secretly communicated, and became impressed with the idea that aid might be obtained from France and other European countries. In November, 1775, they appointed the famous "Committee of Secret Correspondence," with a deceptive announcement of their functions, having Dr. Franklin as their chairman. They were soon cautioned that Arthur Lee could not be trusted with important negotiations, and persuaded the Congress to send Silas Deane abroad for the purpose.

Lee was greedy for honors, and wished to win immortal renown by obtaining material aid for his countrymen from France, as speedily as possible. For that purpose he misrepresented Congress to Beaumarchais, and Beaumarchais and France to Congress. When Deane arrived, Lee regarded him as a rival; and when he found that agent and Beaumarchais making successful plans for obtaining supplies from France, he uttered such slanders concerning both, that the Congress withdrew their confidence from both. At that juncture, early in the autumn of 1776, the Congress sent Dr. Franklin as a Commissioner of the United States to the French Court, with Deane and Lee as his assistants. The Congress had elaborated a plan for a treaty with France, by which it was hoped the States would secure their independence. They wished France to immediately declare war against England, during which diversion they hoped to win their independence, when they would make valuable commercial and territorial concessions to the French monarch. The Congress was also to stipulate that the United States would never agree to be subject to the British crown, and that in case of war neither party should make a definitive treaty of peace without six months notice to the other. Improving the hint given to Vergennes by Beaumarchais, the Congress instructed the Commissioners in this wise: It will be proper for you to press for the immediate and explicit declaration of France in our favor, upon a suggestion that a reunion with Great Britain may be the consequences of a delay." On the 4th of January, 1777, Dr. Franklin wrote to the Committee of Secret Correspondence from Paris: I arrived here about two weeks since, where I found Mr. Deane. Mr. Lee has since joined us from London. We have had an audience of the minister, Count de Vergennes, and were respectfully received. We left for his consideration a sketch of the proposed treaty. We are to wait upon him to-morrow with a strong memorial, requesting the aids mentioned in our instructions. By his advice, we have had an

interview with the Spanish ambassador, Count D'Aranda, who seems well disposed toward us, and will forward copies of our memorials to his court, which will act, he says, in perfect concert with this." So first began the Foreign Diplomacy of the United States.

Washington had, early in his chieftaincy, urged upon the Congress the necessity of the establishment of a permanent army, and with prophetic words had predicted the very evils arising from short enlistments and loose methods of creating officers, which now prevailed. While there was a brief lull in active military operations after the battle on Harlem Plains, he again set forth, in graphic pictures, the sad condition of his army, and the importance of a thorough reform and reorganization of the forces, for he foresaw the natural dissolution of his army, by the expiration of enlistments, only a few weeks later. The Congress had just resolved (September 10th) to form the army anew into eighty-eight battalions, to be "enlisted as soon as possible, and to serve during the war", but they were so afraid of the "military despotism" implied by a standing army, that much of the efficacy of this longer term of enlistment was neutralized by retaining the old method of levying troops by requisitions upon the several States, and the appointment of officers by local authorities without due regard to their qualifications. Washington was compelled to relinquish all present hope of obtaining an efficient army for the great work before him. Yet he never despaired nor uttered a petulant word of complaint, nor threatened to resign. His duty as a patriot and soldier was plain, and he pursued it.

For almost a month Washington rested with the main body of his army on Harlem Heights, watching the movements of Howe. He had constructed strong lines of fortifications across the narrow island, between the Harlem and Hudson Rivers, and redoubts were planted at proper places to defend approaches from the waters and the main land. The crest of Mount Washington was crowned with a five-sided earthwork, named Fort Washington. It was two hundred and thirty feet above tide-water, a mile northward of headquarters, with strong ravelins and outworks, and mounting thirty-four great guns. This was the principal fortification within the American lines, and was commanded by General Putnam. General Greene, the best leader in the army excepting Washington, was in command of Fort Lee on the Palisades on the New Jersey shore.

At this time General Charles Lee was making his way toward the camp. He had been called from the Carolinas, by the Congress, to take the chief command of the army in the event of Washington being disabled. His fame was very great, not because of anything of importance which he had done, but from what it was supposed he was capable of doing. But he was a charlatan, and afterward became a traitor to a cause which he really despised, and supported only from base motives. He was a hot-headed and wrong-headed man, and extremely vain. He was proud of being an Englishman, and looked with contempt upon his American associates. Incapable of planning a campaign or executing a complicated military movement, he had, by dash, audacity, boasting, fault-finding, and the force of an imperious will and temper deceived the Americans into a belief that he was a great soldier. On his way north he had, at Philadelphia, wrung from the Congress a grant of thirty thousand dollars, as all indemnity for any losses of property which he might sustain in England in consequence of his playing rebel and he came to Washington's army in the field with the sanction of Congress as the delegated commander-in-chief

on a certain contingency. Forever afterward he intrigued, as did Gates, for the chief command by superseding Washington, until he was driven from the army in disgrace.

John Adams, then the chairman of the Board of War, gave to Lee the confidence which he always withheld from Washington. When a letter from the commander-in-chief, warning the Congress of the great dangers to which his army was exposed, was read in that body, Adams treated it as the utterance of a timid man. The British force is so divided," he said, they will do no great matter this fall and at that critical moment, when his energy was most needed in his responsible position, he obtained leave of absence. He had been deceived by the perfidious Lee, who wished to did credit Washington's sagacity, and who, at the very moment when Howe was moving to gain the rear of Washington's army, wrote from Amboy, that the British would infallibly proceed against Philadelphia," and leave the American army alone.

On the 12th of October, Howe embarked a large portion of his army in ninety flat-boats, and landed them on Throgg's Neck, a low peninsula jutting out from the main of Westchester county. He left a sufficient force under Lord Percy to hold the city and guard the British lines toward Harlem. Washington sent Heath to oppose Howe's landing, and to occupy lower Westchester. After encountering many difficulties from the opposition, Howe finally took post on the heights of New Rochelle, across the road leading to White Plains, where he was joined by General Knyphausen with a freshly arrived corps of German troops. Meanwhile Washington had sent McDougall, with his brigade, four miles beyond Kingsbridge, and a detachment to White Plains. He wished to evacuate Manhattan Island entirely, but an order had come from Congress to hold Fort Washington to the last extremity. At a council of war held on the 16th of October, he produced such proofs of the intention of the British to surround his army, that it was determined to move them all into Westchester excepting a garrison for Fort Washington. That was commanded by Colonel Magaw of the Pennsylvania line, with troops who came chiefly from that State. The army marched in four divisions, commanded respectively by Generals Lee (who had just arrived), Heath, Sullivan and Lincoln, and moving up the valley of the Bronx River, formed entrenched camps from the heights of Fordham to White Plains. On the 21st, Washington made his headquarters near the village of White Plains. General Greene commanded a small force that garrisoned Fort Lee.

After almost daily skirmishing, the two armies, each about thirteen thousand strong, met in battle array at the village of White Plains, on the 28th of October. The Americans were encamped behind hastily thrown up entrenchments just north of the village, with hills in the rear to retreat to, if necessary. About sixteen hundred men from Delaware and Maryland, and militia under Colonel Haslett, had taken post on Chatterton's Hill, a high eminence on the west side of the Bronx, to which point McDougall was sent with reinforcements on the morning of the 28th, with two pieces of artillery under the charge of Captain Alexander Hamilton. Howe's army approached in two divisions, the right commanded by Sir Henry Clinton, and the left by Generals De Heister and Erskine. Howe was with the latter. He had moved with very great caution since his landing, and now, as he looked upon the Americans behind their apparently formidable breastworks, he hesitated, and held a council of war on horseback. Then he inclined his army to the left, and on

the slopes southeast of the present railway station, he planted almost twenty field-pieces. Under cover of these his troops constructed a rude bridge across the Bronx, over which British and German battalions passed, and attempted to ascend the steep, wooded Chatterton's Hill to drive the Americans from it. Hamilton's cannon, which he had placed in battery, annoyed them exceedingly. They recoiled, when they were joined by reinforcements under Leslie, foot and horse, and pushing up more gentle declivities, in the face of a furious tempest of bullets, they drove the Americans from their position. McDougall led his troops to Washington's camp, leaving the British in possession of Chatterton's Hill.

Howe dared not attack Washington's breastworks (composed chiefly of cornstalks covered lightly with earth), but waited for reinforcements. They came, just as a severe storm of wind and rain set in. When it ceased at twilight on the 31st, Washington, perceiving Howe's advantage, withdrew under the cover of darkness behind entrenchments on the hills of North Castle, toward the Croton River. Howe did not follow, but falling back, encamped on the heights of Fordham.

Washington called a council of war, when it was determined to retreat into New Jersey with a large portion of the army, leaving all the New England troops on the east side of the Hudson to defend the passes in the Highlands. These troops were placed under the command of General Heath. Five thousand soldiers crossed the Hudson, some at Tarrytown and some at King's Ferry, now Stony Point. Washington, accompanied by Heath, Stirling (who had lately been exchanged), Mifflin, and Generals George and James Clinton, rode to Peekskill, whence they voyaged in a barge on a tour of inspection of the fortified points in the Highlands, as far as Fort Constitution. It was then decided to fortify West Point opposite that fort. Returning to King's Ferry, the chief hastened southward, gathered his little army near Hackensack in the rear of Fort Lee, and made his headquarters there, on the 14th of November.

On the day of the battle at White Plains, Knyphausen, with six German battalions, crossed the Harlem River at Dyckman's Bridge (present head of navigation), and encamped on the plain between Fort Washington and Kingsbridge. The Americans in the redoubts near by stood firm till the fort was closely invested by the foe. Washington had left it and Fort Lee in charge of Greene. When he heard of the peril that menaced it, he advised that officer to withdraw the garrison and stores, but left the matter to Greene's discretion. When, on the 15th, he reached Fort Lee, he was disappointed in not finding his wishes gratified. Greene desired to hold the fort as a protection to the river; Congress had ordered it to be held till the last extremity, and Magaw, its commander, said he could hold out against the whole British army until December. Washington was not satisfied of its safety, but yielded his judgment and returned to Hackensack. There, at sunset, he received a copy of a reply which Magaw had made to a summons of Howe to surrender, accompanied by a threat to put the garrison to the sword in case of a refusal. To this summons Colonel Magaw replied, protesting against the savage menace, and declaring that he would defend the post to the last extremity. Washington immediately rode to Fort Lee. Greene had crossed over to the island. The chief started in a row-boat in the same direction, and met Greene on the river in the starlight returning with Putnam. They told the chief that the garrison were in fine spirits, and confident that they could successfully defend themselves. It was then too late to

withdraw them, and Washington returned to Fort Lee, but was not satisfied.

Howe had planted heavy guns on the lofty banks of the Harlem River just above the present High Bridge, and from there he opened a severe cannonade early in the morning of the 16th, upon the northern outworks of Fort Washington, to cover the landing of attacking troops from a flotilla of flat-boats which had passed up the Hudson in the night, and been concealed in Spuyten Duyvel Creek. These outworks were defended on the northeast by Colonel Rawlings, with Maryland riflemen and militia from Mercer's Flying Camp under Colonel Baxter. The lines toward New York were defended by Pennsylvanians commanded by Colonel Lambert Cadwallader. Magaw commanded in the fort. Rawlings and Baxter occupied redoubts on rugged and heavily-wooded hills.

The attack was made by four columns. Knyphausen, with Hessians and Waldeckers, moved from the plain along the rough hills nearest the Hudson River on the north at the same time Lord Percy led a division of English and Hessian troops to attack the lines on the south. General Matthews, supported by Lord Cornwallis, crossed the stream near Kingsbridge, with guards, light- infantry, and grenadiers, under cover of the guns near the High Bridge, while Colonel Sterling, with the 42nd regiment of Highlanders, crossed at a point a little above the High Bridge. Knyphausen divided his forces. One division under Colonel Rail (killed at Trenton a few weeks afterward) drove the Americans from Cock Hill Fort, a small redoubt near Spuyten Duyvel Creek, while Knyphausen, with the remainder, penetrated the woods near Tubby Hook, and after clambering over rocks and felled trees, attacked Rawlings in a redoubt afterward called Fort Tryon. Meanwhile Percy had driven in the American pickets at Harlem Cove (Manhattanville), and attacked Cadwallader at the advanced line of entrenchments. A gallant fight ensued, when Percy yielded and took shelter behind some woods.

While Rawlings and Cadwallader were keeping the assailants at bay, Matthews and Sterling were making important movements. The former pushed up the wooded heights from his landing-place on the Harlem River, drove Baxter from his redoubt (afterward named Fort George), and stood a victor upon the hills overlooking the open fields around Fort Washington. Sterling, with his Highlanders, after making a feigned landing, dropped down to a point within the American lines, and rushing up a sinuous pathway, captured a redoubt on the summit, with two hundred men. Perceiving this, Cadwallader, who was likely to be placed between two fires, retreated along the road nearest the Hudson, battling all the way with Percy, who closely pursued him. When near the upper border of Trinity Cemetery (One Hundred and Fifty-fifth street), he was attacked on the flank by Sterling, who was pursuing across the island to intercept him. He passed on and reached the fort with a loss of a few killed, and about thirty made prisoners. Meanwhile the German and British assailants on the north, who were as four to one of the Americans in number, pressed the latter back to the fort, when Rail sent a summons to Magaw to surrender. This was soon followed by a like summons from Howe. The fight outside had been desperate. The ground was strewn with the mingled bodies of Americans, Germans, and Britons. Resistance to pike, ball, and bayonet, wielded by five thousand veteran soldiers, was now vain, and at noon Magaw yielded. At half-past one o'clock the British flag waved over the fort in

triumph, where the American flag had been unfurled in the morning with defiance. The Americans had lost in killed and wounded not more than one hundred men; the British had lost almost a thousand. The garrison that surrendered numbered, with militia, about twenty-five hundred, of whom over two thousand were disciplined regulars. Knyphausen received Magaw's sword, and to the Germans and Highlanders were justly awarded the honors of the victory. Washington, standing on the brow of the Palisades at Fort Lee, with the author of "Common Sense" by his side, witnessed the disaster with anguish, but could afford no relief forever, and was named Knyphausen. The fort was lost to the Americans Its unfortunate garrison filled the prisons of New York and crowded the British prison-ships, wherein they were dreadful sufferers.

The Jersey was the most noted of the floating British prisons. She was the hulk of a six-gun ship lately dismantled, and placed in Wallabout Bay near the present Brooklyn Navy Yard. Sometimes more than a thousand prisoners were confined in her at one time, where they suffered indescribable horrors from unwholesome food, foul air, filth, and vermin, and from smallpox, dysentery, and prison fever, that slew them by scores. Their treatment was often brutal in the extreme, and despair reigned there almost continually. Every night, the living, the dying, and the dead were huddled together. At sunset each day was heard the savage order, accompanied by horrid imprecations - "Down, rebels, down!" and in the morning the significant cry - "Rebels, turn out your dead." The dead were then selected from the living, sewed up in blankets, taken upon deck, carried on shore and buried in shallow graves. Full eleven thousand victims were taken from the Jersey, and so buried, during the war. Their bones were gathered and placed in a vault by the Tammany Society of New York in 1808, with imposing ceremonies. That vault is at the southwestern corner of the Navy Yard, where their remains still rest. Several years ago a magnificent monument dedicated to the martyrs of the British prisons and prison-ships was erected in Trinity Churchyard, near Broadway, at a point over which speculators were trying to extend Albany street through the property of that corporation. The street was not opened. So patriotism triumphed over greed.

Philip Freneau, a contemporary, and sometimes called the Poet of the Revolution, wrote a long poem, in three cantos, in 1780, entitled The British Prison Ships, in which he assumed the character of one of the victims. He bitterly complained of the American Loyalists or Tories, who bore a conspicuous part in the horrid scenes. Of these he wrote:

"That Britain's rage should dye our plains with gore, And desolation spread through every shore, None e'er could doubt, that her ambition knew - This was to rage and disappointment due But that those monsters whom our soil maintain'd, Who first drew breath in this devoted land, Like famished wolves should on their country prey, Assist its foes, and wrest our lives away. This shocks belief - and bids our soil disown Such friends, subservient to a bankrupt crown."

He gives the following picture of suffering: "No masts or sails these crowded ships adorn, Dismal to view, neglected and forlorn! Here nightly ills oppress the imprison'd throng - Dull were our slumbers, and our nights too long. From morn to eve along the decks we lay, Scorch'd into fevers by the solar ray; No friendly awning cast a welcome shade; Once was it promis'd, and was

never made. No favors could these sons of death bestow, 'Twas endless cursing, and continual woe; Immortal hatred doth their breasts engage, And this lost empire swells their soul with rage.

The poet referred to the British commissary of prisons in New York, in the following lines:
"Here, generous Britain, generous, as you say, To my parch'd tongue one cooling drop convey;
Hell has no mischief like a thirsty throat, Nor one tormentor like your David Sproat."

Chapter LXX

Gates in the Northern Department - War-Vessels on Lake Champlain under Arnold - British Fleet in the Sorel - Naval Engagements on the Lake - The British Retreat - War with the Indians - Fort Lee Evacuated - March of Washington and Cornwallis Across New Jersey - Bad Conduct of General Lee - His Capture - Washington Beyond the Delaware - His Hope and Energy Effectual - Flight of the Congress - The British Army in New Jersey - Capture of Hessians at Trenton - Effects of the Victory - Washington a Sort of Dictator - Morris Supplies Money - The Two Armies at Trenton - Battle at Princeton.

WHILE important events were occurring near the city of New York, others were in progress near the northern frontiers of the Union, where we left the shattered army that came out of Canada with Sullivan, in June, as recorded in Chapter LXVI of this volume. That army, sick and dispirited, halted, as we have seen, at Crown Point, whither General Gates was sent to take the command of them, General Sullivan retiring. Gates at once aspired to be chief of the Northern Department, then under the command of General Schuyler, and his pretensions were supported by a small faction in the Congress. He began to exercise authority which belonged exclusively to Schuyler. The latter resented the affront and referred the subject to the Congress, when a majority of that body lowered the pretensions of Gates by a resolution which instructed him that he was a subordinate in the Northern Department. He was greatly chagrined and irritated and from that hour he continually intrigued for the place of Schuyler, until he aspired to the more exalted position of commander-in-chief, and conspired with others to obtain it, as we shall observe hereafter.

Satisfied that Carleton would attempt the recapture of the Lake fortresses, so as to control the waters of Lake Champlain, the little army, by order of General Schuyler, withdrew from Crown Point and took post at Ticonderoga, where they began the construction of a flotilla of small war-vessels. By the middle of August, a little squadron was in readiness for service at Crown Point, and General Arnold was appointed its chief commander. It consisted of one sloop, three schooners, and five gondolas, carrying an aggregate of fifty-five guns which Forts Ticonderoga and Crown Point had furnished. The schooner Royal Savage was Arnold's flag-ship, and he had brave commanders of other vessels under him. With this little squadron he sailed down the lake toward the close of August, almost to the present Rouse's Point, and anchored. Seeing British and Indian warriors prowling along the shores of the narrow lake, he fell back to Isle la Motte, where his flotilla was joined by other vessels, increasing it to almost forty sail. With these he roamed the lake defiantly.

When Carleton heard of the ship-building on the lake, he sent about seven hundred skilled workmen from Quebec to St. John, to prepare a fleet to cope with the Americans. In the course of a few weeks a considerable naval force was floating on the Sorel, and a strong land force under Burgoyne were on Isle aux Noix. Ignorant of the real strength of the British armament, Arnold withdrew to Valcour Island, not far south of Plattsburgh, and anchored his vessels across the channel between that land and the western shore of Lake Champlain, leaving the main channel

free for the passage of the vessels of the enemy. This disastrous blunder was approved by Gates, who was as ignorant of naval affairs as Arnold.

Early on the morning of the 11th of October, the British fleet appeared off Cumberland Head. It was commanded by Captain Pringle. It bore twice as many vessels and skilled seamen against untutored landmen, as the American force presented. The flagship - the *Inflexible* - was a three-masted ship, carrying eighteen 12-pounders and ten smaller guns. This formidable fleet swept by Valcour Island without opposition, and gaining the rear of Arnold's squadron, attacked it at noon. The *Carleton*, Captain Dacres, assisted by gun-boats, fell upon the *Royal Savage* and soon crippled her. As she was returning to the lines, she grounded and was burned. Arnold and his men escaped to the *Congress* galley, and in her fought desperately. Arnold was compelled to act as gunner, and pointed every cannon that was fired from the *Congress*. She was soon dreadfully bruised in every part - her mainmast was splintered, and her yards shivered. She was hulled twelve times, and seven times she was hit between wind and water. The *Carleton*, also, was badly hurt, as were most of the vessels on both sides. The British landed some Indians on Valcour Island, whence they poured volleys of bullets, but without much effect, upon the Americans. Night closed the fight, after a contest of almost five hours, without victory for either party. More than sixty of the Americans and forty of the British had been killed or wounded.

Arnold consulted Waterbury of the *Trumbull* and Wigglesworth of the *Washington*, and it was decided to attempt flight to Crown Point. To guard against such a movement, which the British expected, they had anchored a line of vessels across the avenue for escape, from a small island a little south of Valcour, to the main land. The Americans did not attempt the impossible feat of breaking through that compact British line, but took another course. The night was dark and became tempestuous. Under its cover, the shattered fleet crept around the north end of Valcour Island, and taking advantage of a stiffening north wind, had left the enemy far behind, when at dawn, the escape was discovered. Pursuit was immediately ordered. The *Trumbull* had led the way, and the *Congress* had brought up the rear. At Schuyler's Island the flotilla had stopped to make repairs, and toward evening the wind shifted to the southward. The better equipped British vessels overtook the Americans early the next morning (Oct. 13, 1776), and soon compelled the *Washington* to surrender. Arnold, in the *Congress*, kept up a running fight for five hours. Finally his vessel, with four gondolas, was chased into a creek on the Vermont shore of the lake, where they were set on fire by their crews. Arnold remained on his vessel until driven away by the flames, and was the last to reach the shore. He formed his men in good order in sight of his pursuers, and marching through the woods to Chimney Point, reached Crown Point in safety. He had lost between eighty and ninety men, and gained nothing but renown for his personal bravery. All that remained of his proud little fleet were two schooners, two galleys, one sloop, and one gondola.

Governor Carleton, who was with his fleet, took possession of Crown Point on the 14th of October. Although he was within two hours' sail of Ticonderoga, then garrisoned by only three thousand effective men, with twenty-five hundred on Mount Independence opposite, he was too cautious to attempt its capture. At the beginning of November, he fled back to Canada, with his

troops, where he found himself about to be superseded in military command by General Burgoyne. He was soothed by the present of an order of knighthood by his king. Thence forward he was Sir Guy Carleton. At about the same time General Howe was created Sir William Howe.

At this time the British king was trying to "bring on the inhabitants of the frontiers the merciless Indian savages, whose known rule of warfare is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes, and conditions." Lieutenant Governor Hamilton, at Detroit, wrote to the ministry early in September (1776) that he had employed "chiefs and warriors from the Ottawas, Chippewas, Wyandots, and Pottawatomies," with the Senecas, to "fall on the scattered settlers in the Ohio region, and this news seemed to be pleasant to Lord George Germain, the successor of the more humane Dartmouth. In the southwest there was a dreadful conflict between the white people and the savages, who had been incited to hostilities by British emissaries. The authorities in Canada had sent down messengers from the Six Nations, and tribes westward of them, to stir up the Cherokees, Creeks, Choctaws, and Chickasaws to war, but only the first-named nation felt inclined to listen favorably. In an evil hour for their people, the Cherokee chiefs, influenced by Stuart and Cameron, Scotch emissaries of the crown among them, took up the hatchet and the war-club, and fell with fury upon the settlers on the frontiers of the Carolinas and southwestern Virginia. Innocent men, women, and children were slain, and the mountain ranges were illumined by the flames of burning dwellings. Their cruelties aroused the settlers, who organized into military bands, and so gallantly fought and fearfully chastised the savages, that late in the autumn they begged for mercy. Germain had looked eagerly for news from his faithful agents, of the success of the savages; and at the moment when the dusky warriors were on their knees, as it were, before the exasperated settlers, that minister wrote to Stuart, saying: "The Cherokees must be supported, for they have declared for us; I expect, with some impatience, to hear from you of the success of your negotiation with the Creeks and Choctaws, and that you have prevailed on them to join the Cherokees. I cannot doubt of your being able, under such advantageous circumstances, to engage them in a general confederacy against the rebels in defense of those liberties of which they are so exceedingly jealous, and in the full enjoyment of which they have always been protected by the king." It was too late. The chastisement had been inflicted, and the Cherokees had been taught discretion by adversity.

We left Washington with his little army near Fort Lee on the Jersey shore. He was soon disturbed by Lord Cornwallis, who, early on the morning of the 20th of November, crossed the Hudson from Dobb's Ferry to Closter's Landing, five miles above Fort Lee, and with artillery climbed a steep, rocky road to the top of the Palisades, unobserved by Greene. That officer was told of his danger by a farmer, who awoke him from slumber. Greene gave warning to Washington, who ordered Lee to cross the Hudson immediately and join him. Greene fled in haste from Fort Lee, with two thousand men, leaving behind cannon, tents, stores and camp equipage, and barely escaping capture. Washington covered the retreat of the garrison so effectually, that less than one hundred stragglers were made prisoners.

It was now suspected that the British would move on Philadelphia. Washington, with his army

led by himself and reduced to less than four thousand men, marched toward the Delaware to impede the progress of the invader as much as possible. His force decreased at almost every step. The patriotism of New Jersey seemed to be paralyzed by the presence of a British army on the soil. Hundreds of republicans - even men who had been active in the patriot cause - signed a pledge of fidelity to the British crown. During the twelve days that Washington was making his way to the Delaware, so closely pursued by Cornwallis that the rear-guard of the Americans often heard the music of the van-guard of the royal troops, he was chilled by the seeming indifference of the people. He halted at points as long as possible, for Lee to join him and so give him strength to make a stand against his pursuers; but that officer, assuming that his was an independent command, paid no attention to the order of his superior. He was then evidently playing a desperate game of treason. Daily messages to him, urging him to push forward with his troops, did not affect him. He lingered long on the Hudson, until many of his soldiers had left him and gone home; and he tried to induce Heath to weaken his force in the Highlands by assigning for duty under Lee, two thousand of his men. Failing in this, he moved slowly as far in the rear of Washington as possible; and finally (eleven days after the chief had reached the Delaware), he took lodgings at Baskingridge in East Jersey, three miles from his camp, and nearer the enemy. There, on the morning of the 13th of December, he suffered himself to be captured by a small British scout.

Lee had habitually treated Washington with superciliousness; and in letters to Gates and others, who would applaud his utterances, he would speak with contempt of the commander-in-chief as "not a heaven-born genius," and words of like import. He had just finished a letter to Gates when the scout appeared, in which he wrote most falsely: A certain great man is most damnably deficient. He has thrown me into a situation where I have my choice of difficulties; if I stay in this province, I risk myself and army; and if I do not stay, the province is lost forever," and so on. This letter was not folded when the scout came and summoned Lee to surrender. He went out unarmed, bareheaded, in slippers, without a coat, in a blanket cloak, his shirt-collar open and his linen much soiled, and gave himself up. In this plight he was hurried on horseback to the camp of Cornwallis, and was afterward sent to New York. Sullivan, who was next in command, took charge of the troops and pushed on to the Delaware. Had Lee obeyed the orders of Washington, Cornwallis could not have penetrated New Jersey further than Newark, for the disobedient officer had four thousand troops under his command when he crossed the Hudson, and might have joined Washington with them in less than three days.

On the evening of the 1st of December, Washington fled from New Brunswick after destroying a part of the bridge over the Raritan there, and engaging in a contest with cannon with his pursuers. It was understood that Howe, who was about to send a part of his army to take possession of Rhode Island, had instructed Cornwallis not to pursue further than the Raritan. So Washington left Lord Stirling at Princeton with twelve hundred men, and with the remainder of his little army (the New Jersey and Maryland brigades had just left him): pushed on to the Delaware, at Trenton. Having sent his baggage, stores, and sick across the river into Pennsylvania, he turned back to oppose the further progress of Cornwallis, when, on the morning of the 6th, he met Stirling flying before a greatly superior force. Howe had sent troops under

General Clinton to Rhode Island, borne by the ships of Sir Peter Parker, and with a considerable force had now joined Cornwallis; making an army four thousand strong. With these they were pressing on toward the Delaware. Washington was compelled to turn back and seek safety, with his little army, beyond the river. He crossed that stream on the 8th, and before the arrival of the British on its banks, he had seized or destroyed every boat on its waters and those of its tributaries, along a line of seventy miles.

Philadelphia was now trembling for its own safety. The Congress, in whom there was a growing distrust in the public mind, were uneasy. Leading republicans hesitated to go further. Only Washington, who, at the middle of December, when frost was rapidly creating a bridge across the Delaware over which his pursuers might pass, had not more than a thousand soldiers on whom he could rely, seemed hopeful. When asked what he would do if Philadelphia should be taken, he replied: We will retreat beyond the Susquehanna River, and thence, if necessary, to the Alleghany mountains." He had already conceived the masterly stroke which sent a thrill of joy and hope through the desponding heart of America, and toward that end he worked. He sent Putnam to cast up defenses around Philadelphia, and stimulated the Congress to vigorous action. They sent forth a strong appeal to the people. A thorough reorganization of the army was begun according to the plan adopted by the Congress. There was to be one grand army, composed of eighty battalions of seven hundred and fifty men each, to be raised in the several States. Liberal bounties were offered to soldiers who should re-enlist, and a loan of ten million dollars from France was authorized. Placing almost unlimited control of Philadelphia in the hands of Putnam, Congress, on the 12th (December, 1776), resolved to leave that city and retire to Baltimore, at the same time delegating their powers to a committee composed of Robert Morris, George Clymer, and George Walton to act in their behalf during their absence. On their departure the loyalists became bold, and there was much danger of a counter revolution in favor of the crown.

Informed that nearly all the Pennsylvanians were loyalists, and looking with contempt upon the scattered forces of Washington in that State, Cornwallis had cantoned his troops in a careless manner in the vicinity of the Delaware, left them in charge of General Grant, and returned to New York. So confident were the British leaders of their ability to capture Philadelphia at any time, and end the rebellion by that single blow, that Cornwallis was preparing to go to England, when events called him back to New Jersey.

Lee's division under Sullivan, and some regiments from Ticonderoga under Gates, joined Washington on the 21st of December. Inducements offered for re-enlistments had retained nearly one-half of the veterans. The Pennsylvania militia cheerfully responded to the call for help, and on the day before Christmas, Washington found himself at the head of an army between five and six thousand in number. He now felt strong enough to execute a plan which he had conceived, for surprising and capturing a force of the enemy stationed at Trenton, fifteen hundred in number, composed chiefly of Hessian troops under Colonel Rail. Washington expected the Germans, as was their custom, would have a carousal on Christmas day, and he fixed upon the succeeding night as a favorable time for crossing the Delaware, and falling upon them during their heavy slumbers before the dawn. Rail, in his pride, had said: "What need of entrenchments? Let the

rebels come; we will at them with the bayonet;" and he made the fatal mistake of not placing a single cannon in battery.

At twilight on the appointed evening, Washington had two thousand men at McConkey's Ferry (now Taylorsville), a few miles above Trenton, with boats of every kind to transport them across the river, then filled with masses of thickening ice, for the weather was very cold. With him were Generals Sterling, Sullivan, Greene, Mercer, Stephen, and Knox, the latter (commissioned brigadier-general two days afterward) in command of artilleryists, and about twenty pieces of cannon. Arrangements had been made for simultaneous movements against other British cantonments, especially' one from Bristol, with about ten thousand men, which Gates was directed to lead. With wilful disobedience, in imitation of Lee, Gates refused the duty, turned his back on Washington on Christmas eve, and rode on toward Baltimore to intrigue in Congress for Schuyler's place in the Northern Department.

The perilous voyage across the Delaware amid the floating ice was begun early in the evening, and it was four o'clock in the morning before the troops stood in marching order, with all their cannon, on the New Jersey shore. The current was swift, the ice was thickly strewn in it, and the night was dark, for toward midnight a storm of snow and sleet set in. The army moved in two columns - one led by Sullivan along the road nearest the river, and the other commanded by Washington, accompanied by Generals Stirling, Greene, Mercer, and Stephen. It was broad daylight when they approached Trenton, but they were undiscovered until they reached the picket lines on the outskirts of the village. The firing that followed awakened Rail and his troops, who were hardly recovered from their night's debauch. The colonel was soon at the head of his men in battle order, but reeled like a man half-asleep. A sharp conflict ensued, lasting only thirty-five minutes, when the Hessians were defeated and dispersed, and Colonel Rail was mortally wounded. The main body of his troops attempted to escape by the Princeton road, when they were intercepted by Colonel Hand. The affrighted Germans threw down their arms and begged for mercy. Some British light horse and infantry at Trenton escaped to Bordentown.

The victory for the Americans was complete. It would have been more decisive had the co-operating parties been able to perform their duties. They could not; and Washington won all the glory of the victory which greatly inspired the patriots. In the engagements the Americans did not lose a single man, and had only two - William Washington (afterward distinguished in the South) and James Monroe (afterward President of the United States) - who were slightly wounded. The spoils of victory were almost a thousand prisoners, twelve hundred small arms, six brass field-pieces, and all the German standards. The triumphant army re-crossed the Delaware at McConkey's Ferry, and before midnight of the day of victory were back to their encampment.

This bold stroke of the American general puzzled and amazed the British leaders, alarmed the Tories, and dissipated the terror which had been felt in the presence of the Hessians, as invincible troops. The faltering militia soon flocked to the standard of Washington, and many of the soldiers, who were about to leave the American camp, re-enlisted. Cornwallis was sent back to New Brunswick, where General Grant was in command of the main British army in New Jersey,

and the other cantonments in that province were broken up and the troops concentrated toward Trenton. Grant moved forward to Princeton, and Washington, who had resolved to attempt to drive the British out of New Jersey, boldly recrossed the river to the eastern side, and took post with his army at Trenton, on the 30th of December, 1776. The Congress, sitting at Baltimore, had invested him with powers almost equal to those of a Roman Dictator, for six months, authorizing him to reorganize his army appoint all officers below brigadier-general to make requisitions for subsistence and enforce them with arms, and to arrest the disaffected. Intending to remain on the eastern side of the Delaware, he announced to the Congress, while his army was crossing that stream, his intention "to pursue the enemy and try to beat up their quarters; and he directed McDougall and Maxwell to collect troops at Morristown, as a place of refuge in case he should need one.

The low condition of the military chest would not allow Washington to pay the bounties agreed to be given, at the appointed time, and the commander-in- chief wrote to Robert Morris, the great financier of the Revolutionary period, for an immediate supply of hard money. The Congress had just resolved to issue bills to the amount of five million dollars immediately, but the credit of that body was then very low, even John Dickenson refusing to take the Continental money. The credit of Robert Morris was high, and confidence in him was unbounded. The sum asked for was large, and the financier was perplexed with doubts of his ability to obtain it. In a despondent mood he left his counting-room at a late hour, musing, as he walked in the street, on the subject of the requisition, when he met a wealthy member of the Society of Friends, who, at that time, were generally of the Tory faith in politics. To this Friend, Morris made known his wants. Robert, what security canst thou give?" asked the Quaker. "My note and my honor," Morris replied. "Thou shalt have it," the Friend answered, and the next day Morris wrote to Washington: "I was up early this morning to dispatch a supply of fifty thousand dollars to your Excellency." Washington, in acknowledging its receipt, wrote that he had engaged a number of the eastern troops to stay six weeks beyond their term of enlistment, upon giving a bounty of ten dollars. "This, I know," wrote Washington, is a most extravagant price when compared with the time of service;" but he thought it "no time to stand upon trifles."

The main army of Americans, about five thousand strong, were encamped on the south side of the Assanpink Creek at Trenton, when, toward evening on the 2nd of January (1777), Cornwallis approached from Princeton with a superior force of British regulars. They had engaged in a series of skirmishes on the way, and followed the Americans, who had attacked them, to the margin of the Assanpink. After trying to pass the guarded fords of that stream, they halted and lighted fires; and Cornwallis rested that night with the full assurance that he would make an easy conquest of the republican army the next day. I will catch the fox in the morning," said the Earl to Sir William Erskine, who urged him to make an attack that night.

Washington's army were now in a very critical situation. A council of war was held, when it was decided to withdraw stealthily, at midnight, take a circuitous route to Princeton, gain the rear of the British and beat up their quarters there, and then fall upon their stores at New Brunswick. But the ground, on account of a thaw, was too soft to allow an easy transit for their forty pieces

of cannon. This gave Washington much anxiety. While the council was in session, the wind turned to the northwest, the temperature suddenly fell, and by midnight the ground was frozen as hard as a pavement. Along the front of the American camp, fires had been lighted, and the British supposed the republicans were slumbering. Great was their surprise, mortification and alarm, when, at dawn, they discovered that the American camp-fires were still burning but the army had departed, none knew whither. All was silent and dreary on the south side of the Assanpink, when suddenly there came upon the keen wintry air, from the direction of Princeton, the low booming of cannon. Although it was a cold winter's morning, Cornwallis thought the sound was the rumbling of distant thunder. The quicker ear of Erskine decided that it was the noise of artillery, and exclaimed: "To arms, general! Washington has outgeneralled us. Let us fly to the rescue at Princeton!"

The American army, after sending their baggage to Burlington, had marched from Trenton at one o'clock in the morning of the 3rd, leaving patrols to make their accustomed rounds and men to keep the camp-fires blazing until near the dawn, when they hurried after the retreating army. By a circuitous march the troops reached the neighborhood of Princeton before sunrise. Crossing Stony Brook, the main army wheeled to the right to take a back road to Princeton, while General Mercer, with about three hundred and fifty men, was sent to break down another bridge that spanned the stream. Two regiments of Colonel Mawhood's brigade had just started to join Cornwallis at Trenton, and the one in advance, led by the colonel in person, accompanied by three companies of dragoons, first discovered Mercer. The two parties, whose numbers were about equal, tried to gain a vantage ground upon an eminence near. Each had two field-pieces; and a sharp engagement was begun by Mawhood by attacking Mercer with his cannon. The firing was returned with spirit by Captain Neal with his two pieces, while Mercer's riflemen sent deadly volleys from behind a hedge fence. They were soon furiously attacked with British bayonets, and fled in disorder, the enemy pursuing, until, on the brow of a hill, they discovered the American regulars and Pennsylvania militia, under Washington, marching to the support of Mercer. In trying to rally the troops, Colonel Haslett of Delaware, and Captains Neal and Fleming, were killed, and General Mercer, whose horse had been disabled under him, was knocked down by British clubbed musket, mortally wounded and left for dead.

Just at that moment Washington appeared, checked the flight of the fugitives, and intercepted the march of the other British regiment. He was assisted by the fire of Moulder's artillery placed in battery. When Mawhood saw Washington riding from column to column and bringing order out of confusion, he halted, and, drawing up his artillery, charged and attempted in vain to seize Moulder's guns. The Pennsylvania militia, who were first in line, began to waver at this onset, when Washington, to encourage them and set an example for all his troops, rode to the forefront of danger. For a moment he was hidden by the smoke of the musketry on both sides, and a shiver of dread lest he was slain, ran through the army; when he appeared, unhurt, a shout of joy rent the air. At that moment Colonel Hitchcock came up with a fresh force, and Hand's riflemen were turning the British left, when Mawhood ordered a retreat. His troops (the Seventieth regiment) fled across the snow-covered fields and over the fences, up Stony Brook, leaving two brass field-pieces behind them. The Fifty-fifth regiment, which had attempted to reinforce them, were

pressed back by the New England troops under Stark, Poor, Patterson, Reed and others, and were joined in their flight toward New Brunswick by the Fortieth, who had not taken much part in the action. A portion of a British regiment remained in the strong, stone-built Nassau Hall of the College at Princeton, which had been used for barracks. Washington brought cannon to bear upon the building, and the troops within soon surrendered. One of the cannon-balls entered a window and passed through the head of a portrait of George the Second in a frame that hung on the wall of the Prayer-room. A full-length portrait of Washington by Peale, now occupies that frame.

In this short but sharp battle, the British loss in killed, wounded and prisoners, was about four hundred and thirty. That of the Americans was light, excepting in officers. Colonels Haslett and Potter, Major Morris and Captains Shippen, Fleming and Neal, were slain. General Mercer was taken to a house near by, where he was tenderly nursed by a Quaker maiden and a colored woman at the house of Thomas Clarke. There he died nine days afterward in the arms of Major George Lewis, a nephew of Washington.

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Overview of Our Country: Volume 4

A history of the United States from the discovery of America to the present time (1905). Volume 4 of 8 covers Washington's Army at Morristown through the appointment of Thanksgiving, the entry of Vermont and Kentucky into the Union, and the Battle of Tippecanoe.

Chapter LXXI

Washington's Army at Morristown in Winter-Quarters - His Achievements - The British in New Jersey - Change in Public Sentiment - The Congress Returns to Philadelphia - State Supremacy Asserted - The Congress and the British Parliament - Spirit of the British Government and the American People - Brant and Indian Allies - The ministerial Plan - Aggressive Movements - State of Public Affairs - Schuyler and Gates - Will of the King - Military Operations in New Jersey - Both Armies Move toward Philadelphia - Lafayette and Other Foreign Officers.

WHEN Cornwallis was assured of Washington's escape and heard his cannon at Princeton, he was alarmed for the safety of his stores at New Brunswick, and immediately began a rapid pursuit. Had the republican troops been fresh, no doubt the British stores on the Raritan would have been a part of Washington's spoils of victory; but they were worn down with the fatigues of two days hard service; lack of sleep and food; a night march of ten miles in bitter cold, many of the men bare-footed and thinly clad, and the excitement of a battle. They could do very little more without rest and refreshment; and when Washington found his enemy close upon him, he pursued the fugitive British regiments only as far as the Millstone River at Kingston (about three miles), where he crossed that stream, broke down the bridge behind him, and rested at Somerset Court-House that night.

Cornwallis had pursued so swiftly, that he reached Princeton just as Washington left it. There he was confronted by a thirty-two pound cannon, whose vigorous discharges by the skillful American artillerists, made the British leader believe the republicans were about to make a stand and give battle. He halted, and wasted so much time in reconnoitering that Washington was allowed to escape. Believing his foe was pressing on toward New Brunswick, Cornwallis continued the pursuit, crossing the Millstone at Kingston after reconstructing the bridge. There Washington had turned toward the hill country around Morristown, by way of a narrow road by Rocky Hill; but Cornwallis, suspecting he was on the march toward New Brunt wick, hastened forward over the rough highway, and arrived there at sunset, where he found his stores all safe, and not a republican soldier near. Washington marched to Morristown, where he put his army into winter-quarters.

The American commander had now achieved a mighty victory. Viewed in all its varied aspects, Frederick the Great of Prussia declared the exploits of the Patriot and his handful of followers, between Christmas and Twelfth Day, the most brilliant of any recorded in the annals of military achievements. At the very moment when his army appeared to be on the verge of dissolution, Washington struck a blow so powerful that it paralyzed the enemy. It broke up the British and Hessian cantonments upon the Delaware, and made Cornwallis anxious to secure quarters nearer New York, under the protection of General Howe. It caused Howe to recall a brigade from Rhode Island to strengthen his force at New York; and it was not long before the British were driven to near the sea-shores of New Jersey, and held posts only at New Brunswick, Amboy, and Paulus Hook (now Jersey City), for Washington, with his army encamped in huts at Morristown, was not idle. He had established cantonments from Princeton on the right, under the command of General Putnam, to the Hudson Highlands on the left, under General Heath. He was in the midst of hills, a fertile country teeming with abundance, and generally patriotic inhabitants. His little expeditions sent out to harass the enemy were conducted with so much spirit, that the British were kept in continual dread. The people were thereby encouraged their martial spirit seemed to revive, and early in the spring of 1777, the thinned battalions of the army began to fill up.

The Continental Congress, which had fled to Baltimore, satisfied that immediate danger was past, returned to Philadelphia early in March, and resumed their sessions there. And the people of New Jersey, of whom not more than a hundred had joined Washington in his retreat from the Hudson to the Delaware, and who, to the number of almost three thousand, had subscribed to a declaration of fidelity to the king, seeing the changed aspect of affairs, and having suffered dreadfully from the unbridled passions of the British and Hessian soldiers exercised on friend and foe alike, now became active partisans of the republican cause. A feeling of revenge gave strength to their purpose and arms. Their action was doubtless accelerated by a proclamation of Washington issued late in January, who, in the exercise of the discretion given him by Congress, demanded, in the name of the associated States, that all who had taken British protection, and professed fidelity to the crown, should take an oath of allegiance to the United States of America, or withdraw within the British lines.

The Legislature of New Jersey, regarding the proclamation as violation of State supremacy - a doctrine that was the bane of our national life down to the Civil War - censured the commander-in-chief. A few members of Congress, possessing less sagacity and political wisdom than Washington, joined in the censure, and seemed ready to deprive him of all power. When a proposition was made to give him authority to name his generals, John Adams said In private life, I am willing to respect and look up to him in this House, I feel myself to be the superior of General Washington." By a bare majority, the Congress, after failing to furnish reinforcements for Washington's army, expressed their earnest desire that he could "not only curb and confine the enemy within their present quarters, but, by divine blessing, totally subdue them before they could be reinforced." This seemed like insulting irony, when we consider that Washington then had less than three thousand effective men at his command in New Jersey.

The apathy and folly of the British monarch and ministers, at this time, were astonishing to men who perceived the gravity of public affairs through the medium of events in America. They were in strong contrast with the energy and wisdom of the managers of American affairs at home and abroad. A British army had been driven from Boston; a British fleet had been expelled from Charleston harbor; the colonies had declared their independence, and full thirty thousand British and German troops had been defied and combated; and yet the Parliament did not meet until the close of October (1776) to consider these things. Then the king, in his speech, congratulated the legislature upon the success of the royal troops in America, and assured them, without the shadow of a good reason, that most of the Continental powers entertained friendly feelings toward Great Britain. After rejecting every conciliatory proposition, and voting men and supplies for the united service in America, Parliament adjourned to keep the Christmas holidays with an apparent feeling that their votes had crushed the trans-Atlantic rebellion. At that moment Washington was planning his brilliant achievements in person.

Meanwhile the American Congress had held a perpetual session. They knew that the European powers had no real friendship for haughty Britain. They knew that France, Spain, the States-General of Holland, the Prince of Orange, Catharine of Russia and Pope Clement, all feared and hated England, and were anxious for a pretense to strike her fiercely and humble her pride, because of her potency in arms, commerce, and diplomacy, and her strong Protestantism. Therefore, as we have seen, the Congress sent Silas Deane to France as a commercial agent in the spring of 1776, to procure army supplies, and in the autumn appointed Dr. Franklin and Arthur Lee joint commissioners with Deane for the same purpose. The latter had already procured arms from the French arsenals, and abundant promises of men and money from the French minister, Vergennes. The British ambassador to the French court (Lord Stormont) treated the Commissioners with contempt. When they asked him to make an arrangement for the exchange of captive seamen, he was silent. When the request was repeated, he answered The King's ambassador receives no applications from rebels unless they come to implore his Majesty's mercy." This was then the spirit of the British government; the spirit of the American people at the same time was displayed by the answer of Nathan Coffin, an American seaman, when he was threatened, to induce him to enlist in the royal navy: "Hang me, if you will, to the yard-arm of your ship, hut do not ask me to become a traitor to my country."

At the beginning of 1777, the British government prepared for crushing the rebellion early in the ensuing campaign. Reinforcements to the number of more than thirty-five hundred were procured from the German princes, and these, with a considerable British force, were sent to strengthen Howe below the Highlands, and Burgoyne in Canada. Governor Tryon was employed in embodying the American Tories into military battalions under Brigadier-Generals Oliver, De Lancey of New York, and Cortlandt Skinner of New Jersey. Many French Canadians joined the British forces on the Canadian frontier; and under the special instructions of Germain, the Colonial Secretary, which he had received from the king, bands of Indian savages were engaged to fight the republicans, the most of them under the general command of Joseph Brant, a Mohawk chief, a brother-in-law of Sir William Johnson, and who had been educated by the white people. He had lately returned from England, where he had conferred with the king and Germain, and

been well received by the aristocracy. At court he appeared in the splendid costume of his nation (in which Romney painted him), and wearing a highly-polished and ornamented tomahawk in his belt. There he decided to espouse the cause of the crown. He did so, and served the king faithfully and vigorously. The best of the British leaders in America were opposed to employing the savages in their armies; but it was a pet project of Tryon, the king and his pliant ministers, who seem to have listened complacently to La Corne St. Luc, a bitter partisan, who said "We must let loose the savages upon the frontiers of these scoundrels, to inspire terror, and to make them submit." Tryon, who was noted for his brutal inhumanity, strongly commended La Corne to the Secretary as a leader of the savages, and wrote to Germain, in the spring of 1777 We [La Corne and himself] agree perfectly in sentiments respecting the propriety and importance of employing the Indians." He said La Corne had pledged his honor and his life that he would raise a corps of Canadians and savages, and "be in the environs of Albany in sixty days after he landed in Quebec." "Every means that Providence has placed in our hands ought to be employed against the rebels," said the king and his ministers.

It had been determined in the British cabinet to attempt to divide the colonies by seizing the region of Lake Champlain and the Hudson River during the approaching campaign. The Indians were to spread terror over Northern New York by their atrocities, and so open an easy way to the Hudson River and to Albany for British troops from Canada. An expedition composed of regulars, Canadians and Indians, under the command of Colonel St. Leger, was ordered to cross Lake Ontario, land at Oswego, penetrate and devastate the Mohawk Valley, and join the victorious troops that might sweep down from the north into the valley of the Upper Hudson. At the same time a British army was to ascend the Hudson, seize the fortifications in the Highlands, waste the country above in case of resistance, and so accomplish the great design of the campaign of 1777. For that purpose a large army was gathered at near the foot of Lake Champlain, under General Sir John Burgoyne, early in the summer of 1777.

It was late in May before the armies of Washington and Howe were put in motion for the summer campaign. The latter was delayed because of a lack of reinforcements. He had asked for an addition of fifteen thousand men. Germain, believing the rebellion might be stamped out with a much less number of troops than Howe required, wrote to him that not half that number could be sent. Howe was discouraged, and early in April he wrote to the Secretary that his army was too weak for rapid offensive operations.

Restricted as I am by a want of forces," he wrote, my hopes of terminating the war this year are vanished." He also informed the Secretary and Governor Carleton that he could give very little assistance to the army that was to advance from Canada: and he proposed to evacuate New Jersey and invade Pennsylvania by way of the sea. But Germain, erroneously calculating that Howe had thirty-five thousand men, and counting largely upon the help of the savages and Tories, deceived himself and the British people with a belief that the end of the impending campaign would be coeval with that of the rebellion.

While the two armies were preparing to move, detachments from each were striking offensive

blows here and there. The British sent a strong force up the Hudson River late in April to destroy American stores at Peekskill, at the lower entrance to the Highlands. General McDougall was in command there, but his force was too weak to defend the property. So he burned it, and retreated to the hills in the rear. At near the middle of April, Cornwallis marched up the Raritan with a considerable force from New Brunswick, to surprise the Americans at Bound Brook, under General Lincoln. The latter escaped with difficulty, and with a loss of about sixty men and a part of his baggage.

Toward the close of April, Governor Tryon, with almost two thousand British and Tories, sailed up the East River and Long Island Sound, from New York, landed on the Connecticut shore at Compo, between Fairfield and Norwalk, and proceeded toward Danbury, where the Americans had gathered a large quantity of stores. He was accompanied by Generals Agnew and Erskine. They reached the town on the 25th of April (1777), destroyed the stores, burned the village, and cruelly treated some of the inhabitants. The militia of the neighborhood flew to arms in large numbers, under the leadership of Generals Wooster, Arnold, and Silliman. Perceiving this, and fearing his retreat might be cut off Tryon retreated to Ridgefield. Near that village a sharp skirmish ensued, in which Wooster was killed and Arnold narrowly escaped capture. His horse was shot dead under him. Arnold could not extricate his foot from the stirrup, and fell with the animal. Seeing this, a Tory ran forward, with his bayonet at a charge, exclaiming, Surrender you are my prisoner! Not yet! shouted Arnold, as his foot became free at that moment, and he sprang to his feet. Drawing his pistol, he shot the Tory dead, and flying swiftly on foot to a dense swamp near by, followed by many British bullets, he escaped unhurt. For his gallantry on that occasion, the Continental Congress ordered a horse, richly caparisoned, to be presented to Arnold. Tryon spent the night in the neighborhood, and the next morning hastened to his ships, annoyed all the way by the gathering militia. At the place of re-embarkation, his troops were fearfully galled by cannon-shot from a battery of Lamb's artillery managed by Lieutenant-Colonel Oswald. They had already skirmished severely at a bridge; and they escaped a final capture, only by the good offices of Erskine at the head of the marines who were landed from the vessels, and who beat back the wearied Americans. About sunset the fleet departed. The Americans had lost during the invasion about one hundred men, and the enemy about three hundred. Tryon's atrocities on that occasion were never forgotten nor forgiven by the sufferers.

It is related that when the British approached Danbury, an old citizen resolved to save a piece of cloth which was at a clothier's at the south end of the village. He had just mounted his horse with it, when the British advanced-guard approached. Three light-horsemen started in pursuit. The old man's animal was not so fleet as theirs. Drawing near to him, one of the troopers cried out, "Stop, old Daddy, stop! We'll have you!" "Not yet!" cried the citizen. At that moment his roll of cloth unfolded, and fluttering like a streamer behind him, so frightened the pursuing horses that he got several rods ahead, and escaped.

The Americans, also, spurred by resentment, took similar aggressive action. Late in May, Colonel Meigs crossed Long Island Sound from Guilford, Connecticut, with one hundred and seventy men in whale-boats, and at two o'clock in the morning of the 23rd, attacked a British

provision-post at Sag Harbor, at the eastern end of Long Island. They burned a dozen vessels also stores and their contents made ninety men prisoners, and with these reached Guilford the next day at a little past noon, without losing a man. For this exploit, the Congress voted thanks to Colonel Meigs and his men, and a sword to the commander.

A little later a bolder exploit was performed in Rhode Island. General Prescott, the officer who so cruelly treated Ethan Allen at Montreal, was in command of the British troops there. He was a petty tyrant, and was detested by the people. His headquarters were at a farm-house a few miles from Newport, that belonged to a Friend. It was near the shore of Narraganset Bay. Many of the inhabitants had earnestly desired his removal, and Lieutenant-Colonel Barton of Providence resolved to attempt the perilous task of carrying him away. With a few picked men, he crossed the Bay from Warwick Point, in foul whale-boats, passed unobserved through the British guard-boats with muffled oars on a warm night (the 10th of July), and landed near the general's quarters without discovery. The colonel and a part of his men walked silently up to the house, seized the musket of a sentinel at the gate and threatened him with death if he should make any noise, and entered the dwelling. The owner sat reading. It was late, and all others of the household had retired. To Barton's inquiry for Prescott's room, the Friend pointed upward. Barton went up the stairs silently, followed by a powerful negro. The general's bedroom door was locked. The negro, making a battering-ram of his head, burst it open at the first effort. Prescott sprang from his bed to find himself a prisoner. Without allowing him to dress, his captors took him to a boat, his perfect silence being his guarantee of personal safety. At midnight they landed on the Warwick shore. The general was taken in a close carriage to Providence, and was sent to the headquarters of Washington, in New Jersey, where he was afterward exchanged for General Charles Lee. For this exploit, Congress voted an elegant sword for Barton, and commissioned him a colonel in the Continental Army.

During the winter and spring of 1777, Washington's mind was filled with anxiety concerning the future. The Congress was weak, for the jealousy of the States paralyzed their executive power. Faction was disturbing their councils. There was discontent in the army because inefficient foreign officers were, it was supposed, about to be put in high military positions; also because a few like Gates could not bear to serve in subordinate stations. That intriguing officer, like Lee, exerted a baneful influence continually. Aided by the New England delegation, with Samuel Adams at the head of the faction, he had supplanted General Schuyler, the most trusted and best beloved by Washington of all his generals. But his triumph was short. The baseness of his insinuations against the character of Schuyler were exposed by a committee of the Congress and, superseded in April, the latter was reinstated in May with larger discretionary powers. Gates, angry and insubordinate, refused to serve under Schuyler; and, without leave, he left the army and hastened to Philadelphia to demand redress. By falsehood he obtained admission to the floor of Congress, and the privilege of making a verbal communication. There he made an exhibition of impertinence, malice, folly and unmanliness, that disgusted all but his New England friends, who supported him in further intrigues, as we shall observe presently. Samuel Adams and some others had resolved to make Gates the commander-in-chief of the Northern Department, and worked assiduously for that purpose; and while they were swaying Congress in favor of this

weak man, who was doing nothing but boasting, they were unjustly demanding of Washington vigorous aggressive movements against the enemy, with so few troops that failure would have been a certain result. They reproached him with slowness; and intimations were thrown out that Gates was "the life and soul of the army." Washington bore this injustice with patience and obedience, for he was an unselfish patriot.

When the king heard of the disasters to the British arms in New Jersey, his wrath took the form of vindictiveness; and Germain, inspired by his majesty, wrote to General Howe that he must wage a more distressing war-fare, so that through a lively experience of losses and sufferings the rebels might be brought to a sense of their duty." It was intimated that Boston and other sea-port towns in flames would be pleasing to the king; but the brothers Howe, more humane than their masters, would not engage in that kind of warfare. They sent word back that it was not consistent with other operations." Meanwhile the sluggish British commander wasted the months of May and June in idleness at New York, when, with his large army, he might have marched to Philadelphia with very slight opposition; but he had resolved to go to that city by sea, and partly by sea he finally went.

In the meantime, Washington, with an army of about seven thousand five hundred men, composed of forty-three regiments in five divisions of two brigades each, moved from Morristown to the heights of Middlebrook on the borders of the Raritan, and nine miles from New Brunswick. At the latter place Howe assembled about seventeen thousand men, British and Germans, at near the middle of June, with boats and pontoons for crossing the Delaware. At the same time Washington's army had been rapidly increasing. Sullivan was at Princeton with fifteen hundred men. Arnold was posted on the Delaware with a division, and the troops on the Hudson were so concentrated that they might reinforce the main army quickly if required.

Howe's plan (if he had any) seemed to be to bring on a general engagement with the weaker American army. He dared not attack Washington in his stronghold, but tried to draw him out of it. He sent a detachment to attack Sullivan, but so tardy was their movement that the veteran was allowed to escape to the Delaware, pursued only three miles. This and other movements made Washington so vigilant that he was in the saddle almost continually, and his men lay upon their arms at night. On the 19th (June), Howe suddenly retreated to Amboy, and sent some of his troops over to Staten Island, so giving an impression that he was evacuating New Jersey. Washington was fairly deceived, and descending from the heights he gave chase with his whole army. Howe suddenly changed front and attempted to gain the rear of the Americans, but Washington was too quick for him. After a series of sharp skirmishes between New Brunswick and Amboy, without any serious effect on the fortunes of the campaign, the American army resumed their position at Middlebrook. On the 30th of June, the British had entirely evacuated New Jersey, and were encamped on Staten Island, where they afforded protection to a host of Tories, who fled with them from the main.

During these movements, the Congress at Philadelphia and the inhabitants there, were kept in anxious suspense by the expectation that Howe would attempt to capture that city. When they

heard of the retreat of the enemy and the rapid increase of Washington's army to almost fourteen thousand men, their spirits revived, and the Congress celebrated the Fourth of July - the first anniversary of the Declaration of Independence - much as we celebrate it now, after the lapse of a century. They had a banquet, made speeches, drank to patriotic toasts, rang the bells, fired cannon, had a military procession, a naval display on the Delaware; and in the evening, fireworks, bonfires, and illuminations were displayed. To the vigilance and caution, skill and bravery of Washington, the Congress and the citizens were indebted for their safety; and yet they indulged in ungenerous reproaches of the commander-in-chief because he had not done more. Samuel Adams publicly complained of the Fabian policy" of Washington; and Gates, who had charmed the New England delegation by his boasting and malicious criticisms, like Lee, scattered firebrands of distrust in the army. But Washington went steadily forward. Referring to these reproaches, he said he had one great object in view, which he should pursue according to the dictates of his own judgment; and that he was willing to be loaded with all the obloquy they could bestow if he committed a willful error.

Washington now watched the movements of the enemy with more anxiety than ever, for news had reached him of the invasion of Northern New York by Burgoyne. For several days these movements puzzled him. The British troops were embarked in the fleet of Lord Howe. At one time they seemed to be preparing to go up the Hudson River, and Washington made arrangements to oppose them. Finally, on the 24th of July, the fleet and troops left New York Bay and went to sea. Washington believed they were bound for Philadelphia by way of the Delaware, and moved a larger portion of his army toward that river; but he prudently kept back a reserve to act in case of Howe's return. Until he was assured that Howe had really abandoned Burgoyne, he could not, he wrote, help casting his eyes continually behind him. His suspense was soon ended. On the 31st of July, he received an express from Congress, telling him that two hundred and twenty-eight British vessels had appeared off the Capes of Delaware the day before. Howe had left New York with eighteen thousand troops for Philadelphia; but for the purpose of increasing his force by the addition of Tories in Maryland and Pennsylvania, where, General Lee had informed him, they abounded, he concluded to go up Chesapeake Bay, and march upon the Continental capital from the south. Washington instantly put a greater portion of his army in motion for that city, where they arrived early in August and encamped at Germantown.

At Philadelphia, Washington was joined by the Marquis de Lafayette, an enthusiastic Frenchman, then less than twenty years of age. He had married, three years before, the daughter of the Duke de Noailles, a beautiful, accomplished, and rich maiden. The story of the wrongs of America, and their struggle for their rights, inflamed his young heart with ardent sympathy and a passionate desire to help their cause, and resolved to hasten to their support. He openly espoused their Offering his services to the American Commissioners in Paris, he said Hitherto I have only cherished your cause; now I am going to support it." The women of Paris applauded his noble zeal. The young queen, Marie Antoinette, cheered him with her good wishes. The king expressed his disapprobation, for he hated republicans. Lafayette's young wife bade him go, for the sympathies of her heart were in unison with his. He went to England, stayed three weeks there, and was presented to the king. He danced at the house of Lord George Germain, and held

pleasant social intercourse with civilians and soldiers who were serving against the Americans. On all occasions he frankly expressed his sentiments in favor of the latter, but did not avow his purpose to go to America. Returning to France, he sailed for this country in a ship fitted out at his own expense, accompanied by eleven French and Polish officers who sought employment in the American army. Among them was the Baron de Kalb. Count Pulaski, a gallant Pole, soon followed. The confrere of the latter in the struggle for liberty in Poland, Kosciuszko, had come over the year before, and was then a highly esteemed engineer in the Continental Army.

Lafayette and his friends arrived at Georgetown, in South Carolina, whence they journeyed overland to Philadelphia. He offered his services to the Congress as a volunteer in any capacity and without pay. These terms were so different from those of the other foreign officers that the Congress accepted them, and on the last day of July commissioned him a major-general in the Continental Army. As such he was introduced to Washington at a dinner-party in Philadelphia, when the latter invited the young general to become a member of his military family. The invitation was accepted.

A little before this, a rumor reached the American camp, that Du Coudray, a French officer sent over by the Commissioners, had been appointed by the Congress a major-general in the Continental Army, and was to be placed at the head of the artillery service. Generals Knox, Greene, and Sullivan wrote to the Congress, declaring that such an appointment would compel them to resign their commissions. That body resented this as an attempt to influence their decisions, an invasion of the liberties of the people, and as indicating a want of confidence in the justice of Congress;" and Washington was instructed to tell the complaining generals that if they were unwilling to serve their country under the authority of Congress, they were at liberty to resign their commissions, and retire." The rumor was not true; no such appointment had been made. The rebuff which these officers received, prevented a repetition of such an offence.

The Congress did employ some of the French officers as engineers. Du Portail was commissioned a colonel of engineers; Laumoy and Radiere, lieutenant-colonels, and Gouvion a major. These proved to be valuable officers, and of essential importance during the war.

Chapter LXXII

A British Invasion from Canada with Savage Allies - Ticonderoga Evacuated by the Americans - Battle at Hubbardton - Schuyler Blamed - Weakness of His Army - He Impedes Burgoyne's March - The Story of Jane McCrea - Disastrous Expedition toward Bennington - Siege of Fort Schuyler - Battle at Oriskany - St. Leger's Flight from Before Fort Schuyler - Gates Supercedes Schuyler - The American Army - Burgoyne Prepares to Advance.

EARLY in May (1777), Burgoyne, who went to England the previous autumn, returned to Quebec, bearing the commission of lieutenant-general and commander-in-chief of the British forces in Canada. In June, he had gathered about seven thousand men at St. Johns, on the Sorel, for an invasion of the province of New York, with ample supplies, and boats for transportation. His force was composed of British and German regulars, Canadians and Indians. The Germans were commanded by Major-General Baron de Riedesel, and Burgoyne's chief lieutenants were Major-General Phillips and Brigadier-General Fraser.

At dawn, on the morning of the 20th of June, the drums in the camp at St. Johns beat the generale instead of the reveille, and very soon afterward the army were on the vessels, Burgoyne making an ostentatious display as he entered the schooner *Lady Mary*. The wives of many of the officers accompanied their husbands, for they expected a pleasant journey to New York, Burgoyne having sent word to Howe that he should speedily meet him on the navigable waters of the Hudson. The departure of the fleet was signalized by the Indians, who, having spilled the first blood in the campaign, brought in ten scalps as trophies of their savage warfare. So was begun the execution of the ministerial measure for spreading terror over the land by means of savage atrocities.

Before a fair wind the great armament moved up the lake, with music and banners. At near the mouth of the Raquet River, Burgoyne went on shore and there feasted about four hundred savages, to whom he made a speech, praising them for their fidelity to the king; exhorting them to "strike at the common enemy of their sovereign and America," whom he called "parricides of the State," and forbidding them to kill excepting in battle, or to take scalps excepting from the dead. This speech he caused to be published. His own commentary on it may be found in a threatening proclamation issued at Crown Point a few days afterward, in which he said: "Let not people consider their distance from my camp. I have but to give stretch to the Indian forces under my direction - and they amount to thousands - to overtake the hardened enemies of Great Britain. If the frenzy of hostility should remain, I trust I shall stand acquitted in the eyes of God and man in executing the vengeance of the State against the willful outcasts."

The whole invading army (a part of it on land) reached Crown Point on the 26th of June, and menaced Ticonderoga, where General St. Clair was in command. The invading force then numbered something less than nine thousand men, with a powerful train of artillery manned by veterans. The garrisons at Ticonderoga and Mount Independence opposite, had an aggregate force of not more than thirty-five hundred men, only one in ten of them possessing a bayonet.

Schuyler had too few troops (mostly militia) below to spare a reinforcement for St. Clair, without uncovering points which, left unprotected, might allow the invaders to gain the rear of the lake fortresses. Besides, he was compelled to make provision for meeting St. Leger's invasion of the Mohawk Valley. There were strong outposts around Ticonderoga, but there were not troops enough to man them; and there were eminences that commanded the fort that were left unguarded for the same reason. Between Ticonderoga and Mount Independence was a floating-bridge and boom which the Americans thought might effectually obstruct the passage of the British vessels, but these utterly failed in the hour of need. St. Clair perceived the web of peril that was weaving around him, but he kept up courage, declaring that he would totally defeat the enemy.

At Crown Point, Burgoyne issued a pompous proclamation to the inhabitants of the Upper Hudson Valley, which contained the threat above alluded to. He acted promptly as well as boasted. At the beginning of July he moved from Crown Point upon the upper lake fortresses with his whole army and navy. Riedesel led the Germans on the eastern side to attack the works on Mount Independence, while Phillips and Fraser pressed on to the outworks of Ticonderoga. They seized an eminence that commanded the road to Lake George; also mills in the rear of the fort. This was speedily followed by taking possession of and planting a battery of heavy cannon upon Mount Defiance, where plunging shot might be hurled into Fort Ticonderoga from a point several hundred feet above it. St. Clair, perceiving that the fort was no longer tenable, called a council of war, when it was resolved to evacuate it. On the evening of the 5th of July, the invalids and convalescents under Colonel Long, with stores and baggage, were sent off in bateaux for Skenesborough (now Whitehall); and at two o'clock on the morning of the 6th, the garrison, having spiked the guns which they could not take with them, silently crossed the floating-bridge to Mount Independence under cover of a brisk cannonade from that eminence. With the garrison there, they began, just before the dawn, a flight through the forests southward to the rugged hills of Vermont. The light of the waning moon was too feeble to reveal their movements, and the Americans hoped to leave their enemies far in their rear before their flight should be discovered. Unfortunately a building on Mount Independence was set on fire, and the light thereof betrayed the flying troops. Pursuit was immediately ordered. Fraser pressed forward with grenadiers and took possession of Ticonderoga, while Riedesel seized and occupied Mount Independence. The former crossed the floating bridge before sunrise, and with the Germans began a hot pursuit of the fugitive army.

Meanwhile Burgoyne, on board the schooner Royal George, ordered his gunboats to pursue the bateaux. The bridge barrier was soon removed, and the British vessels gave chase. They overtook the bateaux at near the landing-place at Skenesborough, and destroyed them and their contents. Colonel Long and his men escaped; and after setting on fire everything combustible at Skenesborough, they fled to Fort Ann, a few miles in the interior, pursued by a British regiment. Near Fort Ann, he turned upon and routed his pursuers, when the latter was reinforced and Long was driven back. He burned Fort Ann, and fled to Fort Edward on the Hudson.

When the army of St. Clair reached Hubbardton, in Vermont, the main body marched through the woods toward Castleton, leaving the rear-guard, under Colonel Seth Warner, one of the brave

"Green Mountain Boys," to gather up the stragglers. While awaiting their arrival, Warner was overtaken by the van of the pursuers, on the morning of the 7th, when a sharp engagement took place. Colonel Francis of New Hampshire, who commanded the rear-guard in the flight, was killed. The Americans were dispersed and fled, but about two hundred of them were made prisoners. The pursuers lost almost as many killed and wounded, and gave up the chase. St. Clair, with about two thousand troops, made his way in safety to Fort Edward.

A very large amount of provisions and military stores, and almost two hundred pieces of artillery, were lost by the Americans when they evacuated Ticonderoga. The news of the disaster went over the country, with wildest exaggerations. Generals Schuyler and St. Clair were condemned without stint and without reason. They had done all that it was possible for men to do under the circumstances. The States as individual communities and by their representatives in Congress had utterly failed to supply the Northern Department with sufficient men to defend it. The Congress had been practically deaf to the repeated calls of Schuyler for reinforcements. He had pointed out the dangers of an impending invasion while his force was too small to stay, or even impede it much. Washington, more wise than the Congress, saw the importance to his own army and the safety of the Country in checking the progress of the invaders; and though he was sorely in want of reinforcements coming from New England, he directed that a part of them, when they should reach the Hudson River, should be sent up that stream to assist Schuyler against a powerful foe. The enemies of the commander of the Northern Department, in and out of Congress, took an ungenerous advantage of the public ignorance of the truth, and condemned him as an incompetent. Some went so far as to call him a traitor. After tedious endeavors he procured a trial by a court-martial, who, by their verdict, heartily approved by the Congress, fully vindicated his character in every respect.

Schuyler was at Saratoga when he heard of the disaster. He hastened to Fort Edward to gather there the scattered troops and oppose the further advance of Burgoyne, who, victorious, was boastful and arrogant. In a proclamation he peremptorily demanded the instant submission of the people. Schuyler immediately issued a counter-proclamation, with excellent effect; but with the remnant of St. Clair's army added to his own force at the middle of July, he had not more than four thousand effective men - a number totally inadequate to combat with the enemy. He employed it simply but effectually, in destroying bridges and felling trees in the pathway of the invader. So impeded, Burgoyne did not reach Fort Edward until the close of July. He was compelled to move cautiously, for Carleton had refused to garrison the lake-forts, and the lieutenant-general was compelled to "drain the life-blood" of his army to defend them. His Indians, too, were beginning to be restless, and some were leaving him.

At Fort Edward occurred the death of Jane McCrea, the story of which, as set afloat at the time, is familiar to all, and was exploded years ago. Truth tells the story as follows: Miss McCrea was a handsome young girl, visiting friends at Fort Edward at the time of Burgoyne's invasion. She was betrothed to a young man living near there, who was then in Burgoyne's army. When that army approached Fort Edward, some prowling Indians seized Miss McCrea, and attempted to carry her to the British camp at Sandy Hill, on horseback. A detachment of Americans were

sent to rescue her. One of a volley of bullets fired at her captors, pierced the maiden and she fell dead from the horse, when the Indians scalped her and carried her glossy locks as a trophy into the camp. Her lover, shocked by the event, left the army, went to Canada at the close of the war, and there lived a moody bachelor until he was an old man. He had purchased the scalp of his beloved, of the Indians, and cherished it as a precious treasure, upon which, at times, he would gaze with tearful eyes as he held the ever-shining locks in his hand. The body of Miss McCrea was recovered by her friends, and was buried at Fort Edward. A tale of romance and horror, concerning the manner of her death, went abroad. In September, a letter from Gates to Burgoyne, holding him responsible for her death, gave great currency to the story; and hundreds, perhaps thousands of young men, burning with indignation and a spirit of vengeance because of the outrage, flocked to the American camp.

Schuyler, with his little army, continued to impede the progress of Burgoyne, at the same time falling back, until, in August, he resolved to make a stand at Stillwater, and establish there a fortified camp, for recruits for his force were then coming in freely. The panic caused by the evacuation of Ticonderoga and the invasion was beginning to subside, and a patriotic spirit took its place. Burgoyne was evidently growing weaker by his compulsory delay. His base of supplies was so distant, and precarious, that he was soon placed in a half-starving condition, surrounded on three sides by foes who were preparing to make raids on the fourth. He was absolutely unable to retreat or move forward with vigor. In this dilemma, and feeling the necessity of making a bold stroke for relief, he sent a detachment of his army, composed of Germans, Canadians, Tories and Indians, toward Bennington, in the now State of Vermont, which had been organized and declared independent by a convention at Windsor in the previous January. The object was to strengthen and organize the Tories procure horses to mount the German dragoons, and to seize cattle, wagons, and stores which it was said had been gathered in large numbers and quantities at Bennington. The detachment was commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Baum of the German dragoons. They reached the neighborhood of Bennington on the evening of the 13th of August [1777]. Perceiving some reconnoitering Americans the next morning, Baum sent back for reinforcements, when Burgoyne dispatched two German battalions with two cannon under Lieutenant-Colonel Breyman, who marched through steady rain almost continually for thirty hours. Baum, in the meantime, had taken position on a hill four or five miles westward of Bennington, that sloped down to the Walloomscoick Creek, and there cast up some entrenchments.

The New Hampshire militia had just been organized, and placed under the command of Colonel William Whipple (a signer of the Declaration of Independence) and John Stark, a veteran of the French and Indian War. They were embodied to assist in defending the western frontiers of Vermont from the invading British army. When Baum arrived on the Walloomscoick, Stark was at Bennington with part of a brigade. He immediately sent for the shattered remains of Colonel Seth Warner's regiment at Manchester. They marched all night in rain, and joined Stark on the 14th at near dawn, thoroughly drenched. All that day and the next, the drenching rain continued. Parties of Americans continually annoyed the intruders by attacks here and there upon their flanks or rear, but no battle occurred. On the evening of the 15th, some reinforcements came from

Berkshire, Massachusetts, bringing with them the Rev. Mr. Allen, a belligerent chaplain. He told Stark that the people of his district had been frequently called out to fight, without being allowed to, and if they were not gratified this time, they would not turn out again. "Do you wish to march now, in the darkness and rain inquired Stark. No, not just this moment," answered the fighting parson. Then," Stark said, if the Lord shall once more give us sunshine, and I do not give you fighting enough, I'll never ask you to come out again." Sunshine came with the morrow, and the parson and his men had "fighting enough" before the evening twilight.

On the bright, hot morning of the 16th (August, 1777), Stark formed a plan of attack on the foe lying upon the Walloomscoick Heights. He divided his force, and at three o'clock in the afternoon, the detachments, led by Colonels Nicholls and Herrick, Hubbard and Stickney, and a considerable force by Stark in person, attacked the enemy on every side. The frightened Indians dashed through a gap in the encircling American lines and fled to the shelter of the woods, leaving their chief dead on the field. After a severe contest for two hours, the ammunition of the Germans failed, when they attempted to break through the line of besiegers with bayonets and sabres. In the attempt Baum was killed and his veterans were made prisoners. At that moment Breyman appeared with his wearied battalion, and Warner joined Stark with some fresh troops. The battle was instantly resumed. The cannon which had been taken from the Germans was turned upon their friends. A desperate fight ensued and continued until sunset, when Breyman retreated, leaving his artillery and nearly all of his wounded behind. The Germans had lost about one hundred and fifty killed and wounded, and seven hundred made prisoners.

The victory was complete and brilliant. The loss of the Americans inspired the Americans, and carried dismay to the hearts of the Tories and the British commander, To the latter the expedition was very disastrous. It disheartened his Tory friends. Many of the Canadians and Indians deserted, and the spirits of his whole army were depressed. It crippled his movements at a moment when it was all-important that he should go forward with celerity. St. Leger, whom he had sent by way of Oswego to invade the Mohawk Valley, was there, besieging Fort Schuyler on the site of Rome, and they were to meet as victors at Albany. His plans were frustrated his hopes were destroyed. His troops had to be fed with provisions brought from England by way of Canada, over Lakes Champlain and George and a perilous land carriage, for gathering patriots were hovering about his rear. It was perilous for him to remain where he was, and more perilous for him to advance or retreat.

While these important events were occurring eastward of Schuyler's camp at Stillwater, equally important ones were happening westward of him. Brant had come from Canada in the spring of 1777, and in June was at the head of a band of Indian marauders on the head-waters of the Susquehanna. Brigadier-General Nicholas Herkimer was at the head of the Tryon county militia, and was instructed by Schuyler to watch and check any hostile movements of the Mohawk Chief whose presence had put an end to the neutrality of his nation and of others of the Iroquois Confederacy. To assist the Whigs of Tryon county, a garrison commanded by Colonel Peter Gansevoort was placed in Fort Schuyler, which was reinforced by the regiment of Colonel Marinus Willett. Bateaux had just brought provisions up the Mohawk for the garrison, when, at

the beginning of August, St. Leger, with a motley host of Tories and Canadians, under Colonels Johnson, Claus and Butler, and Indians led by Brant, arrived from Oswego and began a close siege of the fort. Hearing of this, Herkimer, with the Tryon county militia, proceeded to help the garrison. He sent them word that he was coming. On the receipt of the news a part of two regiments (Gansevoort's and Wesson's), led by Colonel Willett, made a sortie from the fort, and fell upon the camp of Johnson's "Royal Greens" (see page 852) so suddenly and effectively, that they were dispersed in great confusion, Sir John not having time to put on his coat before he was compelled to fly. His papers and baggage and those of other officers, and the clothing, blankets, stores and camp equipage, sufficient to fill twenty wagons, were the spoils of victory, with five British standards as trophies. A part of Sir John's "Greens," and some Indians, had gone to meet approaching Herkimer.

At Oriskany, a few miles west of Utica, Herkimer and his little army were marching in fancied security on the morning of the 6th of August, when Tories and Indians from St. Leger's army, suddenly rose from an ambush and fell upon the patriots at all points with pikes, hatchets, and rifle-balls. Herkimer's rear-guard broke and fled the remainder sustained a fierce conflict for more than an hour with great bravery. General Herkimer had a horse shot dead under him, and by the bullet that killed the animal, his own leg was shattered just below the knee. Sitting on his saddle and leaning against a beech tree, the brave old general (then sixty-five years of age) directed the battle with great coolness, while the bullets flew thickly around him. A heavy thunder-shower caused a lull in the fight. When it had passed, the battle was renewed with great violence, Major Watts, a brother-in-law of Sir John Johnson leading a portion of the "Greens." At length the Indians, hearing the firing in the direction of the fort, where Willett made his sortie, became panic-stricken and fled to the deep woods. They were soon followed by the equally alarmed Tories and Canadians. The Patriots were left masters of the field, but they did not relieve Fort Schuyler. Their commander was carried to his home, below the Little Falls, where he died from the effects of excessive bleeding from his wound.

St. Leger continued the siege. The garrison bravely held out; and Colonel Willett went from the fort stealthily down the Mohawk Valley with a message from Gansevoort to Schuyler, asking for relief. The sagacious general perceived the importance of beating back St. Leger, as a part of the means for securing the expected victory over Burgoyne. He called a council of officers, and proposed to send a detachment up the valley. They opposed the measure because the army was then too weak to check the march of Burgoyne. The general persisted in his opinion of the necessity and humanity of sending a force to the relief of Fort Schuyler. He was walking the floor with great anxiety of mind, when he heard one of the officers say in a low tone of voice, "He means to weaken the army." That was an epitome of all the slanders which had been uttered since the evacuation of Ticonderoga. He heard the charge of implied treason with the hottest indignation. Turning quickly toward the slanderer, and unconsciously biting into several pieces a clay pipe which he was smoking, he exclaimed in a voice that awed the whole company into silence: "Gentlemen, I shall take the responsibility upon myself; where is the brigadier who will take command of the relief? I shall beat up for volunteers to-morrow." General Arnold, ever ready for deeds of daring, at once stepped forward and offered his services. Before noon the next

day (August 13), eight hundred stalwart men were enrolled for the expedition. They were chiefly from the Massachusetts brigade of General Larned. They followed their brave leader with perfect confidence, and won success. By prowess, audacity and stratagem, Arnold compelled the invader to raise the siege of Fort Schuyler within ten days after he left the camp at Stillwater. At Fort Dayton (German Flats) he found a half-idiotic Tory, a prisoner, who had been tried for crimes and condemned to death. His mother begged for his pardon. It was promised by Arnold under the condition that he should go, with a friendly Oneida Indian, among the savages in St. Leger's camp, and by representing the Americans on the march against them as extremely numerous, frighten them away. The prisoner agreed. He had several shots fired through his coat, and with these evidences of "a terrible engagement with the enemy," he ran, almost out of breath, among the Indians, declaring that he had just escaped from the approaching Americans. Pointing toward the trees and the sky, he said, "They are as many as the leaves and the stars at night." Very soon his companion, the Oneida, came running from another direction, with the same story. The Indians, thoroughly alarmed, held a pow-wow - a consultation with the Great Spirit - and resolved to fly. No persuasion could hold them. Away they went as fast as their feet could carry them, toward Oswego and the more western wilds, followed by their pale-faced confreres, pell-mell, in a race for the safe bosom of Lake Ontario. So the siege of Fort Schuyler was raised; and so ended the formidable invasion from the west.

The expulsion of St. Leger and his followers was a severe blow to the hopes of Burgoyne. This disaster, following so closely upon that near Bennington, staggered him. His visions of conquest, and orders, and perhaps a peerage for himself, vanished. His doom was pronounced. His army was already conquered in fact - it needed very little to make it so, in form. The wise policy and untiring exertions of General Schuyler had accomplished the ruin of the invading army.

The harvests were now nearly over; the spirits of the patriots were greatly revived by recent events; public confidence in General Schuyler, so rudely shaken by misfortune and slander, was rapidly returning, and as a consequence recruits for the Northern Army were flocking into camp, with daily-increasing volume. Schuyler was preparing to march to an easy victory over his hopelessly crippled foe, and so win the laurels which he fairly deserved, when, on the 19th of August, General Gates arrived in camp, and took command of the army, in accordance with the following resolution passed by Congress:

"Resolved, That Major-General Schuyler be directed to repair to headquarters.

"That General Washington be directed to order such general officer as he shall think proper to repair immediately to the Northern Department, to relieve Major-General Schuyler in his command there."

This was evidently the work of intrigue, faction, and conspiracy. Washington, who was then in his camp at Germantown, near Philadelphia, was fully aware of the schemes of Gates and his friends, and would not consent to be a scapegoat for them so he declined to nominate a successor to Schuyler, and the Congress proceeded to appoint Gates to that office. They clothed him with

powers which they had never conferred on his predecessor, and voted him all the aid Schuyler had ever asked, and which had been withheld. The patriotic general felt the indignity keenly, yet he did not allow his personal grievances to interfere with his duty to his country. He received Gates cordially, furnished him with every kind of useful information respecting the army, and offered him all the aid in his power to give. This generosity was requited by jealousy and coldness. Yet this despicable treatment did not abate Schuyler's efforts to secure the defeat of Burgoyne, although he knew the laurels that would thereby be won would be placed on the brow of his undeserving successor.

Had Gates acted promptly, he might have ended the campaign in the Northern Department, within a fortnight after his arrival. But he lingered twenty days in needless inactivity near the mouth of the Mohawk River, nine miles above Albany, to which place Schuyler, pursuant to a decision of a council of officers, had removed the army from Stillwater. At the end of the twenty days, Gates moved up the valley of the Hudson with an effective force of nine thousand men; and upon Bemis's Heights, an elevated rolling plain a short distance above Stillwater, he established a fortified camp, having Kosciuszko, the brave Polish patriot, as chief engineer. In the meantime, one hundred and eighty boats had been brought over the country by teams and soldiers, from Lakes Champlain and George, with a month's provisions for the use of Burgoyne's army, then reduced to less than six thousand men.

Seeing the advance of Gates, Burgoyne called in his outposts, and with his shattered forces and his splendid train of artillery, he crossed the Hudson River over a bridge of boats on the 13th of September, and encamped on the heights at Saratoga, where Schuylerville now stands. There he made immediate preparations to attempt to force his way to Albany. He then knew that Howe had sailed southward and would not cooperate with him; and he perceived the necessity of acting promptly, for General Lincoln was gathering a force of New Englanders on his flank, and detachments of Republican troops were menacing his communications with his base of supplies. The American army, every day increasing in strength, were well posted on Bemis Heights. Their right rested upon the Hudson River below the Heights; their left was upon gentle hills that could not be commanded by hostile cannon from any point; and a well-constructed line of entrenchment stretched along their front. Here an army more numerous than that of Burgoyne lay directly across his path to Albany, and must be dislodged before he could go forward.

Chapter LXXIII

Colonel Brown's Raid in the Rear of Burgoyne's Army - Forward Movement of Burgoyne - Battle on Bemis's Heights - Bad Conduct of Gates, and Bravery of Arnold and Morgan - Gates's Jealousy - Desperate Condition of Burgoyne's Army - His Foolish Boast - Decision of a Council - Second Battle on Bemis's Heights - Gates and Arnold Again - Bravery of the Latter - Victory - Surrender of Burgoyne and His Army.

BURGOYNE felt compelled, by imperious circumstances, to move forward. Orders had been sent to General Lincoln, stationed at Manchester, to make a movement in the rear of the invaders, and he sent Colonel John Brown (the officer who failed to co-operate with Ethan Allen at Montreal), with five hundred light troops and some artillery, to cut off Burgoyne's sources of supplies. At dawn on the 18th of September (1777), Brown surprised an outpost at the foot of Lake George; captured a British provision vessel seized the post at the falls of the outlet of the lake; took possession of Mount Hope and Mount Defiance, with the French lines, and demanded the surrender of Ticonderoga and Mount Independence. He destroyed two hundred vessels in that outlet, including seventeen gun-boats and an armed-sloop released a hundred American prisoners, and captured about three hundred of the enemy. He also assailed a British post on Diamond Island, in Lake George; but this, and the two forts, were too strong for his little force to capture, and he returned to Manchester with his trophies; among them were five field-pieces.

In the meantime Burgoyne had advanced to a point very near the American lines; and on the morning of the 19th, he moved his army in three columns to offer battle. The left wing, with the immense train of artillery, under the command of Generals Phillips and Riedesel, kept upon the plain near the river. The centre, composed largely of Germans, extended to a range of hills that were touched by the American left, and was led by Burgoyne in person. Upon these hills Fraser and Breyman, with grenadiers and infantry, were posted, with the intention of outflanking the republicans. The front and flank of the invading army were covered by the Canadians, Indians, and Tories who remained in camp. Burgoyne's men had slept on their arms for several nights, expecting an attack in force from the Americans, for the active Arnold, with about fifteen hundred men, had annoyed the British continually, by sudden assaults at night.

Gates, who lacked personal courage and the skill of a good commander, had resolved to act on the defensive within his lines. Arnold and others had been observing, through vistas in the woods, evident preparations for battle all the morning, and had urged Gates to send out a detachment to smite the enemy. But he would give no order and evinced no disposition to fight. Even when, at eleven o'clock, the boom of a cannon awoke the echoes of the hills, and which was Burgoyne's signal for a general advance of his army, Gates seemed almost indifferent. His officers became very impatient as the peril to the camp drew nearer. Arnold was as restive as a hound in a leash; he was finally permitted to order out Morgan with his riflemen and Dearborn with infantry, to attack the Canadians and Indians who were swarming upon the hills in advance of Burgoyne's right. This detachment fell vigorously upon the foe and drove them back. Morgan's men pursued them so eagerly, that his riflemen became scattered and weakened, and a reinforcement of Tories

drove them back. For a moment Morgan thought his corps was ruined. He sounded his shrill whistle, when they rallied around him, and with Massachusetts and New Hampshire troops, the former under Dearborn and the latter under Scammell and Cilley, they repeated the charge. After a short, sharp fight, the parties withdrew to their respective lines, with the loss of twenty men made prisoners, on the part of the Americans. Morgan had his horse shot under him.

Burgoyne, in the meantime, had made a rapid movement for the purpose of falling heavily upon the American left and centre. At the same time, Fraser, on the extreme right, made a quick movement to turn the American left. The vigilant Arnold, with equal celerity of movement, attempted to turn the British right at the same time. He might have succeeded had not Gates denied him reinforcements and done everything in his power to restrain him. Masked by the thick woods, neither party could know much about the doings of the other, and they suddenly and unexpectedly met in a ravine, west of Freeman's Farm at which Burgoyne had halted. There they fought desperately for awhile. Arnold was forced back, when Fraser by a quick movement, called up some German troops from Burgoyne's centre, to his aid. Arnold rallied his men, and with the assistance of New England troops under Brooks, Dearborn, Scammell, Cilley, and Hull, he smote the enemy so lustily that their line began to waver and fall into confusion. General Phillips, from his position below the Heights, heard the din of battle resounding through the woods, and hurried over the hills with fresh troops and some artillery, followed by a portion of the Germans under Riedesel, and appeared upon the ground when the victory seemed about to rest with the Americans. Still the battle raged. The ranks of the British were fearfully thinning, when Riedesel made a furious attack on the flank of the Americans with cannon and musketry, which compelled them to give way. So the Germans saved the British army from ruin.

There was now a lull in the tempest of battle. It was at the middle of the afternoon of a bright September day. That lull was succeeded by a more violent outburst of fury. Burgoyne opened a heavy cannonade upon the Americans, who made no response. Then he ordered a bayonet charge. Column after column of British troops were soon moving over the gently rolling ground, toward the American lines. As they rushed forward to charge upon the republicans, their silent enemy sprang forward like tigers from a covert, and assailed the British so furiously, with ball and bayonet, that they recoiled, and were pushed far back. At that time Arnold was at headquarters, seated upon his large, black charger, and begging in vain of Gates for reinforcements. When he heard that the battle was raging, but with no decisive results, he could no longer brook delay. Turning his horse's head toward the storm, and exclaiming, "I'll soon put an end to it," he went off at full gallop, followed by an officer whom Gates sent after him to order him back. The subaltern could not overtake the gallant general, who, by his words and example, animated the republican troops. For three hours the battle raged, the combatants surging backward and forward across the fields like the ebb and flow of a tide, each winning and losing victory alternately. All too late, Gates sent out the New York regiments of Van Cortlandt and Livingston, and the whole brigade of Learned. The Americans had lately almost turned the British flank, when Colonel Breyman, with his Germans fighting bravely, prevented the blow that might have been fatal to the British army.

But for Arnold, no doubt Burgoyne would have reached Albany within a day, a victor. Had Gates complied with Arnold's wishes for reinforcements early, the surrender of Burgoyne's army might not have been deferred a month. To Arnold and his division was chiefly due the credit of successfully resisting the invaders at Bemis's Heights. The jealous Gates, angry because the army praised Arnold, did not mention his name, nor that of the gallant Morgan, in his official report of the battle, in which the Americans lost less than three hundred men.

On the morning of the 20th (September, 1777), Burgoyne perceived the desperate condition of his army, encamped so near the American lines that they could not make a movement unperceived by their foe. He had lost about six hundred men. His broken army were utterly dispirited. Arnold wished to attack him at dawn, but Gates would not consent. Burgoyne withdrew to a point two miles from the American lines, where he cast up entrenchments, hoping hourly for good news from Sir Henry Clinton at New York. He harangued his troops to revive their courage, and declared his determination to force his way to Albany or to leave his body on the field. His own spirits were revived the next morning by a message from Sir Henry, who promised to make a diversion in his favor by an expedition up the Hudson River. The same messenger brought a despatch from Howe announcing his victory over Washington on the Brandywine. These glad tidings were communicated to his army, and Burgoyne wrote to Clinton that he could maintain his position until the 12th of October. But his condition rapidly grew worse. The American army on his front increased, while his own decreased. The American militia were swarming on his flanks and rear, and his foraging parties were so harassed by them, that they could gather very little food for the starving horses. In his hospitals were at least eight hundred sick and wounded men, and his effective troops had to be fed with diminished rations. The Indians deserted him, while through the exertions of Schuyler, Oneida warriors joined the army of Gates. General Lincoln arrived with two thousand militia on the 22nd, and took command of the right wing of the army.

With all his advantages over the enemy, Gates remained inactive. His officers were chagrined. Arnold, chafed by Gates's apathy, could not restrain his impatience, and he wrote a note to his commander, saying I think it my duty (which nothing shall deter me from doing) to acquaint you the army is becoming clamorous for action. The militia (who compose a quarter part of the army) are already threatening to go home. One fortnight's inaction will, I make no doubt, lessen your army, by sickness and desertion, at least four thousand men, in which time the enemy may be reinforced, and make good their retreat. I have reason to think that had we improved the 20th of September, it might have ruined the enemy. That is past; let me entreat you to improve the present time." This proper impertinence on the part of a subordinate, Gates treated with silent contempt.

Burgoyne waited many days for tidings from Clinton, but none came; and on the evening of the 4th of October he called Phillips, Riedesel, and Fraser to a council. Burgoyne proposed to attempt to turn the American left by a swift circuitous march. Riedesel favored a rapid retreat to Fort Edward; but Fraser was willing to fight. The latter course was agreed upon; and on the morning of the 7th of October, after liquors and rations for four days had been given to the whole army, Burgoyne moved toward the left of the American lines with fifteen hundred picked men,

eight brass cannon, and two howitzers. When within three-fourths of a mile of their works, he formed a battle-line behind a forest screen. He had left the main army on the Heights in command of Brigadiers Hamilton and Specht, and the redoubts near the river with Brigadier-General Gall. Phillips, Riedesel, and Fraser were with the commanding-general. There were never better troops or better commanders on a field of battle. Burgoyne sent out a party, composed of Canadian rangers, loyalists and Indians, to make a circuit through the woods and hang on the American rear, and so keep them in check, while he should attack their front.

Burgoyne's movement was discovered before he was ready for battle, and the drums of the advanced-guard of the Americans beat to arms. The alarm rang along the lines. Gates had then over ten thousand troops in his camp - enough, if properly managed, to have crushed the weakened invaders at a single blow. He ordered his officers to their alarm-posts, and sent his favorite aide (Wilkinson) to inquire the cause of the disturbance. When informed that the enemy were about to attack his left, he listened to the advice of Colonel Morgan, and ordered that officer to go out with his riflemen and "begin the game." Morgan was soon moving with celerity with his corps and some infantry, to secure a position on the Heights on the flank and rear of the British right. At the same time General Poor, with his own New Hampshire brigade and followed by New York militia under Ten Broeck, advanced against the British left. Meanwhile the rangers and their companions had successfully turned the flank of the Americans, and partly gaining their rear, had attacked their pickets. These were soon joined by British grenadiers, who drove the Americans back to their lines, where a hot engagement for half an hour ensued. In that fight Morgan was engaged, and his brave riflemen charged the assailants so vigorously, that they retreated in confusion to the British line which now appeared in battle order on an open field. The grenadiers, under Major Ackland, with the artillery under Major Williams, formed the left upon rising ground the centre was composed of Brunswickers under Riedesel and British under Phillips: and the extreme left was composed of light infantry under Earl Balcarras. General Fraser was at the head of five hundred picked men a short distance in advance of the British right, ready to fall upon the left flank of the Americans when the action in front should begin.

It was now half-past three o'clock. Just as Burgoyne was about to advance, he was astounded by the thunder of cannon on his left, and the crack and rattle of rifle and muskets on his right. Poor had advanced stealthily up the slope on which the troops of Ackland and Williams were posted, and in perfect silence had pressed on through the thick wood toward the batteries of the latter. When they were discovered, the enemy opened a heavy storm of musket-balls and grape-shot upon the republicans. These made terrible havoc among the leaves and branches over their heads, but scarcely a shot struck one of the Americans. This was the signal for the latter to break silence. They sprang forward with a shout, delivered fire in rapid volleys, and then opened right and left, to seek the shelter of the trees on the margin of the ridge on which the British artillery was planted. A fierce conflict now ensued. The Americans rushed up to the very mouths of the cannon, and struggled hand-to-hand with the enemy for victory, among the carriages of the field-pieces. Five times one of the cannon was taken and retaken. When, at last, the British fell back, and the cannon remained with the Americans, Colonel Cilley, who had fought gallantly at the head of his regiment, leaped upon the captured gun, waved his sword high in air, and

dedicated the weapon "to the American cause." Then he wheeled its muzzle toward the enemy, and with their own ammunition opened its destructive energies upon them. This act gave fresh courage to the republicans, who yet had much to do. The contest was long and obstinate, until Major Ackland was severely wounded and Major Williams was made a prisoner. Then the grenadiers and artillerymen, panic-struck, fled in confusion. Sir Francis Clarke, Burgoyne's chief aide, who was sent to secure the cannon, was mortally wounded, made a prisoner, and was carried to Gates's tent. The whole eight pieces of artillery and the possession of the field remained with the Americans.

Meanwhile Morgan had assailed Fraser's flanking corps in advance of the British right with such a tempest of rifle-balls, that they were driven hastily back to their lines. Then, with the speed of a gale, Morgan wheeled, and fell upon the British right with such appalling force and impetuosity that their ranks were quickly thrown into confusion. This attack was so unexpected by the enemy, that a panic immediately pervaded their columns. It was instantly followed by an onslaught in front by Major Dearborn, with fresh troops, when the British broke and fled in terror. They were soon rallied by Earl Balcarras, who placed them in battle attitude again. This shock on the right convulsed the British centre, composed chiefly of Germans, but it maintained its position.

Soon after the battle of the 19th, Gates, jealous of Arnold and offended by his impertinence, had deprived that officer of all command. He was stripped of authority to give an order or even to fight. The impetuous, quarrelsome, insubordinate brigadier, thirsting for the glory which he might win on that field, and inspired by patriotism, stood chafing with impatience and irritation, a chained spectator of the battle. At length, when he could no longer restrain himself he sprang upon the back of his big black charger, as before, and started on a full gallop for the field of action. Gates sent Major Armstrong to order him back. Arnold saw the subaltern in chase and divined his errand. He put spurs to his horse, and left Armstrong far behind and placing himself at the head of three regiments of Learned's brigade, who received their old commander with three hearty cheers, he led them against the British centre. With the desperation of a madman he rushed into the thickest of the fight, or rode along the lines with rapid and erratic movements, brandishing his sword over his head, and delivering his orders everywhere, in person. Armstrong followed him half an hour, but Arnold's course was so varied and perilous that he gave up the chase.

The Germans received the assault of the troops led by Arnold with brave resistance; but when he dashed in among them at the head of his men, they broke and fled in dismay. At this time, the battle became general all along the lines. Burgoyne, perceiving that the fate of his army hung upon the result of the conflict that day, exposed himself fearlessly at the head of his troops, and bade them defend their positions while a man was left alive. Arnold and Morgan were the ruling spirits among the Americans. The gallant Fraser was the soul that directed the most potent energies of the British. Like Arnold, his voice and example were electric in their power, when directing attacks and in bringing order out of confusion. He was dressed in full uniform and rode a splendid gray gelding, both making conspicuous objects on the field. Morgan perceived that the fate of the battle depended upon that officer. Suppressing his better feelings, he called a file of his

most expert sharpshooters, and pointing toward the scarlet-clad leader, said: "That gallant officer is General Fraser. I admire and honor him, but it is necessary he should die; victory for the enemy depends upon him. Take your stations in that clump of bushes, and do your duty." Within five minutes after this order was given, General Fraser fell, mortally wounded, and was carried sorrowfully to the British camp, for he was truly loved by all. A bullet from the rifle of Timothy Murphy, mounted in a sapling, had passed through his body.

When the gallant Fraser fell, a panic ran along the British line. It might have been temporary, had not General Ten Broeck appeared at that critical moment with three thousand fresh New York militia. At sight of them, the wavering line gave way, and the troops retreated to their entrenchments covered by Phillips and Riedesel. They left their artillery behind, for all the horses, and nearly all the men who had defended the pieces were slain or wounded. Up to these entrenchments, in the face of a terrible storm of grape-shot and bullets, the Americans, with Arnold at their head, eagerly pressed, and assailed the works with small arms. Balcarras bravely defended them, until he could resist no longer. Above the din of battle the voice of Arnold was heard, and his form was seen in the midst of the sulphurous smoke, dashing from point to point and encouraging his men. With a part of the brigades of Paterson and Glover, he drove the troops of the Earl from an abatis - an obstruction of fallen trees - at the point of the bayonet, and attempted to force his way into the British camp. Failing in this, he placed himself at the head of Learned's brigade, and made a vigorous assault upon the enemy's right, which was defended by Canadians and Loyalists, who were flanked by a stockade redoubt on each side. For awhile the result appeared doubtful. At length the English gave way, leaving the Germans under General Specht entirely exposed.

Arnold now ordered up from the left the New York regiments of Wesson and Livingston, and Morgan's riflemen, to make a general assault, while Colonel Brooks, with his Massachusetts regiment, accompanied by Arnold, attacked the German troops commanded by Breyman. Arnold rushed into the sally-port on his powerful horse, and spread terror among the Hessians there. They had seen him in the thickest of the fight, for two hours, unhurt, and regarding him with superstitious awe, as one possessed of a charmed life, they fled. They gave a parting volley in their retreat, which killed Arnold's horse and severely wounded the same leg that was badly hurt at Quebec. Then, at the moment of victory, and at the head of his troops, wounded and disabled, he was overtaken by Major Armstrong, who had resumed the chase, and received from him the order from Gates to return to camp, for the commander-in-chief feared Arnold might "do some rash thing." He had done a rash thing" in achieving a decisive victory a triumph which proved to be a turning-point in the war in favor of the Americans - without the orders or even the permission of his commander.

The glamour of false light which often surrounds the commander of a victorious army frequently conceals the truth, and deprives the most meritorious of the actors of their just reward. The dazzled public lauded Gates as a great general, because he was the commander of the victorious army on this occasion, when the truth assures us that he was a hindrance instead of an aid, in the achievement of the triumph. While Arnold was reaping golden sheaves of glory for

Gates's garner, by wielding the fierce sickle of war, the latter and General Lincoln, his second in command, did not appear upon the field of battle. Gates, it is said, did not leave his tent at all that day, for he had not recovered from a debauch in which he had indulged the night before. His favorite aide (Wilkinson) said afterward, that when he went to headquarters for orders in the afternoon, he found Gates more intent upon discussing the merits of the Revolution with Burgoyne's dying aide than upon winning the battle then raging. He followed Wilkinson as he went out, and asked him - "Did you ever hear so impudent a son of a referring to the wounded officer, who had ventured to differ with him. Poor Sir Francis Clarke died that night upon the bed of his coarse and vulgar antagonist.

It was twilight when the wounded Arnold was carried from the field. The rout of the Germans was complete. They threw down their arms and ran, and could not be rallied. Colonel Breyman was mortally wounded. The conflict ceased when the curtain of night fell upon the scene. At about midnight, the division of Lincoln marched out to the relief of those upon the field; and before the dawn, Burgoyne, who had resolved to retreat, removed his whole force a mile or two north of his entrenchments, which the Americans immediately took possession of.

General Fraser died on the morning after the battle, and his body was buried, at the evening twilight of the same day, within a redoubt upon a gentle eminence, which the hero had chosen for his place of sepulcher. A very touching account of his death and his funeral is given in the published letters and memoirs of the Baroness de Riedesel, wife of the Brunswick general, who, with her children, accompanied her husband while he was in America. The body of Fraser was followed to the grave by Burgoyne and a large number of officers led by Mr. Brudenell, the faithful chaplain of the artillerists. As the funeral procession moved up the slope in the dim light, it appeared to Americans like a hostile movement, and they opened a cannonade upon it from the eastern side of the Hudson but as soon as its solemn character was made known, the cannonade for destruction was changed to the firing of minute-guns in honor of the memory of the brave soldier.

The wife of Major Ackland (a daughter of the Earl of Manchester), who accompanied her husband, and was with Madame Riedesel during the battle of the 7th of October, when she heard that her husband was wounded and a prisoner, resolved to go to the American camp in search of him. On a dark and stormy night she descended the Hudson in an open boat, accompanied by Chaplain Brudenell, and bearing a letter of introduction from Burgoyne to Gates. She found her husband at the headquarters of Arnold, now (1876) the residence of Mr. Neilson, on Bemis's Heights, where she was permitted to nurse him until he was able to travel to New York and sail for England.

On the night of the 8th, Burgoyne, with his shattered and dispirited army, retreated to the Heights of Saratoga, reaching there, after a wretched march in a heavy rainstorm, on the morning of the 10th. At the passage of the Fish Creek at Saratoga, they destroyed the mansion, mills, outbuildings, and other property belonging to General Schuyler, and valued at fifty thousand dollars. The main army of the Americans also moved northward. The brigade of General Fellows

were posted on the hills eastward of the Hudson, within cannon-range of the British camp, which their batteries commanded. Burgoyne now despaired; and at a council of general officers, it was determined to open negotiations with Gates for a surrender on honorable terms. These were finally agreed upon, and at eleven o'clock on the morning of the 17th of October, 1777, the vanquished troops laid down their arms upon the plain near the Hudson River, in front of the present village of Schuylerville. Then Burgoyne rode toward the headquarters of Gates, with his staff. They met that officer on the road not far from the ruined mansion of General Schuyler, when Burgoyne, in the presence of that patriot and many other American officers, and his own, surrendered his sword to the commander of the victorious republican army. Then they all returned to Gates's headquarters, and dined together.

The whole number of troops surrendered was five thousand seven hundred and ninety-nine, of whom two thousand four hundred and twelve were Brunswickers and Hessians. Besides these, there were eighteen hundred prisoners of war, including the sick and wounded abandoned to the Americans. The entire loss of the British army after they entered the province of New York, including those under St. Leger disabled or captured at Fort Schuyler and Oriskany, was almost ten thousand men. On Burgoyne's staff were six members of Parliament. Among the spoils of war that fell to the Americans were forty-two pieces of the best brass cannon then known; four thousand six hundred muskets, and a large quantity of munitions of war.

Chapter LXXIV

The terms of Burgoyne's Surrender - The Disposition of His Troops - Sir Henry Clinton's Strategem - Capture of Forts in the Hudson Highlands - Marauding Expedition up the Hudson - Washington Confronting Howe in Delaware and Pennsylvania - Battle on the Brandywine - Movements of the Belligerents Afterwards - Wayne Attacked near the Paoli - The British in Possession of Philadelphia - Operations on the Delaware - Operations at Germantown.

GENERAL GATES granted very generous terms to Burgoyne and his army. His troops were not held as prisoners of war, but allowed a free passage to Europe for those who wished to go there, and free permission for the Canadians to return to their homes, on the condition that none of the troops surrendered should serve against the Americans during the war. Arrangements were made for the march of the European captives, by the nearest route to the vicinity of Boston, there to be embarked as speedily as possible.

The vanquished army began their march for the seaboard on the day after their surrender. It was solemn, sullen and silent," wrote a contemporary, but they were treated with such humanity and delicate respect for their feelings, that they were overwhelmed with astonishment and gratitude. The appearance of the German prisoners was extremely pitiful and ludicrous, according to eye-witnesses. Mrs. Dr. Winthrop of Cambridge, writing about the advent of these hirelings into Cambridge, remarked I never had the least idea that the creation produced such a sordid set of creatures in human figure - poor, dirty, emaciated men great numbers of women, who seemed to be the beasts of burden, having bushel baskets on their heads, by which they were bent double. The contents seemed to be pots and kettles, various sorts of furniture, children peeping through gridirons and other utensils some very young infants who were born on the road the women, bare-footed, clothed in rags. Such effluvia filled the air while they were passing that, had they not been smoking all the time, I should have been apprehensive of being contaminated."

The Congress ratified the generous terms made by Gates but circumstances soon convinced them and Washington, that Burgoyne and his troops intended to violate the agreement at the first opportunity. It was therefore resolved not to allow the convention troops, as they were called, to leave the Country until the British government should ratify the terms of the capitulation. Here was a dilemma. That government would not recognize the authority of Congress; so the troops remained idle in America four or five years.

The surrender of Burgoyne was, as we have observed, a turning-point in the war in favor of the Americans. Its salutary effects were immediately apparent. The credit of Congress was revived, and the work of the Commissioners abroad was made easier. New life was infused into every part of the public service, for the hopes of the people were buoyant. The militia of the country obeyed the summons to camp with alacrity, after the first check of Burgoyne on Bemis Heights; and when the surrender took place, Gates had under his immediate command more than thirteen thousand troops, with almost twelve thousand more subject to his call. The tide of public opinion in Europe set strongly in favor of the Americans; and less than four months after

Burgoyne gave up his sword to Gates, France had formed a treaty of alliance with the United States and acknowledged their Independence, while other European powers were thinking kindly of the Americans.

The joy of the moment invested Gates with the character of a saviour of the republican cause. In the pride of his heart, that officer disdained to make a report of the affair in writing to anybody, but sent Wilkinson, his favorite aide-de-camp, with a verbal message directly to Congress, instead of to Washington, his superior officer. The Congress were so unmindful of their own dignity, that they admitted Wilkinson to their hall and upon its floor to announce in studied phrases the news tardily sent, of the great victory, with his own lips. They voted the thanks of the nation to Gates and his army, and gave a gold medal to the general. In a written report afterward made, that leader barely mentioned the names of Arnold and Morgan, with others. He seemed to fear that giving just praise to others might diminish his own renown. In this he anticipated the correct verdict of posterity.

While Burgoyne was struggling with his foes on the Upper Hudson, Sir Henry Clinton, whom Howe had left in command at New York, was trying to make a diversion in his favor on the lower and middle waters of that stream. Among the Hudson Highlands were three forts with feeble garrisons. Fort Constitution was upon a rocky island opposite West Point. Forts Clinton and Montgomery were upon the west bank of the river, one on each side of a small stream with high rocky shores. From the latter the Americans had stretched a chain and boom across the Hudson to Anthony's Nose, to prevent the passage of vessels up the stream. These forts were under the supervision of General Israel Putnam, whose headquarters were at Peekskill, a little below the Highlands; and Forts Clinton and Montgomery were under the immediate command of Governor George Clinton and his brother General James Clinton. Putnam had injudiciously granted so many furloughs or permits to be absent, that his whole force at Peekskill and the Highland forts, did not exceed two thousand men, at the time we are considering. Tories had informed Sir Henry of the weakness of the Highland forts, and as soon as reinforcements from Europe, which had been floating on the bosom of the Atlantic Ocean for almost three months, arrived, he prepared vessels suitable for transporting troops and munitions of war up the river. Vigilant Whigs below had informed Putnam of these preparations before the close of September, and the general had sent the news to George Clinton, governor of the lately organized State of New York, who was attending a session of the legislature at Kingston. With what forces of militia he could gather, the governor hurried to Fort Clinton, his brother being in command of Fort Montgomery.

On the 4th of October, Sir Henry Clinton went up the Hudson with between three and four thousand troops, in many armed and unarmed vessels commanded by Commodore Hotham, and the next morning landed them on Verplanck's Point, a few miles below Peekskill, feigning an attack upon the latter post. This feint deceived Putnam, and he sent to Forts Clinton and Montgomery for reinforcements. This was precisely what Sir Henry wished. But the more sagacious Governor Clinton was not deceived, and held all the forces within his reach, at the Highland forts, which he rightly believed to be the baronet's objectives.

Under cover of a dense fog, Sir Henry embarked a little more than two thousand troops, and at dawn on the morning of the 6th, landed them on Stony Point, opposite Verplanck's, to make a circuitous march around the lofty Donderberg and fall upon the Highland forts. At the same time orders were given for the war-vessels to anchor within point-blank cannon-shot distance of the forts, to beat off any American vessels that might appear above the chain and boom. Sir Henry divided his forces. One party led by General Vaughan, and accompanied by the baronet, about twelve hundred in number, went through a defile west of the Donderberg, to fall upon Fort Clinton, while another party, nine hundred strong, made a longer march around Bear Mountain, to assail Fort Montgomery. On the borders of Lake Sinnipink, at a narrow pass near Fort Clinton, Vaughan had a severe engagement with some troops sent out by the governor; at the same time, the latter sent to Putnam for aid. The messenger turned traitor and deserted to the British.

Campbell and his men arrived near Fort Montgomery in the afternoon, and at five o'clock a peremptory demand was made for the surrender of both forts. It was treated with scorn, when a simultaneous attack upon the forts by both divisions of the British, and the vessels in the river, began. The garrisons were mostly militia, and behaved well, making a vigorous defence until dark, when they were overpowered and sought safety in a scattered retreat to the adjacent mountains. Many got away, but a considerable number were slain or made prisoners. The governor fled across the river and at midnight he was in the camp of Putnam planning future operations. His brother, badly wounded, made his way over the mountains to his home at New Windsor, where he was joined by the governor the next day. American vessels lying above the chain and boom slipped their cables and attempted to escape, but there was not wind enough to fill their sails so their crews set them on fire to prevent their falling into the hands of the British. By the light of their burning vessels, the fugitive garrisons were enabled to make their way over the mountains to settlements beyond. Among the vessels burned was the frigate Montgomery, a sloop of ten guns: and a row-galley. The conflagration was a magnificent spectacle. A British officer wrote: The flames suddenly broke forth, and, as every sail was set, the vessels soon became magnificent pyramids of fire. The reflection on the steep face of the opposite mountain and the long train of ruddy light which shone upon the waters for a prodigious distance, had a wonderful effect; while the ear was awfully filled with the continued echoes from the rocky shores, as the flames gradually reached the loaded cannon. The whole was sublimely terminated by the explosions, which left all again in darkness."

Early the next morning, the chain and boom were broken by the British, and a flying squadron of light vessels under Sir James Wallace, bearing the whole of Sir Henry's land force, went up the Hudson to devastate its shores, and draw from Gates some of the troops that stood in the pathway of Burgoyne, for the protection of the country below. Sir Henry wrote a despatch to Burgoyne, on a piece of tissue paper, saying: "Here we are, and nothing between us and Gates." He inclosed it in a hollow silver bullet, gave it to a careful messenger, and returned to New York. That messenger was arrested in the American camp, in Orange county, as a spy. He swallowed the bullet. It was brought from his stomach by an emetic, and its contents being discovered, the bearer was hanged.

The marauders spread terror over the middle region of the Hudson, by their doings. They landed near Kingston, where the New York legislature were in session, and burned the village. Their advent was very sudden, for they moved with great celerity. Near their landing-place, some Dutchmen were at work. They fled in terror (not stopping to look back), across a meadow, in which the hay-makers had left a rake lying the previous summer. On this one of the flying Dutchmen trod, when the handle flew up and struck him on the back of the head. Not doubting it was a blow from a pursuing Briton, the fugitive threw up his arms and exclaimed, "Mein Got I gives up! Hurrah for King Shorge!"

Leaving Kingston in ashes, the marauders went over to Rhinebeck, and destroyed much property there, and then went up to Livingston's Manor and applied the torch. There they were arrested by the alarming news of Burgoyne's defeat, and made a hasty retreat to New York. So ended the efforts to carry out the plan of the British ministry for taking possession of the valleys of the Hudson and Lake Champlain.

While the stirring events just delineated were occurring in the north, the republican army under Washington were struggling with royal troops and German hirelings under Sir William Howe in the vicinity of the Delaware River. We have observed that Washington, when he was certain that Howe would not ascend the Hudson, moved with his army to Philadelphia, expecting to meet his antagonist south of that city. His expectations were justified by events. Late in August he learned that Lord Howe's fleet, with his brother's army, was ascending Chesapeake Bay; and on the 24th of the month, Washington marched his army from Philadelphia, and arrived at Wilmington, in Delaware, the next day, at about the time when the British troops landed at near the head of the Elk River, fifty-four miles from the American capital. Howe immediately prepared to march across the gently rolling country inhabited chiefly by Tories, with the expectation of making an easy conquest of Philadelphia. His army numbered more than eighteen thousand men well supplied with munitions of war; Washington's effective force did not number over eleven thousand, including eighteen hundred Pennsylvania militia. The Congress had lavished all their favors upon Gates, the favorite of the New England delegation, who had just been sent to supersede Schuyler; and they treated Washington with positive neglect. "They did not scruple to slight his advice and to neglect his wants." With unbecoming and unpatriotic querulousness, some of the friends of Gates in Congress wrote and spoke disparagingly of Washington as a commander. Some of them were encouraging in the mind of Gates a hope that he would be the Virginian's successor in chief command. John Adams, with judgment warped by his partiality for Gates, wrote at this time We shall rake and scrape enough to do Howe's business; the Continental Army under Washington is more numerous by several thousands than Howe's whole force; the enemy give out that they are eighteen thousand strong, but we know better, and that they have not ten thousand. Washington is very prudent; I should put more to risk, were I in his shoes; but perhaps he is right. Gansevoort has proved that it is possible to hold a post, and Stark that it is practicable even to attack lines and posts with militia. I wish the Continental Army would prove that anything can be done. I am weary with so much insipidity. I am sick of Fabian systems. My toast is, a short and violent war." Adams was soon afterward satisfied that he was blinded by a sad delusion.

Washington advanced his forces beyond Wilmington, and early in September took post behind Red Clay Creek. He sent General Maxwell, with light troops, to form an ambuscade in the direction of the enemy, while with the main army he waited the approach of the foe, who moved in two columns on the 3rd of September, one division commanded by Cornwallis, and the other by Knyphausen. The advanced guard soon encountered Maxwell, when a sharp skirmish ensued and a temporary check was given to the march of the foe. On the 8th they again moved forward by way of Newark, and feigned an attack on Washington's right, while the main army halted with the expectation of turning that flank of the republican army the next morning with ease. But Washington outgeneraled Howe as he did Cornwallis at Trenton. By a swift and secret movement that night, he fell back to the Brandywine Creek, which he crossed at Chad's Ford, and took post in a strong position on the hills that skirt the eastern borders of that stream. The British were astonished at dawn on the morning of the 9th by the absence of Washington, and gave chase the same evening. The Americans stood directly in the path of the British in the proposed march upon Philadelphia.

On the 10th, the two divisions of Howe's army met at Kennet Square, and at five o'clock on the morning of the 11th a large portion of them, led by Cornwallis, marched up the Lancaster road toward the forks of the Brandywine. They left all their baggage, even to their knapsacks, with the other division, which, led by Knyphausen, marched a few hours later in a dense fog for Chad's Ford. Washington's left wing, composed of the brigades of Muhlenberg and Weedon of Greene's division, and Wayne's division with Proctor's artillery, were on the hills east of Chad's Ford. The brigades of Sullivan, Stirling and Stephen, composing the right wing, extended along the Brandywine to a point above the forks; and a thousand Pennsylvania militia, under General Armstrong, were at Pyle's Ford, two miles below Chad's Ford. General Maxwell, with a thousand light troops, was posted on the west side of the stream, to dispute the passage of Knyphausen. The latter pushed forward, and sent a strong party to dislodge Maxwell, who, after a severe fight, was driven to the edge of the Brandy wine, where he was reinforced, and turning upon his pursuers, smote their ranks into confusion and pressed them back to their main line. Seeing a movement in force to gain his rear, Maxwell fled across the stream, leaving the western side in full possession of the enemy.

Knyphausen now brought his great guns to the high bank west of Chad's Ford, and opened them upon the Americans. He did not attempt to cross, for he was instructed to amuse the patriots with a feigned attempt to pass over, while Cornwallis should cross at the forks and gain the flank and rear of Washington's army. This accomplished, Knyphausen was to push over the stream, and both parties make a simultaneous attack.

Washington resolved to strike a blow at once. He sent word to Sullivan to cross at a ford above, and attack Cornwallis, while he should pass over and assail Knyphausen. Through misinformation, Sullivan did not perform his part of the work. He sent a message to Washington, which kept him in suspense a long time. Greene, who had crossed at Chad's Ford with his advance-guard, was recalled, and Cornwallis, in the meantime, had made a wide circuit, crossed the Brandywine far up that stream, and was upon a hill near the Birmingham meeting-house, not

far from Sullivan's right, before that officer was aware of his approach. The surprised general sent word to Washington of his perils, and immediately moved against the enemy. Before he could form his troops in battle order, the rested Britons attacked him. A severe battle ensued. For awhile the result was doubtful. Finally the right wing of the republicans under General De Borre gave way; then the left under Sullivan.

The centre, commanded by Stirling, remained firm for awhile, when it, too, gave way, and fled in confusion. Lafayette, who was with this corps, fighting on foot as a volunteer, was badly wounded in his leg. All efforts to rally the troops were vain, excepting a few who made a momentary stand near Dilworth, when they, too, fled, and with the other regiments ran over the hills in fragments toward the main army at Chad's Ford, closely pursued by the victors. Cornwallis's cannon had made dreadful havoc in the American ranks.

When the cannonade at the Birmingham meeting-house was heard by Washington, he went with Greene and two brigades which lay nearest the scene of action, to the support of the right wing. They made a swift march, met the fugitives, and by a skillful movement opened their ranks and received them and checked the pursuers by a constant fire of artillery. At a narrow defile the regiments of Stephen and Stewart held the British back until dark, when the latter encamped for the night. Meanwhile Knyphausen had crossed the Brandywine at Chad's Ford, where Wayne, in command of the left wing, defended the works gallantly for awhile; but when he saw the more numerous enemy getting in his rear, he abandoned his cannon and munitions of war and made a disorderly retreat behind the division of General Greene. At twilight there was a skirmish near Dilworth, between Maxwell and his light troops lying in ambush to cover the retreat of the American army, and some British grenadiers. The conflict was short, for darkness soon put an end to it.

The battle was now over. The Americans, defeated, marched leisurely to Chester. The British held the field, but did not pursue. On the following morning (September 12th, 1777), Washington gathered his army, marched toward Philadelphia, and encamped near Germantown. He had lost in killed, wounded and prisoners, almost a thousand men the British loss was a little more than half that number. Brave men from abroad had fought and bled, on that clay, some for the King and some for Liberty. In that battle, young Lafayette, the noblest and best friend of the Americans (not of their blood), in their struggle for independence, struck his first blow for the oppressed and for freedom. There, too, Pulaski, the generous Polander, first drew his sword in defence of the rights of man, in the western hemisphere, as commander of a troop of horse, and won from the Congress the commission of brigadier of cavalry. There, too, De Borre, Duplessis, De Fleury, and other Frenchmen showed the true metal of brave men.

The Congress was not dispirited by the defeat. Expecting to be again compelled to fly from Philadelphia, they reinvested Washington with a portion of the power with which they had clothed him nine months before. They authorized him to direct General Putnam to send him fifteen hundred troops from the Hudson Highlands, and to summon continentals and militia from Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia. Nor was Washington dispirited. Allowing his troops to

rest only one day, he recrossed the Schuylkill and sought Howe to offer him battle. They met on the Lancaster road, about twenty miles from Philadelphia, and were about to engage in battle, when a storm of lightning, wind, and rain fell suddenly upon them, spoiled their ammunition, and prevented a severe fight. The rain continued all night, and before the dawn Howe withdrew and pushed on toward Philadelphia. Perceiving this, Washington crossed the Schuylkill at Parker's Ford, hoping to confront Howe at the crossing of the river below. The British eluded the Americans by a deceptive movement, and crossing the Schuylkill between Norristown and Valley Forge pushed on to Philadelphia and took possession of the city. Howe stationed the main division of his army at Germantown, and Washington encamped near Skippack Creek, about twenty miles from Philadelphia.

During the march of the Americans after the dispersion of the belligerents by the storm, General Wayne, at the head of a large body of republicans with two pieces of cannon, was engaged in striking British detachments and in endeavors to destroy Howe's baggage and supplies. While encamped on the night of the 20th, near the Paoli Tavern, he was attacked by General Grey with a strong British detachment, and in the desperate fight in the darkness that ensued, he lost nearly three hundred men, his cannon, and many small arms. As usual, the friends of Gates in the Congress blamed Washington for these losses, and for his later movements. Again John Adams, whose fault-finding pen was seldom idle, wrote concerning his crossing to the eastern side of the Schuylkill: It is a very injudicious manoeuvre. If he had sent one brigade of his regular troops to have headed the militia, he might have cut to pieces Howe's army in attempting to cross any of the fords. Howe will not attempt it. He will wait for his fleet in the Delaware River. O Heaven, grant us one great soul! One leading mind would extricate the best cause from that ruin which seems to await it." While Adams was writing, Howe did "attempt it," and crossing the Schuylkill, took possession of Philadelphia. The frightened Congress had again fled from that city. After being seated at Lancaster a few hours, they crossed the Susquehanna River to York, putting that stream between themselves and the enemy. There they remained until the British evacuated Philadelphia the following summer.

After the battle on the Brandywine, Lord Howe took his ships around to the mouth of the Delaware, to cooperate with his brother in the attempt to capture Philadelphia. He sent some light-armed vessels up the river, which found obstructions in the channel at Byllinge's Point, several miles below Philadelphia, and a strong redoubt there to cover them. Other obstructions in the form of a strong chevaux-de-frise (sunken crates of stone with heavy spears of timber pointed with iron to receive vessels) were observed in the channel above, with forts near to protect them - Fort Mercer on the New Jersey shore, and Fort Mifflin on Mud Island near the mouth of the Schuylkill. General Howe had taken Philadelphia without the aid of the ships; but an open water communication, by which he might receive supplies, was of vital importance to him. His brother informed him that if the general would assist, with land troops, in the reduction of the post at Byllinge's Point (now Billingsport), he could clear the channel of obstructions. Sir William accordingly sent a strong detachment from his army for the purpose. The garrison at Byllinge's Point spiked their guns on the 2nd of October, and the militia on the Jersey shore dispersed in alarm. Even from armed vessels above the chevaux-de-force there were many desertions.

Perceiving this weakening of the main British army at Germantown, and the importance of prompt action to prevent public despondency, Washington resolved to attack that army at once.

Howe's force stretched across the country at right angles with the main street at Germantown. On the front of the right were a battalion of light infantry and Simcoe's Queen's Rangers, a corps of American Loyalists. In advance of the left were other light infantry to support pickets on Mount Airy, and the extreme left was guarded by Hessian Yagers (riflemen). Near the large stone mansion of Chief Justice Chew (yet standing) at the head of the village, was a strong British regiment under Colonel Musgrave.

Washington, as we have observed, was then on Skippack Creek, about twenty miles from Philadelphia. It was arranged for the divisions of Sullivan and Wayne, flanked by Conway's brigade, to advance by way of Chestnut Hill, while Armstrong, with Pennsylvania militia, should make a circuit and gain the left and rear of the enemy. The divisions of Greene and Stephen, flanked by Macdougall's brigade (two-thirds of the whole army), were to make a circuitous march and attack the front of the British right wing, while the Maryland and New Jersey militia, under Smallwood and Forman, should fall upon the rear of that wing. Lord Stirling, with the brigades of Nash and Maxwell, were to form a reserve.

During the night of the 3rd of October (1777), the American army made their march of fourteen miles, for Germantown, very stealthily. They tried to reach Chestnut Hill before daylight, but the roughness of the road prevented, and it was near sunrise when they emerged from the woods on that eminence. The whole country was then enveloped in thick fog. Unperceived, until the critical moment, Washington's advance surprised the British pickets, and the troops of Sullivan and Wayne fell, with heavy force, upon the British infantry battalion in front. Before a storm of grape-shot, they were pushed back to their main line in much confusion. The cannonade startled Cornwallis, who was soundly sleeping in Philadelphia unsuspecting of an enemy being so near. Howe, too (near the army), was awakened by the great guns, and arrived near the scene of conflict in time to meet his flying battalions. He turned from the front of the tempest, and hastened to his camp to prepare his troops for action. Musgrave sent a part of his regiment to support the retreating battalions, and with six companies he took refuge in Chew's strong house, barricaded the doors and lower windows, and made it a castle. From upper windows he delivered such fearful volleys of musketry upon Weedon's brigade, who were in pursuit of the fugitives, that the march of the pursuers was checked. The fire of the American small arms upon the building was ineffectual.

A young officer bearing a flag with a message demanding a surrender of the castle was shot, when Maxwell's artillerists brought cannon to bear upon the building, but its strong walls resisted the heavy round shot. Then an attempt was made to burn the house, but failed. The check in the pursuit brought back Wayne's division which had advanced far beyond the house, and so left Sullivan's flank uncovered. This event, and the failure of Greene to attack at the time he was ordered to, disconcerted all the plans of the commander-in-chief. Very soon, however, Greene's troops, which had fallen into great confusion in the fog, in their march over the broken country

which they passed, fell upon the British right, but their hopes of success were weakened by the failure of other troops to cooperate with them, by turning the British left; so the golden opportunity was lost.

The fog still continued. Parties of Americans frequently attacked each other as foes in the confusing mist. Each army was ignorant of the strength and real position of the other on the field and it was afterward ascertained that while the attack on Chew's house was going on, the whole British army were on the point of giving up the fight, and crossing the Schuylkill to rendezvous at Chester. At that moment, General Grey discovered that his flanks were secure, and Knyphausen with his whole force marched to the assistance of the beleaguered garrison, under Musgrave, and the contending regiments in the village. For a short time a severe battle was maintained in the heart of Germantown. The patriots were unable to discern the number of their assailants. The cry of a trooper that they were surrounded produced a panic, and the Americans retreated in great confusion. This occurred after a very severe struggle for the mastery for almost three hours, and at a moment when the British general was contemplating a similar movement. The republicans lost in the battle over six hundred men killed, wounded and missing, and the British about eight hundred. The Americans returned to their camp on Skippack Creek, which they had left the evening before, and the British resumed their former position. Washington resolved to drive the British from Philadelphia before the winter should set in, but he was prevented, and his plans were frustrated, by the interference of Gates's friends in Congress.

Chapter LXXV

Public Confidence in Washington and the Army - The Hessians Repulsed at Red Bank and Mud Island - Disobedience of Gates and Its Effects - Doings of a Faction in Congress in Favor of Gates - The Delaware Cleared of Obstructions - The American Army at Whitemarsh and Valley Forge - The British in Philadelphia - "Battle of the Kegs" - "Conway's Cabal" or Gates's Conspiracy - Plan for a National Government Adopted - Its Character.

THE retreat of the Americans from the battle-field at Germantown at moment when victory seemed about to be secured to them, not cause the Congress nor the people to blame Washington and his general officers. The fog that produced so much uncertainty in movements was the chief cause of the panic and flight and the Congress, justly considering all things, passed a vote of thanks to the commander-in-chief for his "wise and well-considered attack," and to the officers and soldiers of the army for their brave exertions on that occasion."

A few days after the battle, Lord Howe's fleet was anchored at the mouth of the Delaware River, and he and the general prepared to sweep that stream of all its obstructions - the chevaux-de-frise, the commanding forts at Red Bank and on Mud Island, the floating batteries, and the armed galleys. They were elated by their recent accidental victory, and did not entertain a doubt of success. The British army were at once concentrated at Philadelphia; but it was the middle of October before even a narrow channel was opened through the lower obstructions of the river. A difficult task lay before the enemy. Fort Mercer, at Red Bank, had a spirited little garrison under Colonel Christopher Greene of Rhode Island; and Fort Mifflin, on Mud Island, was in charge of Lieutenant-Colonel Samuel Smith of Maryland, with an equally spirited body of men.

To strengthen his own army, Howe ordered General Clinton to abandon the forts in the Hudson Highlands and send six thousand troops to Philadelphia. He had scarcely issued this order when the news of the surrender of Burgoyne reached the British commander-in-chief. That event filled the American camp with joy, and that of the enemy with amazement. Howe perceived that what he had to do must be done quickly; so he ordered Count Donop to take Fort Mercer by storm. The Hessian colonel, eager for renown, marched against it on the 22nd of October (1777), with about twelve hundred men - German grenadiers, infantry, riflemen, and artillery. At the edge of a wood within cannon-shot of the fort, they planted a battery of ten heavy guns and at half-past four o'clock in the afternoon, Donop sent a summons for the instant surrender of the garrison, accompanied by a threat that, in case of resistance, no quarter would be given. Colonel Greene, the commander, with only four hundred men back of him, made an instant and defiant refusal, saying: We ask no quarter nor will we give any." Then the besiegers opened their heavy guns; and under their fire they carried the abatis or the land side of the fort. There they encountered many pitfalls, and a heavy storm of bullets and grape-shot from a concealed battery. Equally severe was an enfilading fire from two other galleys hidden by the bushes. These fearfully slaughtered the assailants. Donop and many of his officers were killed or mortally wounded; and at twilight the invaders withdrew, after a loss of two hundred men, and were not pursued. The Congress ordered the Board of War to present an elegant sword to Colonel Greene, for his gallant

defence of Fort Mercer; and some New Jersey and Pennsylvania volunteers erected a monument of blue-veined marble on the site of the fort, in 1829, to commemorate the deed. Colonel Greene was soon afterward murdered at his quarters in Westchester county, N. Y., by a band of Tories, and the sword was presented to his family.

Some British ships-of-war that came to assist in the reduction of Fort Mercer, attacked Fort Mifflin the next morning. After being severely cannonaded from the fort and the American vessels, they attempted to retreat down the river, when the *Augusta*, a 64-gun ship, and the frigate *Merlin*, grounded. The former was set on fire by red-hot shot from the American batteries, and was blown up with I part of her crew. The *Merlin* was set on fire and abandoned. These events inspired the Americans and John Adams took the occasion to help Gates in his ambitious intrigues against Washington, by saying: "Thank God the glory is not immediately due to the commander-in-chief, or idolatry and adulation would have been so excessive as to endanger our liberties."

When full knowledge of the events of Burgoyne's surrender became known, it was perceived that Gates had no use for a large army in the north. The public interest impatiently demanded that he should send a greater part of his Continental troops to assist Washington in reducing Howe to the condition of Burgoyne. But this patriotic course might thwart the ambitious schemes of the commander in the north and his friends, who seemed willing to have the sun of Washington's renown eclipsed by disaster, that Gates's more feeble orb might appear to be the brighter luminary. Washington directed Gates to forward heavy reinforcements as speedily as possible. The latter, with false pretenses, held them back. Amazed at this positive disobedience, so nearly resembling the treason of Lee, the commander-in-chief sent his ever trusty aid, Colonel Alexander Hamilton, to acquaint Gates, in person, with the urgent necessity of sending forward troops immediately. Gates still hesitated. The acute Hamilton plainly saw the reason, and he used such plain language toward the conspirator, that Gates, startled, sent large reinforcements down the Hudson immediately. Hamilton followed soon afterward and was amazed to find these troops detained by General Putnam below the Highlands. At Gates's instigation, the veteran, believing he might win personal glory by the expulsion of the British from New York city, had actually advanced with his army as far down as White Plains, on the foolish errand. Acting under the advice of Governor Clinton, Hamilton spoke authoritatively in the name of Washington, and arrested the wild expedition. But these delays had frustrated the well-laid plans of Washington for capturing or expelling the whole British army. At the same time the powerful Gates faction in the Congress had caused legislation in that body which was calculated to dishonor the commander-in-chief and restrain his military operations. They forbade him to detach more than twenty-five hundred men from the Northern Army without first consulting General Gates and Governor Clinton, and so making him subservient to his inferiors in rank. The Adamses and Gerry of Massachusetts, and Marchant of Rhode Island, actually voted for a resolution forbidding Washington to detach any troops from that Department, excepting by consent of Gates and Clinton. The Congress also ordered Gates to regain the forts and passes on the Hudson," which Washington had already deprived the British of, by pressing Howe so closely that he ordered Sir Henry Clinton, as we have observed, to abandon them and send reinforcements to the Delaware.

This afforded Gates an excuse for keeping back the troops which he had sent down the Hudson. So the war was prolonged by a faction.

Howe soon made another effort to gain possession of the Delaware River. He planted five batteries, with an aggregate of thirty pieces of cannon, within five hundred yards of Fort Mifflin. A large floating battery was brought up the river; and on the 10th of November the British opened heavy guns from these, upon the fort. The siege was a fearful one, and continued six days. On the second day, Lieutenant-Colonel Smith, the commander of the fort, was wounded and taken over to Fort Mercer, when the leadership devolved first upon Colonel Russell, of Connecticut, and then upon Major Thayer of Rhode Island, who was well supported by Major Fleury, the French engineer. The garrison held out bravely under an incessant cannonade and bombardment. On the 15th, some British vessels with heavy guns, approached near enough for hand-grenades to be thrown from them into the fort. Five ships-of-war took positions to keep off the American flotilla, and to fire a broadside occasionally upon Fort Mifflin. During that day, more than a thousand shot and shell were hurled upon the works on Mud Island, from 12 to 32-pounders; and a storming party were made ready to attack the fort on the morning of the 16th. In the darkness of the preceding evening, Major Thayer sent all of the garrison, excepting forty men, to Fort Mercer, and he, with these, followed at midnight. The fort had become untenable, and was abandoned in time to save the remnant of the garrison, which had lost about two hundred and fifty men, killed or wounded. Washington's army was then encamped at Whitemarsh, in a beautiful valley, about fourteen miles from Philadelphia, where he waited, in much anxiety, for the result of the attack on Fort Mifflin.

Fort Mercer was yet in possession of the Americans. Cornwallis was sent with two thousand men, by way of Byllinge Point, to attack the post. The vigilant Washington immediately sent General Greene, with his division, by way of Burlington, to join some American troops in New Jersey and give battle to the enemy. Greene was accompanied by Lafayette, and expected to be reinforced by troops from the Hudson River. He was did appointed, while Cornwallis was joined by five British battalions from New York. General Greene was compelled to abandon the plan of fighting the invaders, and the commander of Fort Mercer (Colonel Greene), seeing no hope of help, evacuated the works, leaving his artillery as trophies for the enemy. Cornwallis levelled the ramparts of Fort Mercer and returned to Philadelphia, and the American troops in New Jersey crossed the Delaware and joined Washington at Whitemarsh.

A few of the American vessels escaped up the river, in the night, but seventeen of them were abandoned and burned by their crews. The river obstructions and the shore defenses were scattered to the waves and winds; and on the 11th of December, Washington broke up his encampment at Whitemarsh, and proceeded with his whole force to Valley Forge, about twenty miles northward of Philadelphia. He had been joined by troops from the north; and only a few days before, he had repulsed a British force, fourteen thousand strong, who came out on an intensely cold night (December 4, 1777) to surprise him. There was a sharp fight at Edge Hill and after threatening the American camp at various points, the British withdrew and returned to Philadelphia. Washington's whole army did not number more than eleven thousand men, of whom

only about seven thousand were fit for field duty. He chose Valley Forge as a place for a winter encampment, because it was further from the danger of sudden attacks from the enemy, and where he might more easily protect the Congress at York and his stores at Reading.

Members of Congress and the Pennsylvania Legislature, moved by impulse more than by judgment, had been clamorous for an immediate attack upon the British in Philadelphia, who had strongly fortified every important way of approach to that city. But Washington, sustained by a large majority of his general officers, disregarded all querulous fault-finding. His troops were in great distress, because of a lack of shoes and clothing, when they evacuated Whitemarsh. Many of them made the fatiguing journey to Valley Forge over hard frozen ground and through snow, bare-footed, leaving blood spots on the white carpet trodden by their lacerated feet. Upon the slopes of a narrow valley on the borders of the winding Susquehanna, they were encamped with no shelter but rude log-huts, during a very severe winter. There the little army shivered with cold and almost starved with hunger, while the British army were indulging in comforts and luxuries in a large city. Yet the patriotism of that republican army was not cooled, nor their aspirations for liberty starved nor did the commander-in-chief suffer a doubt of success to cloud his spirits, for he knew the cause to be a righteous one, and believed that God would give final victory to the oppressed. In all the world's history, we have no record of purer devotion, holier sincerity or more pious self-sacrifice, than was exhibited in the camp of Washington during the winter of 1777 and 1778. At the same time the British army were as much weakened by indulgence as were the republican troops by privations. Profligacy begat disease, crime, and insubordination. The evil effects of these led Dr. Franklin to say: "Howe did not take Philadelphia, Philadelphia took Howe."

It was during that winter that the amusing circumstance occurred which drew from the pen of Francis Hopkinson his famous satirical poem entitled "The Battle of the Kegs." In January (1778), while the channel of the Delaware was yet free of ice, some Whigs at Bordentown sent floating down the river a few kegs filled with gunpowder, and so arranged with machinery, that on rubbing against an object, they would explode. It was hoped that some of these torpedoes, touching a British vessel, might explode and sink it. One of them, touching some floating ice in front of the city, blew up, and produced intense alarm. Hopkinson, in his satire, says:

Now up and down, throughout the own, Most frantic scenes were acted; And some ran here, and others there, Like men almost distracted. Some Fire! cried, which some denied, But said the earth had quaked. And girls and boys, with hideous noise, Ran through the streets half-naked."

For twenty-four hours afterward, not a chip or stick could float down the stream without being fired at by musket or cannon by the British:

"The cannons roar from shore to shore. The small-arm loud did rattle; Since wars began, I'm sure no man E'er saw so strange a battle."

At that time occurred that episode in our history known as "Conway's Cabal"-a conspiracy to

ruin the reputation of Washington, and to make Gates the commander-in-chief of the armies, of which intimations have been given in this work from time to time. The conspirators labored in secret, by means of forged and anonymous letters, and slanderous reports, to weaken the public confidence in Washington as a leader. Failing to effect their object by these means (for he was every day rising higher and higher in public esteem), it was determined to abridge his influence and extend that of Gates, by creating a new Board of War, with the latter officer as president. This was effected late in November, 1777. The Board was invested with large powers, and by delegated authority, assumed the control of military affairs, which properly belonged to the province of the commander-in-chief. It was evident that the Congress intended to make Gates the master-spirit of the war, for, by a resolution, that body instructed their president to inform the general of his appointment to an office "upon the right execution of which the success of the American cause does eminently depend," and that it was the intention of Congress to continue his rank as major-general in the army, and that he officiate at the Board, or in the field, as occasion may require. His partisans in the Congress hastened to assure him that he would soon be the virtual commander-in-chief.

The conspiracy to this end was made more active when, at the middle of October, Washington wrote a letter to Richard Henry Lee, in which he spoke plainly concerning Brigadier-General Conway, a French officer of Irish lineage, who, it was rumored, was about to be appointed by the Congress a major-general in the Continental Army. "It will be as unfortunate a measure as ever was adopted," Washington wrote. "I may add, and I think with truth, that it will give a fatal blow to the existence of the army. Upon so interesting a subject, I must speak plainly. The duty I owe my country, the ardent desire I have to promote its true interests, and justice to individuals, require this of me. General Conway's merit, then, as an officer, and his importance in the army, exists more in his own imagination than in reality; for it is a maxim with him to leave no service of his own untold, nor to want anything which is to be obtained by importunity." Washington's chief reasons for apprehending disaster from the promotion of Conway, was the fact that he was the youngest brigadier in the army, and his exaltation over all the eldest would create dangerous dissatisfaction. "In a word," he wrote, "the service is so difficult, and every necessary so expensive, that almost all of our officers are tired out. Do not, therefore, afford them good pretexts for retiring. No day passes over my head without applications for leave to resign. Within the last six days, I am certain twenty commissions at least have been tendered to me." He added: "I have undergone more than most men are aware of to harmonize so many discordant parts; but it will be impossible for me to be of any further service, if such insuperable difficulties are thrown in my way."

Conway was informed of Washington's opposition to his promotion. His malice was aroused, and he became such a conspicuous instrument in promoting the conspiracy of Gates, that the affair became known as "Conway's Cabal." His pen and tongue were exceedingly active. He wrote anonymous letters to members of Congress, to Patrick Henry (then governor of Virginia), and, it is believed, to the presidents of several State legislatures, filled with complaints, insinuations and false statements, in which the recent disasters to Washington's army were attributed to the incapacity and ill-timed policy of the commander-in-chief. He did his best to sow

the seeds of discontent among the officers of the army, and succeeded in a degree. He caused several officers to write letters to Gates that fed the conspirator's vanity and confirmed his hopes of success in his undertaking. Conway himself wrote to Gates, saying in substance: Heaven has been determined to save your country, or a weak general and bad counsellors would have ruined it." Colonel Joseph Reed wrote to him "This army, notwithstanding the efforts of our amiable chief, has, as yet, gathered no laurels. I perfectly agree with that sentiment which leads to request your assistance." General Sullivan, Washington's second in command, who well knew the opinion of his chief and other officers concerning Conway - of Greene and others who had pronounced him "worthless" - was induced to write to a member of Congress in favor of the French officer being appointed inspector-general of the army, with the rank of major-general; and the impetuous Wayne expressed his intention to follow the line pointed out by the conduct of Lee, Gates, and Mifflin." Mr. Lovell, a delegate in Congress from Massachusetts, wrote a letter to Gates, in which, after threatening Washington with the mighty torrent of public clamor and vengeance," said: How different your conduct and your fortune! This army will be totally lost unless you come down and collect the virtuous band who wish to fight under your banner." Again Lovell wrote: "We want you in different places - we want you most near Germantown (in Washington's place). Good God, what a situation we are in! How different from what might have been justly expected!" Dr. Benjamin Rush, in a letter to Patrick Henry, a little later (to which he did not sign his name), after declaring that the army at Valley Forge had no general at its head, said:"A Gates, a Lee, or a Conway, would in a few weeks render them an irresistible body of men. Some of the contents of this letter ought to be made public, in order to awaken, enlighten, and alarm our country." Henry showed his contempt for the anonymous writer, by his silence, and by sending the letter to Washington. Rush's hand-writing betrayed him.

Through the loose tongue of Wilkinson, Gates's favorite aide, Washington heard of the disparaging words in Conway's letter, and he immediately let that officer know the fact. A personal interview ensued between them when Conway justified his words and made no apology. He afterward boasted to Mifflin of his defiance of the commander-in-chief. Mifflin was then a member of the new Board of War, of which Gates was president. Piqued because of the just complaints of his neglect of duty as quarter-master-general, by the commander-in-chief he entered heartily into the conspiracy. When telling Gates of Conway's defiance of Washington, Mifflin said the letter of the French general was a collection of just sentiments and Gates wrote to Conway: "You acted with all the dignity of a virtuous soldier; at the same time he expressed a wish that "so valuable and polite an officer might remain in the service." Conway had offered his resignation; the Gates faction in Congress soon procured his appointment, by that body, to the office of inspector-general with the rank of major-general, and made him independent of the commander-in-chief. The conspirators hoped, by these indignities, to cause Washington to resign. But the beloved Patriot bore all with patience. He wrote to Henry Laurens from the snow of Valley Forge: "My enemies take an ungenerous advantage of me. They know the delicacy of my situation, and that motives of policy deprive me of the defence I might otherwise make against their insidious attacks. They know I cannot combat their insinuations, however injurious, without disclosing secrets which it is of the utmost moment to conceal."

After Conway's interview with Washington, the conspiracy took a more vigorous form. In consultation with that officer, and without the knowledge of the chief the Board of War arranged a plan for a winter campaign against Canada. Hoping to detach Lafayette from Washington, they appointed him commander-in-chief of the expedition. The marquis, who was aware of the intrigues, asked Washington's advice in the matter. The chief said it was an honorable position, and advised him to accept the commission. Lafayette went to the Congress, sitting at York, to obtain it, and there he met Gates, Mifflin, and other members of the Board of War, at table. Wine circulated freely, and toasts were offered. At length the marquis, thinking it time to show his colors, arose and said: "Gentlemen, one toast, I perceive, has been omitted, which I will now propose." They filled their glasses, when he gave: "The commander-in-chief of the American armies." The coldness with which that toast was received, confirmed Lafayette's worst opinions of the men around him. These were heightened when he found that Conway was appointed his second in command. He procured the appointment of De Kalb to that position, making Conway the third, which dissatisfied that officer.

The whole expedition was manifestly a trick of Gates to get Lafayette away from Washington, and to promote Conway. He had assured the marquis that three thousand troops would await his coming, at Albany, with ample munitions, and that Stark by that time would have destroyed the British vessels at St. Johns. Not more than a thousand soldiers, including a regiment which Gates ordered from Washington's weak army, were at Albany when the marquis arrived, and Stark was waiting for orders. Clothing and transportation were wanting. Lafayette was disgusted. I fancy," he wrote, the actual scheme is to get me out of this part of the country, and General Conway as chief under the immediate command of Gates." The conspirators found they could not use Lafayette, and the expedition was abandoned. Conway's resignation was unexpectedly, by him, accepted by the Congress. The leaders in the conspiracy, disconcerted by events, hastened to disclaim all intention to elevate Gates to the place of Washington in official station. But the circumstantial proofs of their intentions to do so are too abundant to admit of a doubt. Mercy Warren, a warm personal friend of Samuel Adams, apologized, in her history of the war, for hi being found in the company of the conspirators, saying:"Zealous and ardent in his defence of his injured country, he was startled at everything that seemed to retard the operations of the war, or impede the success of the Revolution." Alexander Hamilton, in a letter to Governor Clinton in February, 1778, deplored the weakness of the Congress at the beginning of that year. "America," he wrote, once had a representation that would do honor to any age or nation. The present falling off is very alarming and dangerous. What is the cause? and how is it to be remedied? are questions that the welfare of these States requires should be well attended to."

At this time, when the Congress was sitting at York, that body resumed the consideration of a plan for establishing a national government, on the basis of a Federal union of the several States. We have observed that Franklin presented a plan in the summer of 1775, upon which no action was taken. On the 11th of June, 1776, a committee, with John Dickenson at their head, were appointed to devise a plan. They reported a draft a month later, when the subject was laid aside, and was not taken up again until April, 1777. From that time until late in the ensuing fall, the subject was debated in Congress two or three times a week. In these debates the conflicting

interests of the several States were made conspicuous. Finally, after making several amendments, the Congress adopted Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union, on the 15th of November, 1777, giving to the Confederacy the title of The United States of America. The following is the substance of the provisions of the league:

That all should engage in a reciprocal treaty of alliance and friendship, for mutual advantage, each to assist the other, when help should be needed; that each State should have the right to regulate its own internal affairs that no State should separately send or receive embassies, begin any negotiations, contract engagements or alliances, or conclude treaties with any foreign power, without the consent of the General Congress that no public officer should be allowed to accept any presents, emoluments, office or title from any foreign power, and that neither Congress nor State governments should possess the power to confer any title of nobility that none of the States should have the right to form alliances among themselves, without the consent of Congress; that they should not have the power to levy duties contrary to the enactments of Congress; that no State should keep up a standing army or ships-of-war, in time of peace, beyond the armament stipulated by Congress that when any of the States should raise troops for the common defence, all the officers of the rank of colonel and under should be appointed by the legislature of the State, and the superior officers by Congress that all the expenses of the war should be paid out of the public Treasury; that Congress alone, should have the power to coin money; and that Canada might, at any time, be admitted into the confederacy, when the people there felt disposed to do so. There were some other clauses that were explanatory of the power of certain governmental operations, and contained details of the same.

This plan of a national government was submitted to the legislatures of the several States for their ratification. They were slow to act. Notwithstanding there was a general feeling that something should be done for the maintenance of union after the cohesion created by the common danger of a state of war should be relaxed, there was a jealousy on the part of the States, of a central power that might claim supremacy. The people had become accustomed to the ideas of right, simply, as set forth in the Declaration of Independence, and hesitated to accept declared power, as promulgated by the Articles of Confederation. The former was based upon the dogmas of a "superintending Providence and the inalienable rights of man the latter relied upon the sovereignty of declared power, ascending from the foundation of human government to the laws of nature and of nature's God, written upon the heart of man the other resting upon the basis of human institutions and prescriptive law, and colonial charters."

An objectionable system of representation was proposed, by which each State was entitled to the same voice in the Congress, whatever might be the difference in population. Most objectionable of all were a provision for the limits of the several States, and the taking no notice of the important question, In whom is invested the control and possession of the public lands? These, and other grave defects in the plan, caused most of the States to hesitate, at first, to adopt the Articles, and for a long time several of them refused to do so.

Late in June, 1778, the Congress proceeded to consider the objections offered, and on the 27th

of that month, a form of ratification was adopted and ordered to be engrossed upon parchment to be signed by such delegates as might be instructed to do so by their respective legislatures. These were signed on the 9th of July by the delegates of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, Pennsylvania, Virginia, and South Carolina. The delegates from other States afterwards signed at various times; but the legislature of Maryland refused to ratify, until the question of the conflicting claims of the Union and of the separate States to the public lands should be fully adjusted. This was finally accomplished, by the cession of claiming States, to the United States, of all unsettled and unappropriated public lands for the benefit of the whole Union. In this act originated our Territorial system.

The government thus formed was radically defective, and soon failed to accomplish the objects for which it was created, as we shall observe hereafter, because the people were not recognized as sovereign only the several States. It was an attempt to reconcile partial supremacy in the Union with the absolute supremacy of each State. It was a crude embryo act of which a more perfect national government was evolved.

Chapter LXXVI

The Army at Valley Forge - Proceedings in the British Parliament - Beaumarchais and the Americans - A Serious Misunderstanding - Effects of Burgoyne's Surrender in France - Treaty between France and the United States - Franklin's Reception at Court, and His Popularity - Voltaire - Acts of the British Government - Conciliatory Bills - Rupture Between France and England - American Detachments Attacked - Committee at Valley Forge - Congress and the Soldiers - Steuben - The Treaty received at Valley Forge - Conciliatory Bills and the Americans - The Peace Commissioners.

THE joy that thrilled the bosoms of the American patriots when the news of Burgoyne's surrender went over the land, was succeeded by doubts and gloomy forebodings at the opening of the fourth year of the war, 1778. The effects of that surrender upon the public mind in Europe were not then known in America; and the military events which had succeeded it here were calculated to produce a great depression of spirits. The little army of Washington, then building log-huts at Valley Forge, had just passed through a season of great trial, and their own patriotism and that of their leader had been proven by severest tests. Their ranks were shattered and weak; a condition largely due to the neglect of the Congress, remissness in duty of the late quartermaster-general, faction in high places, and the intrigues of ambitious men. Almost three thousand soldiers of that little, suffering army were unfit for duty, because they were bare-footed and half-naked. Multitudes were compelled to doze around fires all night, because they did not possess a bed or a blanket to lie upon; and many who were favored with these were made sick by exposure to dampness, because they had no means of raising their beds from the ground. Not more than six thousand men were prepared to take the field yet there were clamors in the Congress and the Pennsylvania legislature for a winter campaign against the British in Philadelphia. The commander-in-chief was followed to Valley Forge by a remonstrance from the Council and Assembly of Pennsylvania against his going into winter-quarters at all. To this unreasonable reproof Washington made a firm but modest reply, stating the condition of his troops and the causes, and saying: "Gentlemen reprobate the going into winter-quarters as if they thought the soldiers were stocks and stones. I can assure those gentlemen that it is a much easier and less distressing thing to draw remonstrances in a comfortable room by a good fireside, than to occupy a cold, bleak hill, and sleep under frost and snow without clothes or blankets. However, although they seem to have little feeling for the naked and distressed soldiers, I feel superabundantly for them and from my soul I pity their miseries, which it is neither in my power to relieve or prevent."

Let us here pause in our narrative of military and civil movements in America, and briefly consider events bearing upon the great struggle then occurring in Europe.

The British Parliament assembled on the 18th of November. They had not heard of Howe's success on the borders of the Brandywine, nor of Burgoyne's disasters at Saratoga. They knew that Howe had been compelled to retire from New Jersey, and gloomy forebodings occupied their minds. They knew that American commissioners were kindly received at the French court, and

they dreaded a possible alliance of that nation with the insurgent subjects of Great Britain in America. The stubborn king, in his opening speech from the throne, declared his intention to prosecute the war against the rebels," without regard to the waste of blood and treasure. He alluded to the increased armaments of France and Spain, and, urging his people to make provision of larger means for carrying on the war in America, he expressed a hope that the deluded and unhappy multitude in the colonies might speedily cease their resistance and return to their allegiance.

A corresponding address to the king was proposed in Parliament, when the heaviest batteries of the Opposition in both houses were brought to bear upon the ministry. In the House of Lords, the Earl of Chatham (William Pitt), who strongly desired reconciliation with the Americans and was as strongly opposed to their independence, leaning upon a crutch, poured forth a flood of oratory such as distinguished him in the prime of his vigorous manhood. He opposed the further prosecution of the "inhuman war," and pleaded earnestly for conciliatory measures. He charged the ministry with lack of courage to sustain the honor of the nation, because they had allowed to pass unnoticed, what he called an insult to his government by the French court, in receiving, on friendly terms, the ambassadors of the insurgent Americans. Can our ministers," he asked, sustain a more humiliating disgrace? Do they dare to resent it? Do they presume even to hint at a vindication of their honor, and the dignity of the State, by requiring the dismissal of the plenipotentiaries of America? Alluding to the ill-success of the British arms in this country, he said: You cannot - I venture to say it - you cannot conquer America. What is your present condition there? We do not know the worst, but we know that in three campaigns we have done nothing and suffered much. . . . You may swell every expense and every effort, still more extravagantly pile and accumulate every assistance you can buy or borrow traffic and barter with every little pitiful German prince that sells and sends his subjects to the shambles of a foreign prince your efforts are forever vain and impotent - doubly so from this mercenary aid on which you rely; for it irritates to an incurable resentment the minds of your enemies - to overrun them with the mercenary sons of rapine and plunder; devoting them and their possessions to the rapacity of hireling cruelty! If I were an American, as I am an Englishman, while a foreign troop was landed in my country, I never would lay down my arms - never - never - never!" With equal vehemence Chatham condemned the employment of the American savages to wage the horrors of this barbarous war." A member justified the employment of Indians, by saying that the British had the right to use the means "which God and nature had given them." Chatham scornfully repeated the passage, and said: These abominable principles, and this most abominable avowal of them, demands most decisive indignation. I call upon that reverend bench (pointing to the Bishops), these holy ministers of the Gospel and pious pastors of the Church - I conjure them to join in the holy work, and to vindicate the religion of their God."

In the House of Commons, Burke, Fox, and Barry were equally severe in their denunciations; and when, on the 3rd of December, news reached London of the defeat of the British in northern New York, the latter rose in his place, and with a serene and solemn countenance, asked Germain, the Colonial Secretary, what news he had received by his last express from Quebec, and to say, upon his word of honor, what had become of Burgoyne and his brave army. The haughty

Secretary was irritated by the cool irony of the question, but he was compelled to admit that information of Burgoyne's surrender had reached him. He added - "It lacks confirmation." That confirmation speedily came, and Lord North was overwhelmed with grief. He could neither eat nor sleep. He saw in the event the result of the unwise measures of his sovereign, which he had sanctioned in opposition to the dictates of his own conscience and judgment; and he proposed to end the quarrel by conceding all that the Americans asked, or retire from the cabinet. It was perceived by all but the stupid and obstinate king and a few shallow courtiers that something must be done immediately toward reconciliation, or France would interfere. Leaders in both houses agreed with North. Fox said: "If no better terms can be had, I would treat with them as allies, nor do I fear the consequences of their independence." The King would not yield an iota of his pretensions to absolute sovereignty over the Americans. In turn he chided and coaxed the pliant North, when, finding his minister less yielding than usual, he conceded so much to his feelings as to suggest that in the event of a war with France and Spain (which then seemed probable) the royal troops might be withdrawn from the American provinces and employed in making war upon the French and Spanish islands. North yielded, and preparations for the campaign of 1778 against the Americans, went on vigorously.

Meanwhile events of great importance to the struggling patriots had taken place in France. We have already noticed (page 888) the efforts of Beaumarchais in behalf of the Americans, and the joint mission of Franklin, Deane and Lee, to the French court. We have observed that early in 1777, the commissioners proposed a treaty with France for mutual benefit in peace and war, and so took the initial step in the foreign diplomacy of the United States. Already the French government, in response to the efforts of Beaumarchais and Deane, had furnished essential material aid for the Americans, from the public treasury and arsenals. It was done secretly through Beaumarchais, who, as the agent of the government, opened a large commercial house in Paris, under the firm name of Rodriguez, Hortales & Co.; and by the use of money received from both France and Spain for the purpose, he sent three ship-loads of supplies to the Americans, in time to be used for the summer campaign of 1777. This mercantile disguise enabled Vergennes, the French minister, to say, with truth, at the end of the fourth year of the war: "The king has furnished nothing; he simply permitted M. Beaumarchais to be provided with articles from the arsenals upon condition of replacing them."

Out of these transactions grew much embarrassment. At an early stage of Mr. Deane's negotiations with the French, Arthur Lee of Virginia, an ambitious young man then in London, and who fell in with Beaumarchais there, informed the Congress through his brother, Richard Henry Lee, that Vergennes had sent an agent to him with the assurance that, while the French government would not then think of going to war with Great Britain, they were ready to furnish the Americans with arms and ammunition to the value of almost a million dollars. This statement was untrue, and was very mischievous, leading the Congress to believe that the supplies afterward sent by Beaumarchais were gratuities of the French monarch. This belief prevailed until the close of 1778, when, on inquiry being made of Vergennes, by Franklin, the above answer was given by that minister. Thomas Paine, minister for foreign affairs, at Philadelphia, believed it, and said so in a newspaper quarrel with Silas Deane, when the startled Congress, unwilling to compromise the

French court, said by resolution, in January, 1779, that they "had never received any species of military stores as a present from the court of France or from any other court or person in Europe," and dismissed Paine from his office. Beaumarchais afterward claimed payment from the Congress for every article he had forwarded. This claim caused a lawsuit which lasted about fifty years. It was settled in 1835 by the payment to the heirs of Beaumarchais by our government, the sum of over two hundred thousand dollars.

When the news of the surrender of Burgoyne reached France, Beaumarchais, who had then sent supplies for the Americans to the amount of almost a million dollars, found himself in financial embarrassment by lack of remittances of funds from the Congress, which he had expected. That body had been deceived by the falsehoods and slanders of Lee, and had not only withheld remittances, but had not acknowledged the receipt of supplies. Beaumarchais sent an agent to America, that autumn, to seek justice, who wrote back that Lee's untruthfulness was the cause of all the trouble. Just then tidings reached Paris that the Americans had captured Burgoyne's whole army. The news filled the French capital with great joy. It was perceived that the Americans could help themselves. France saw this, and also perceived that they might be her very useful allies in the evidently impending war with Great Britain. So the French government resolved to give the patriots more substantial, material, and moral aid than ever before, by acknowledging the independence of the United States and forming a treaty of alliance with them. Beaumarchais's mission was ended. On the 6th of February, 1778, a treaty of amity, commerce, and alliance was concluded with the French government, by the American commissioners. This treaty was effected secretly; and before the fact was known at the British court, Dr. Franklin, then seventy-two years of age, was greeted as the American ambassador at the French court, and M. Gerard was appointed to represent France at the seat of government of the United States. So was begun that alliance which speedily led to a war on sea and land between the French and English.

Franklin and his colleagues were presented to the king and queen at Versailles, on the 20th of March. Willing to comply with the court etiquette on such occasions, the republican ambassador sent for a wig, and contemplated ordering a suit of blue velvet and lace. No wig in Paris would fit his capacious head so he resolved to appear in his baldness, with his thin gray hair hanging down upon his shoulders. So he did appear in defiance of the chamberlain and fashion. Clad in an elegant suit of black velvet made as plain as one he would have worn at an evening party in Philadelphia, with white cambric ruffles in his bosom and at his wrists, white silk stockings and silver shoe-buckles, he won the admiration of all beholders in that brilliant assembly. The beautiful young queen bestowed her sweetest smiles upon him, and kept him near her person as much as possible during the audience. In one of the saloons of Paris a few evenings afterward, he was the centre of attraction. His defiance of etiquette charmed the Parisians. The ladies pressed around the Philosopher, and more enthusiastic ones saluted him with kisses on his forehead. The king was irritated by these attentions, for he despised republicans, and only consented to be their ally in war for the benefit of France. Voltaire, who, at the age of eighty-four, had just arrived in Paris after a long exile, was not more popular than Franklin. They soon became personal friends, for Voltaire espoused the cause of the Americans. Franklin venerated him for his wisdom, and gave his grandson, a tall youth, ask the philosopher's blessing. The venerable man placed his

hand on the lad's head and gave it in these words: God and Liberty.

The position now assumed by France toward the Americans greatly embarrassed the British ministry, and even the king was disposed to yield a little. Eleven days after the treaty was concluded at Paris, Lord North presented two conciliatory bills to Parliament. One declared the government did not intend to exercise the right of imposing taxes in America, and proposed to make almost every concession which the Americans had demanded two years before - even not to insist upon the renunciation of their independence the other authorized the king to send commissioners to America to treat for reconciliation and peace. Mr. Hartley, a confidant of Lord North, sent copies of these bills to Dr. Franklin. The ambassador, with the knowledge of Vergennes, sent word back that if the king wished to treat with the Americans on terms of perfect equality, the desired result might be obtained by sending commissioners to the representatives of the United States in Paris. The French king fearing a reconciliation might take place, and so thwart his plans for using the Americans for the glory of France, hastened to officially inform the British government, through the French minister in London, of the treaty between that country and the United States. That minister, acting under instructions, in his note to the British government, spoke of the United States as being in full possession of independence," and declared that his king was determined "to protect effectually the lawful commerce of his subjects, and to maintain the dignity of his flag," and had, in consequence, taken effectual measures in concert with the Thirteen United and Independent States of America."

These offensive words - offensive as they were intended to be - were construed by the British government as a virtual declaration of war on the part of France and the British minister at the French court was immediately recalled. Meanwhile the Conciliatory Bills had become laws, after much opposition in Parliament, chiefly because they allowed the Americans to assume the position of an independent nation. It would virtually be a dismemberment of the British empire, and this Chatham and his friends vehemently opposed. Afterward, when leaders of the opposition proposed, as a means of detaching the Americans from the French, to declare their independence, a most violent debate arose. That was early in April. Chatham had not appeared in the House of Lords for some time. Now his political friends urged him to be there. He appeared on the 7th of April, smothered in flannel and leaning upon two friends. He was pale and emaciated, and appeared like a dying man. Under his great wig, little more might be seen than his aquiline nose and peering eyes. He arose to speak. Leaning upon crutches, and supported by two friends, he raised one hand, and casting his eyes toward heaven, said: "I thank God that I have been enabled to come here this day - to perform my duty, and to speak upon a subject which has so deeply impressed my mind. I am old and infirm. I have one foot, more than one foot, in the grave; I am risen from my bed to stand up in the cause of my country - perhaps never again to speak in this House. . . . My Lords, I rejoice that the grave has not closed upon me that I am still alive to lift up my voice against the dismemberment of this ancient and most noble monarchy." His voice, at first feeble, rose in vehemence as he proceeded, and he made a most effective speech. The Duke of Richmond spoke in opposition to Chatham's arguments, and when he sat down, the great orator, much agitated, attempted to rise to reply, when he swooned and fell in the arms of his friends near by. Every one pressed around him with solicitude, and the debate closed without

another word. He was conveyed to his country-seat at Hayes, where he expired on the 11th of May. The scene of his fall in the House of Lords was admirably painted by Copley the American artist, who was then a resident of London.

The little army at Valley Forge had not only suffered great privations in camp, but were subjected to attacks upon their feeble outposts, and detachments sent out for food and forage, by parties sent from Philadelphia. Among the most active of these was a corps of American Loyalists, called the "Queen's Rangers," led by Major Simcoe, and numbering about five hundred men. In February, these went into New Jersey to capture Wayne, who was there gathering up horses and provisions, but failed. Another party, more than a thousand strong, led by Colonel Mawhood, went to Salem in March, and on the 18th, had a severe skirmish at Quintin's bridge, near that town, with a small force of Americans under Colonel Holmes. The latter were dispersed, but were saved from capture or destruction, by Colonel Hand, who arrived with some troops and two pieces of cannon, and checked the pursuers. Mawhood then sent Simcoe to attack another detachment at Hancock's bridge, not far from Quintin's, on the night of the 20th. But few Americans were there, and most of them were non-combatants, who made no resistance. They were all murdered while begging for quarter. This cruel act was done by unprincipled Tories, who, in arms, were called The blood-hounds of the Revolution."

At that time a committee of the Congress were at Valley Forge, where they had been for several weeks, conferring with the commander-in-chief on the subject of future military operations, and especially upon reforms of present abuses in the army, the increase in its efficiency, and the revival of the hopes of the country. Washington presented to the committee a very long memorial, in which he had embodied the views of himself and his officers. He specially urged as a necessity, as well as equity, of insuring to the officers of the army, half-pay for life. This memorial formed the basis of the report of the committee to the Congress. Washington also wrote many letters to members of that body, urging the measure of half-pay with great earnestness and good arguments, pleading for this act of justice toward his companions in arms, and disclaiming all selfish motives, for he had often declared that he would not receive pay for his own services. The Congress finally agreed to secure to each officer half-pay for the term of seven years next ensuing after the close of the contest, and a gratuity of eighty dollars to every non-commissioned officer and private who should continue in the service until the close of the war. These equitable provisions doubtless saved the Continental Army from dissolution in the spring of 1778.

Meanwhile the service had been strengthened by the appointment of General Greene quartermaster-general, in place of General Mifflin, and the Baron de Steuben as inspector-general of the Continental Army, in place of General Conway. Steuben was a skillful Prussian officer, who had served on the staff of Frederick the Great. He arrived in America at the beginning of December, 1777, and presenting himself to the Congress at York, offered his services. His certificates of character were so ample, that they were accepted; and at the urgent solicitation of Washington he was appointed inspector-general of the armies, with the rank and pay of major-general. Joining the army at Valley Forge, he so thoroughly disciplined the crude soldiery

there, in military manoeuvres, that before the opening of the campaign in June, they had acquired much of the skill of European veterans. Our regular soldiers were never beaten in a fair fight, after their drilling at Valley Forge.

As the spring advanced and warm weather prevailed, the comforts of the soldiers were increased and their daily wants were more bountifully supplied. Their shattered regiments were filled, and a more hopeful feeling prevailed throughout the country, when, on the night of the 3rd of May, a despatch reached Washington, from the President of Congress, announcing the alliance between France and the United States. Washington communicated the important news in general orders on the 6th, and great joy was thereby produced. He set apart the following day to be devoted to a grateful acknowledgement of the Divine goodness in raising up a powerful friend in one of the princes of the earth, to establish liberty and independence upon a solid foundation," and to celebrate the great event by tokens of delight. He directed the several brigades of the army to be assembled at nine o'clock in the morning to hear prayers and appropriate discourses from their respective chaplains. At a given signal the men were to be under arms for inspection and parade, when they were to be led to a specified position to fire a feu de joie with cannon and small guns. At a given signal, there was to be a discharge of thirteen cannon and a running fire of small-arms, when the whole army were to huzzah - "Long live the king of France!" Then another discharge of thirteen cannon and all the muskets was to be given, followed by a shout of the army - "Long live the friendly European powers!" Then a third discharge of cannon and musketry in like manner, and a shout - "The American States."

These orders were faithfully obeyed. Washington, with his wife and suite and other general officers with their wives, attended the religious services of the New Jersey brigade. The army made a brilliant appearance in their new suits of clothing and polished arms. After the soldiers had retired, the commander-in-chief dined in public with all his officers, attended by a band of music and the entertainment ended with a number of patriotic toasts, and loud huzzahs for Washington, when he left the table.

The Conciliatory Bills had arrived in America a fortnight before the news of the treaty was received by the Congress, and attracted much attention in and out of that body. Governor Tryon, at New York, caused them to be printed and widely circulated, to produce disaffection among the Americans. As they did not propose independence as a basis for negotiations, they were regarded by the patriots with suspicion, and were denominated "deceptionary bills." Washington and the Congress rejected them as inadequate, in scope, to form a foundation for discussion. Nothing short of independence, it appears to me, will do," Washington wrote. "A peace on other terms would, if I may be allowed the expression, be a peace of war." The Congress resolved that the terms were totally inadequate, and that no advances on the part of the British government would be met, unless, as a preliminary step, they should either withdraw their fleets and armies, or acknowledge, unequivocally, the independence of the United States.

Such was the temper of the Americans, when, on the 4th of June, three commissioners - the Earl of Carlisle, George Johnstone, and William Eden - sent to negotiate for peace, arrived at

Philadelphia. They were accompanied by Adam Ferguson, the eminent professor in the University of Edinburgh. Directions were sent for General Howe to join them, but as he had left the country, and the army was commanded by Sir Henry Clinton, the latter took his place. The commissioners sent their credentials to the Congress by a flag. For reasons above given, the Congress refused to treat with them, and the papers were returned to them, with a letter from the President giving reasons for the act. The commissioners tried by various arts to accomplish their purposes, but were foiled and in October they returned to England, after issuing an angry manifesto and proclamation to the Congress, the State legislatures, and the whole inhabitants, in which they denounced the "rebels" and warned the people to beware of the righteous wrath of Great Britain.

Johnstone early lost all claims to respectful consideration, by attempting to gain by intrigue, what he could not obtain by fair means. He became acquainted with the accomplished Mrs. Ferguson, wife of a relative of the secretary of the commissioners, and daughter of Dr. Thomas Graeme of Pennsylvania. Her husband was in the British service, and she was much with the loyalists, but her conduct was so discreet, and her attachment to her country was so undoubtedly sincere, that she maintained the confidence and respect of leading patriots. Johnstone made her believe he was a warm friend of the Americans, and was exceedingly anxious to stop the effusion of blood. He expressed his belief that if a proper representation could be made to the members of Congress and other leading Whigs, peace might speedily be secured. Mrs. Ferguson sympathized with him. As he could not pass the lines himself he entreated her to go to General Joseph Reed, and say to him that if he could, conscientiously, exert his influence to bring about a reconciliation, he might command ten thousand guineas and the highest post in the government. "That," said Mrs. Ferguson, "General Reed would consider the offer of a bribe." Johnstone disclaimed any such intention. Believing him sincere, Mrs. Ferguson sought and obtained an interview with Reed, as soon as the British left Philadelphia. When she had repeated the conversation with Johnstone, Reed indignantly replied - "I am not worth purchasing, but such as I am, the king of Great Britain is not rich enough to do it!" This attempt at bribery was soon made known, and drew upon the commissioners the scorn of all honest men. Mrs. Ferguson, whose motives seem to have been pure, was violently assailed. Trumbull, in his satire entitled *McFingal*," thus alludes to the transaction:

"Behold, at Britain's utmost shifts, Comes Johnstone, loaded with like gifts, To venture through the Whiggish tribe, To cuddle, wheedle, coax and bribe; And call, to aid his desperate mission, His petticoated politician; While Venus, joined to act the farce, Strolls forth, embassadress of Mars. In vain he strives; for, while he lingers, Their mastiffs bite his offering fingers Nor buys for George and realms infernal, One spaniel but the mongrel, Arnold"

Chapter LXXVII

The Mischianza - The British Evacuate Philadelphia - Distress of the Tories - The American Army - Oath of Allegiance - Lafayette Outgenerals the British Commanders - The British Evacuate Pennsylvania - The Americans Pursue - Disobedience of Lee - Battle at Monmouth - The British Army Escapes to New York - Washington Crosses the Hudson - Goes into Winter-Quarters in New Jersey - Washington and Lee - Treason of General Lee - His Will - Arrival of a French Fleet and Minister - D'Estaing Sails for Rhode Island - Sullivan's Expedition - French and British Fleets off Newport - Battle of Rhode Island - British Marauders.

WE have observed that Sir Henry Clinton succeeded Sir William Howe as commander-in-chief of the British army in America. He entered upon his duties, as such, on the 24th of May, 1778. A week before, Philadelphia was agreeably excited by a grand complimentary entertainment given to the brothers Howe, and called by the Italian name for a medley, Mischianza. It was an appropriate closing of a round of dissipation in which the British army had indulged during their six months residence in Philadelphia. Many of the officers had lived in open defiance of the demands of morality. Their profligacy was so conspicuous, that many of the Tory families who had welcomed the invaders, had prayed for the departure of such undesirable guests.

"The Mischianza," wrote Captain Andre, Clinton's accomplished and afterward unfortunate young adjutant-general, "was the most splendid entertainment ever given by an army to their commander." Andre was the chief inventor and manager of the pageant; and he and Captain Oliver De Lancey, a Tory leader of New York, painted all the scenery and other decorations. The entertainment began with a grand regatta in the presence of thousands of spectators, who thronged the wharves and swarmed upon the river in small boats. Banners waved, cannon thundered, and martial music filled the air. This over, the scene changed to a tilt and a tournament on shore, followed by a grand ball and supper, for which purposes spacious temporary buildings were erected in connection with the fine Wharton mansion in Fifth street.

The company, as they disembarked from the boats, marched between rows of grenadiers, preceded by the music, which consisted of all the bands of the army. After passing two triumphal arches, the procession, with the general and admiral, came to two pavilions with rows of benches rising one above the other, where the ladies were received and the gentlemen arranged on each side of them. On the front seat of each pavilion were seven young women, chosen from families of highest social position in Philadelphia.

These were dressed in Turkish costume, and wore in their turbans the favors" with which they intended to reward the several knights who were to contend in their honor. Suddenly the braying of trumpets was heard in the distance, and soon two bands of knights appeared, with their squires - Knights of The Blended Rose, and Knights of The Burning Mountain. They were dressed in ancient costume of white and red silk, and mounted on gray horses richly caparisoned in trappings of the same colors. They entered the list with their squires dressed in black. Captain Lord Cathcart, superbly mounted, appeared as chief of the Knights of The Blended Rose, his stirrups

held by two black slaves in brilliant dresses, their arms and breasts bare. The chief of the Knights of The Burning Mountain was Captain Watson of the Guards, dressed in a magnificent suit of black and orange silk. These leaders and their followers each appeared in honor of one of the fourteen maidens in Turkish costume, and were announced with the name of the young lady in whose honor they were to contend. For example:

"Third knight, Captain Andre, in honor of Miss Chew; Squire, Lieutenant Andre: device, two game-cocks fighting; motto, No rival."

The two bands of knights fought each other, and each one was rewarded with a favor from his "lady love." When the tournament was over, the knights rode between two rows of troops through the first triumphal arch, where all the flags of the army were displayed. Then the knights, with their squires, took their stations, the bands filling the air with martial music. The company then moved toward the knights, the maidens in oriental costume in front. As these passed, they were saluted by the knights, who then dismounted and joined them, and in this order all were conducted into a garden that fronted a large building; and passing through the second triumphal arch, the company ascended a flight of carpeted steps that led to a magnificent hall, the panels of which were painted to imitate Sienite marble, and decorated with festoons of flowers. From this hall the company were conducted to an elegantly decorated ball-room garnished with eighty-five mirrors decked with ribbons, and thirty-four candelabra with wax-candles, also decorated with ribbons. The ball was opened by the knights and their ladies, and the dancing continued until ten o'clock, when the windows were thrown open to allow the assemblage within to see a magnificent display of fireworks. At midnight a sumptuous banquet was partaken of in a grand saloon more than two hundred feet in length, and beautifully adorned. At the close of the supper a herald entered with a flourish of trumpets, and proclaimed the health of the king, queen, and royal family; the army and navy, and their commanders; the knights and their ladies, and the ladies in general. After supper they all returned to the ball-room, and danced until four o'clock in the morning.

This foolish pageant had just ended, when orders reached Philadelphia for the troops to evacuate that city and the fleet to leave the Delaware River. The rescript of the French monarch, as we have observed, was regarded in England as tantamount to a declaration of war, and the British government saw the danger that threatened their land and naval forces should a French fleet blockade the Delaware, a circumstance which speedily occurred. At the middle of April, Admiral the Count D'Estaing, a major-general in the French service, sailed from Toulon with twelve ships-of-the-line and three frigates, and after a rough voyage of ninety days, anchored in the Delaware. Fortunately for Lord Howe's fleet, it had left those waters a few days before, and was safely anchored in the broad bay off the mouth of the Raritan River. The British army had also escaped to New York, after great perils by the way.

The order for the evacuation of Philadelphia, and its execution, produced wide-spread consternation and distress in that city, lately so gay with scarlet uniforms, martial music and banners, dashing young officers and a brilliant display of the pastimes of half-barbarous nations

five hundred years before. The change from bright promises of protection to the despair caused by cruel desertion was awful. It was like the sudden gathering of a fierce tempest in a serene sky. About three thousand of the most tenderly-bred of the inhabitants left their homes, their property and their cherished associations, and fled for refuge from the indignation of their Whig neighbors, whom they had outraged in many ways, to be borne away, they knew not whither, to a fate which they could not foresee.

Meanwhile the condition of Washington's army at Valley Forge, which the British despised, and ridiculed in plays by amateur performances in a theatre in Philadelphia, was greatly improved in every respect. At the middle of May the troops fit for duty numbered about fifteen thousand men. The Congress had just ratified the treaty with France, and so gave great encouragement to the American people. The warmth of approaching summer diffused physical comfort, life, and vigor through the camp; and the fact, when known, that the British had been ordered to leave Philadelphia and the adjacent waters, inspired the soldiers with joy and hope.

The Congress ordered an oath of allegiance to be administered to all the officers of the army at Valley Forge, before the opening of the campaign. This ceremony took place on the 12th of May. The commander-in-chief administered it to the general officers. In so doing, several of them placed their hands on the Bible at the same time, and so took the oath together. When Washington began to read the form, General Charles Lee, who had been exchanged for General Prescott, captured on Rhode Island, withdrew his hand. This movement he repeated, when Washington demanded a reason for the strange conduct. Lee replied As to King George, I am ready enough to absolve myself from all allegiance to him but I have some scruples about the Prince of Wales' deeper motive, excited much laughter. This odd reply, which covered a In the light of to-day, we may clearly see the real reason. Lee was then playing a desperate game of treason, and probably had some conscientious scruples about taking such an oath which he would probably violate. He did, however, subscribe to it.

We have already mentioned some movements of American detachments during the winter and spring of 1778. At the middle of May news reached Washington that the British were probably preparing to evacuate Philadelphia. It was premature, for the order for that movement had not then arrived. However, the vigilant commander-in-chief acted promptly. He detached Lafayette, with about twenty-one hundred men and five pieces of cannon, to restrain British foragers and marauders who were plundering the country, and had burned several American vessels in the Delaware River. He was instructed to cut off all communications between Philadelphia and the country; to obtain correct information concerning the enemy, and to be ready to follow the fugitives with a considerable force when they should leave the city. Lafayette crossed the Schuylkill and took post on Barren Hill, about half-way between Valley Forge and Philadelphia. The marquis made his quarters at the house of a Tory Quaker, who informed Howe of the fact. The latter immediately ordered General Grant to make a secret night march, with over five thousand men, to gain the rear of Lafayette, and prevent his recrossing the Schuylkill. This was done on the night of the 20th of May. Early the next morning Howe marched with almost six thousand men, commanded by Clinton and Knyphausen, to capture the young Frenchman and

send him to England. Grant actually surprised the marquis, and held the ford over which he and his little army had crossed the Schuylkill but by a deceptive, quick, and skillful movement Lafayette outgeneraled his antagonist, and escaped across Matson's Ford-General Poor leading the advance, while Grant was making preparations for battle. Howe was sadly disappointed. He felt sure of closing his military career in America with a brilliant achievement, but was foiled and he marched back to Philadelphia, where, on the 24th, he embarked for England.

The British army lingered in Philadelphia until the morning of the 18th of June, when, just before the dawn, they began the passage of the Delaware at Gloucester Point, and at the close of the day were encamped around Haddonfield, a few miles southeast from Camden. So secretly and adroitly had this movement been made, that Washington was not certified of the destination of the British army until they had passed the river. Suspecting, however, that Clinton would take a land-route to New York, the commander-in-chief had dispatched General Maxwell, with his brigade, to co-operate with the New Jersey militia, under General Dickenson, in retarding the march of the enemy. Clinton had crossed the Delaware with about seventeen thousand effective men.

General Arnold, whose wound kept him from duty in the field, was left with a detachment to occupy Philadelphia. The remainder of the army crossed the Delaware above Trenton, and pursued. Lee had been restored to his command as the oldest major-general, and exercised a baleful influence as far as he was able. He was plotting for the ruin of that army, and endeavored to thwart every measure that promised success. He persistently opposed all interference with Clinton in his march across New Jersey, finding fault with everything, and creating much mischief. When, at length, he was requested to lead the advance in a meditated attack upon the enemy, he at first declined the honor and duty, saying the plan was defective and would surely fail.

Clinton had intended to march to New Brunswick, and there embark his army on the Raritan; but finding Washington in his path, he turned, at Allentown, toward Monmouth Court-House, with a determination to make his way to Sandy Hook, and thence by water to New York. Washington followed him on a parallel line, prepared to strike him whenever a good opportunity should offer; while Clinton wished to avoid a battle, if possible, for he was heavily encumbered with baggage-wagons and a host of camp-followers, making a line twelve miles in length. He encamped near Monmouth Court-House on the 27th of June, where Washington resolved to strike him when he should move, the next morning, for it was important to prevent his gaining the advantageous position of Middletown Heights.

Lee was now in command of the advanced corps. Washington ordered him to consult his general officers, and form a plan of attack. When Lee met them - Lafayette, Wayne, and Maxwell - he refused to arrange a plan or give any orders; and when at dawn on the 28th - a hot and serene Sabbath morning - Washington was informed that Clinton was about to move, and ordered Lee to fall upon the enemy's rear unless there should be good reasons for his not doing so, that officer was so tardy in his obedience that he allowed the foe ample time to prepare for battle. When Lee did move, he seemed to have no plan. He gave orders and counter-orders, and so perplexed and

alarmed his generals that they sent a request to Washington to appear on the field immediately. While Wayne was attacking with vigor with a prospect of victory, Lee ordered him to make only a feint. The irritated commander, like a true soldier, instantly obeyed, and lost a chance for victory and honor.

Clinton now suddenly changed front, and sent a large force, horse and foot, to attack Wayne. They approached cautiously toward Lee's right, when Lafayette, believing a good opportunity was offered to gain the rear of this division of the enemy, rode quickly up to Lee and asked permission to attempt it. "Sir," said Lee, sternly, "you do not know British soldiers we cannot stand against them; we shall certainly be driven back at first, and we must be cautious." The marquis replied: "It may be so, general but British soldiers have been beaten, and they may be again at any rate, I am disposed to make the trial." Lee, yielding a little, ordered the marquis to wheel his column by the right, and gain and attack the enemy's left; at the same time he weakened Wayne's detachment, by taking from it three regiments to support the right. At that moment, discovering a movement of the British that apparently disconcerted him, he ordered his right to fall back. Generals Scott and Maxwell were then about to attack, when they, too, were ordered to fall back. Lafayette received a similar order, when a general retreat began. The British pursued, and Lee showed no disposition to check either his own troops or those of the enemy. A panic seized the former, and the orderly retreat became a disorderly flight.

Washington was pressing forward to the support of Lee, when he was met by the astounding intelligence that the advance divisions were in full retreat. Of this disastrous movement Lee had not sent him word, and the fugitives were falling back in haste upon the main army. This was an alarming state of things. The indignation of the commander-in-chief was fearfully aroused and when he met Lee at the head of the second retreating column, he rode up to the culprit, and in a tone of withering reproof exclaimed: "Sir, I desire to know what is the reason, and whence comes this disorder and confusion?" Lee retorted sharply, and said "You know the attack was contrary to my advice and opinion." Washington replied, with a voice that told of the depth of his indignation: "You should not have undertaken the command unless you intended to carry it through." It was no time for verbal contention. Wheeling his horse, Washington hastened to Ramsay and Stewart, in the rear, rallied a large portion of their regiments, and ordered Oswald, with his two cannon, to take post on an eminence. These field-pieces, skillfully handled, soon checked the pursuing enemy. The presence of Washington inspired the troops with confidence and courage; and ten minutes after he appeared, the retreat was suspended. The chief rode fearlessly in the face of the storm of conflict, and the whole patriot army, which, half an hour before, seemed on the point of being a fugitive mob, were now in orderly battle array, upon an eminence on which General Lord Stirling placed some batteries of cannon. The line there formed was commanded on the right by General Greene, and on the left by Lord Stirling.

The patriot army were now confronted by the flower of the British troops in America, commanded by Generals Clinton and Cornwallis, about seven thousand strong. They were upon a narrow road bounded by morasses; and when they found themselves strongly opposed on their front, they attempted to turn the American left flank. The British cavalry, in the van, were

repulsed, and disappeared. The regiments of foot then came up, when a severe battle ensued with musketry and cannon. The American batteries were skillfully worked under the direction of General Knox. For awhile the result of the contest was doubtful, when General Wayne came up with a body of troops and gave victory to the republicans. His well-directed fire was so effectual, that Lieutenant-Colonel Monckton, in command of the British grenadiers, seeing that the fate of the conflict depended upon driving Wayne away, led his troops to a bayonet charge. Wayne gave them such a hot reception with bullets that almost every British officer was slain. Among them was Monckton, who fell as he was waving his sword and pressing forward with a shout. Then the British retreated through the narrow pass along which they had pursued the Americans, and fell back to the heights occupied by Lee in the morning. It was a strong position, flanked by morasses, and accessible in front only by a narrow road. The conflict ended at dusk, when the wearied American troops lay down upon their arms on the battle-field, with the intention of renewing the struggle in the morning. It had been a day of fearful heat, ninety-six degrees in the shade. More than fifty American soldiers died that day from sun-stroke; and hundreds, suffering from thirst, drank from pools of muddy water, whenever an opportunity offered.

At near midnight, Clinton, with his army, stealthily withdrew, and before the dawn they were far on their way toward Sandy Hook. There they embarked for New York, arriving there on the 30th. Washington did not pursue, but marched for the Hudson River by way of New Brunswick. Crossing that stream, he encamped near White Plains, in Westchester county, until late in the autumn. Clinton, in his official despatch to his government, said: "Having reposed the troops until ten at night to avoid the excessive heat of the day, I took advantage of the moonlight to rejoin General Knyphausen, who had advanced to Nut Swamp, near Middletown." The waning moon set at a little past ten that night. Alluding to the circumstance, Trumbull, in his satire of McFingal, wrote: "He forms his camp with great parade, While evening spreads the world in shade, Then still, like some endangered spark. Steals off on tip-toe in the dark Yet writes his king in boasting tone How grand he march'd by light of moon!"

Notwithstanding Washington had reason to suspect Lee of treachery on the battle-field (for he had been warned the night before that he was a secret traitor, and his conduct had justified the suspicion), he was disposed to treat him leniently. But Lee, smarting under the just reproof of the commander-in-chief, wrote a note to him the next day, demanding an apology for the words spoken to him on the field. Washington made a temperate reply, expressing his conviction that the reproof he had uttered was justified by the circumstances, whereupon Lee wrote an insulting letter to the chief. The offender was arrested and tried by a court-martial on charges of disobedience of orders, misbehavior before the enemy, and disrespect to the commander-in-chief. He was found guilty, and sentenced to suspension from military command for a year. Late in the year the Congress approved the sentence. A little more than twelve months afterward, they dismissed him from the service on account of an impertinent letter which he wrote to them.

That General Lee was treacherous to the cause which he pretended to espouse, there is ample proof. A few years ago a manuscript in the handwriting of Lee, prepared while that officer was a prisoner in New York and addressed to General Howe, containing a plan for the speedy

subjugation of the colonies, came into the possession of George H. Moore, LL.D., who published it, with many facts, which clearly show that the writer had been a traitor, undoubtedly, from the fight in Charleston Harbor in June, 1776, until the battle at Monmouth, in June, 1778. All the while that he was in command during that time, he was acting in bad faith toward the Americans. His influence in the army was, at all times, mischievous. Exceedingly selfish and thoroughly unprincipled, bad in morals and lacking in courage, he loved neither God nor man. He died in obscurity in Philadelphia, in October, 1782. By his will, written a few days before his death, he bequeathed his soul to the Almighty, and his body to the earth, saying: I desire, most earnestly, that I may not be buried in any church or churchyard, or within a mile of any Presbyterian or Anabaptist meeting-house, for, since I have resided in this country, I have kept so much bad company when living that I do not choose to continue it when dead." He was buried in the churchyard of Christ Church, Philadelphia, with military honors.

D'Estaing, with a French fleet, arrived in the Delaware on the 8th of July, 1778, accompanied by M. Gerard, the first minister of France accredited to the United States government, and Commissioner Deane. Howe's fleet was anchored off Sandy Hook, to co-operate with the army in New York. D'Estaing proceeded to attack it, but when he arrived there, the British vessels were all in Raritan Bay, safe from the guns of the heavy French ships that drew too much water to allow them to cross the bar above Sandy Hook. General Sullivan, commanding in the east, was preparing to attempt the expulsion of the six thousand British troops then holding Rhode Island and, at the special request of Washington, D'Estaing sailed for Narragansett Bay, with thirty-five hundred land troops, to assist in the enterprise. He arrived off Newport at the close of July, accompanied by young John Laurens as aide and interpreter, and the admiral and general arranged a plan of operations.

Washington had instructed Sullivan to arrange his troops in two divisions, and sent Greene to command one of them, and Lafayette to command the other. A requisition had been made upon New England for troops, and in twenty days Sullivan's army was swelled to ten thousand effective men. On the appearance of the French fleet off Newport, the British caused several ships-of-war and galleys, carrying more than two hundred guns, to be burned.

On the 8th of August, the French vessels ran past the batteries near the entrance to Narragansett Bay. Arrangements had been made for the landing of the French troops, and the invasion of Sullivan's army on the 10th; but the latter, discovering on the 9th that the British outposts at the northern end of the island had been abandoned, crossed over from Tiverton on that day. At the same time the fleet of Lord Howe, which had been reinforced from England, appeared off Newport; and on the morning of the 10th, D'Estaing sailed out past the English batteries, to fight him. A stiff wind was then rising from the northeast. Both commanders long contended for the weather-gauge (to keep to the windward) - so long that before they were ready to begin, the wind had increased to a hurricane and scattered both fleets. It blew so furiously that spray from the ocean was carried over Newport and encrusted the windows with salt. The French fleet was much shattered, and went to Boston for repairs, and Howe sailed back to Sandy Hook. The storm, which ended on the 14th, had burst with terrible fury on the American camp, spoiling

much of their ammunition, overturning tents, and damaging provisions.

D'Estaing had promised to land his troops after the fight with Howe. He reappeared off Newport, when Greene and Lafayette visited him on board his flag-ship, to urge him to fulfill that promise. He declined to do so. Expecting these reinforcements, Sullivan had pushed his army several miles toward Newport. When they found themselves deserted by the French, the New England volunteers, believing the expedition was a failure, returned home, and so reduced Sullivan's army to six thousand men. He saw the necessity for retreating and began that movement on the night of the 28th, when the British pursued. The Americans made a stand on Butt's Hill, twelve miles from Newport, which they had fortified. The British tried to turn their right wing on the morning of the 29th, when General Greene, commanding it, changed front, assailed the pursuers vigorously, and drove them to their strong defence on Quaker Hill. A general engagement ensued, when the British line was broken and driven back in confusion to Turkey Hill. The day was very sultry, and many perished by the heat. The action ended at near three o'clock in the afternoon, but a sluggish cannonade was kept up until sunset. In this engagement the Americans lost about two hundred men, and the British two hundred and sixty. On the night of the 30th, Sullivan's army withdrew to the main. General Clinton arrived the next day with a reinforcement of four thousand men. He soon returned to New York, after sending General Grey to destroy a large number of ships, with magazines, stores, wharves, warehouses, and other buildings at New Bedford, and mills and houses at Fair Haven. Property to the amount of over three hundred thousand dollars was destroyed. Then the marauders proceeded to Martha's Vineyard, where they demanded of and received from the defenseless inhabitants militia arms, public money, three hundred oxen, and ten thousand sheep.

Chapter LXXVIII

Desolation of the Wyoming Valley - Indian and Tory Raids in the State of New York - Massacre at Cherry Valley - Events in the Western Wilderness - Exploits of Major Clarke - British Forays - The British Invade Georgia - Relative Position of the Belligerents - Attitude of European Governments - American Finances - Loan Offices and a Lottery Scheme - Efforts to Redeem the Bills of Credit - Protection and Aid Solicited by Congress - British Hopes and Dangers - A Defensive Policy Adopted - Plan of the Campaign in the South - Military Operations in Georgia.

THE first severely bitter fruit of the alliance of Great Britain with the American savages was tasted in the Wyoming Valley in the summer of 1778. That valley is a beautiful region of Pennsylvania, lying between mountain ranges and watered by the Susquehanna River that flows through it: The first European known to have trodden the soil of the valley was Count Zinzendorf the Moravian, seeking the good of souls. The region was claimed as a part of the domain of Connecticut granted by the charter of that province given by Charles the Second, and was called the county of Westmoreland. The first settlers there, forty in number, went from Connecticut about the middle of the 18th century. When the old war for independence broke out, the valley was a paradise of beauty and fertility. As that war went on, and an alliance between the British and Indians became manifest, the people of the valley felt insecure. They built small forts for their protection, and called the attention of the Continental Congress, from time to time, to their exposed situation. When St. Leger was besieging Fort Schuyler, on the Mohawk River, in 1777, parties of Indian warriors threatened the valley, but the inhabitants there were spared from much harm until the summer of 1778.

Among the Tory leaders in northern and western New York were John Butler and his son Walter N. They were less merciful toward the Whigs than their savage associates in deeds of violence. John Butler was a colonel in the British service; and in the spring of 1778, he induced the Seneca warriors in western New York to consent to follow him into Pennsylvania. He had been joined by some Tories from the Wyoming Valley, who gave him a correct account of that region; and on the last day of June he appeared at the head of the beautiful plains with more than a thousand men, Tories and Indians. They captured the uppermost fort, and Butler made the fortified house of Wintermoot, a Tory of the valley, his headquarters. The whole military force to oppose the invasion was composed of a small company of regulars and a few militia. When the alarm was given, the whole population flew to arms. Grandfathers and their aged sons, boys, and even women, seized such weapons as were at hand, and joined the soldiery. Colonel Zebulon Butler, an officer of the Continental Army, happened to be at home, and by common consent he was made commander-in-chief. Forty Fort, a short distance above Wilkes-Barre, was the place of general rendezvous, and in it were gathered the women and children of the valley.

On the 3rd of July, Colonel Zebulon Butler led the little band of patriot-soldiers and citizens to surprise the invaders, at Wintermoot's. The vigilant leader of the motley host, informed of the movement, was ready to receive the assailants. The Tories formed the left wing of Colonel Butler's force resting on the river, and the Indians, led by Gi-en-gwa-tah, a Seneca

chief, composed the right that extended to a swamp at the foot of the mountain. These were first struck by the patriots, and a general battle ensued. It raged vehemently for half an hour, when, just as the left of the invaders was about to give way, a mistaken order caused the republicans to retreat in disorder. The infuriated Indians sprang forward like wounded tigers, and gave no quarter. The patriots were slaughtered by scores. Only a few escaped to the mountains, and were saved. In less than an hour after the battle began, two hundred and twenty-five scalps were in the hands of the savages as tokens of their prowess.

The yells of the Indians had been heard by the feeble ones at Forty Fort, and terror reigned there. Colonel Dennison, who had reached the valley that morning, had escaped to the stronghold, and prepared to defend the women and children to the last extremity. Colonel Butler had reached Wilkes-Barre fort in safety. Darkness put an end to the conflict, but increased the horrors. Prisoners were tortured and murdered. At midnight sixteen of them were arranged around a rock, and strongly held by the savages, when a half-breed woman, called Queen Esther, using a tomahawk and club alternately, murdered the whole band one after the other excepting two, who threw off the men who held them and escaped to the woods. A great fire lighted up the scene and revealed its horrors to the eyes of friends of the victims, who were concealed among the rocks not far away. Early the next morning, Forty Fort was surrendered, on a promise of safety for the persons and property of the people. The terms were respected a few hours by the Indians while John Butler remained in the valley. As soon as he was gone, they broke loose, spread over the plains, and with torch, tomahawk, and scalping-knife made it an absolute desolation. Scarcely a dwelling or an outbuilding was left unconsumed; not a field of corn was left standing; not a life was spared that the weapons of the savages could reach. The inhabitants who had not fled during the previous night were slaughtered or narrowly escaped. Those who departed made their way toward the eastern settlements. Many of them perished in the great swamp on the Pocono Mountains, ever since known as The Shades of Death." The details of that day of destruction in the beautiful Wyoming Valley, and the horrors of the flight of survivors, formed one of the darkest chapters in human history. Yet Lord George Germain, the British Secretary for the colonies, praised the savages for their prowess and humanity, and resolved to direct a succession of similar raids upon the frontiers, and to devastate the older settlements. A member of the bench of Bishops in the House of Lords revealed the fact, in a speech, that there was "an article in the extra-ordinaries of the army for scalping-knives."

The settlements in the valleys of the Mohawk and Schoharie were great sufferers from Indian and Tory raids, during 1778. The Johnsons were anxious to recover their property and influence in the Mohawk country, and Brant, their natural ally by blood relationship and interest, joined them. Their spies and scouts were out in every direction. At a point on the upper waters of the Susquehanna, Brant organized scalping-parties and sent them out to attack the border settlements. These fell like thunderbolts upon isolated families or little hamlets in the Schoharie country, and the blaze of burning dwellings lighted the firmament almost every night in those regions, and beyond. Springfield, at the head of Oswego Lake, was laid in ashes in May. In June, Cobleskill, in Schoharie county, was attacked by Brant and his warriors, who killed a portion of a garrison of republican troops stationed there, and plundered and burned the houses. In July a severe skirmish

occurred on the upper waters of the Cobleskill, between five hundred Indians and some republican regulars and militia. These marauders kept the dwellers in that region in continual alarm all the summer and autumn of 1778, and, finally, at near the middle of November, during a heavy storm of sleet, a band of Indians and Tories, the former led by Brant and the latter by Walter N. Butler, fell upon Cherry Valley and murdered, plundered, and destroyed without stint. Butler was the arch-fiend on the occasion, and would listen to no appeals from Brant for mercy to their victims. Thirty-two of the inhabitants, mostly women and children, were murdered, with sixteen soldiers of the garrison. Nearly forty men, women, and children were led away captives, marching down the valley that night in the cold storm, huddled together half-naked, with no shelter but the leafless trees and no resting-place but the wet ground. Tryon county, which then included all of the State of New York west of Albany county, was a "dark and bloody ground" for full four years.

Meanwhile there had been stirring events in the western wilderness, where the Indians had been stirred up to hostilities against the frontier settlements, by emissaries sent out among them by Colonel Henry Hamilton, the British commandant at Detroit. Major George Rogers Clarke, an active young Virginian, was commissioned to defend the settlements and attack Kaskaskia, one of several British posts in that region. In July, 1778, he seized Kaskaskia and Cahokia, near the Mississippi River, and in August took possession of Vincennes, on the Wabash River, a hundred miles from its mouth. The latter was a most important post, for it was in the heart of the Indian country, whose tribes bore allegiance to the British. The capture of Vincennes inspired the savages with great respect for American skill and courage, and Clarke found it a comparatively easy matter to pacify them and cause them to agree to assume a neutral position. Hearing of this and fearing the consequences, Colonel Hamilton sent an armed force from Detroit to retake Vincennes. This was done in January, 1779.

Clarke was in Kentucky when he heard of the recapture of Vincennes. He immediately started with one hundred and seventy-five men for its recovery. They penetrated the dreadful wilderness in February, 1779. For a whole week they traversed the drowned lands of Illinois, suffering very great hardships from cold, wet, and hunger. When they arrived at the Little Wabash, where the forks are three miles apart, they found the intervening space covered with water to the average depth of three feet. The points of dry land were five miles apart and all that distance, these hardy soldiers waded through the cold snow-water sometimes armpit deep. On the evening of the 18th of February, they arrived before Vincennes; and at dawn the next morning, making themselves hideous by blackening their faces with gunpowder, they crossed the river in boats and pushed award the town. Had they dropped from the clouds the inhabitants would not have been more astonished, for it seemed impossible for them to have traversed the deluged country. It was like a sudden apparition of fiends in human shape. Clarke demanded the surrender of the town, fort, and garrison. Colonel Hamilton was in command in person, and refused; but after a sharp siege of fourteen hours, the garrison became prisoners of war. Hamilton was sent to Virginia, where, because he had incited the savages to make war on the settlements, he was confined for awhile in irons in the common jail at Williamsburg.

From the close of the campaign in Rhode Island to the end of the year, there were no active

military operations of importance in the north. The British made some forays from New York, in the vicinity of that city. Cornwallis penetrated New Jersey with a considerable force, late in September, but without much effect; and General Grey surprised Colonel Baylor's cavalry corps at Old Tappan, back of the Hudson River Palisades, and murdered them with the bayonet while they were begging for quarter. In October, a British party under Captain Patrick Ferguson, desolated the country around Little Egg Harbor in New Jersey, and burned several vessels there. The Count Pulaski was then on his way from Trenton to Little Egg Harbor, with a small force of horse and foot. His picket-guard of infantry, thirty in number, were surprised by the British, and all were butchered, for the assailants did not wish to be encumbered with prisoners.

Toward the close of 1778, the theatre of active military operations was changed. Early in November D'Estaing sailed for the West Indies to attack the British possessions there. To defend these, it was necessary for the British fleet in our waters to hasten to that region. Accordingly, Admiral Hotham sailed from New York for the West Indies, with a squadron, on the 3rd of November; and when Admiral Byron succeeded Lord Howe early in December, he, too, departed for those waters with some vessels-of-war. This movement would prevent any cooperation between the British fleet and army, in aggressive movements against the populous and now well-defended North, and it was determined to strike a withering blow at the more sparsely-settled South. Late in November Sir Henry Clinton dispatched Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell with about two thousand troops to invade Georgia, then the weakest member of the Union. These troops were sent by way of the sea, and were landed at Savannah, the capital of Georgia, on the morning of the 29th of December. They were confronted by General Robert Howe, of North Carolina, who had hastened up from Sunbury, at the call of the garrison, with less than a thousand dispirited men. At a place known as Brewton's Hill, three miles below Savannah, a sharp fight ensued; but the Americans were compelled, by overwhelming numbers, to retreat. That retreat became a confused flight, partly across submerged rice-fields and a creek. About one hundred Americans were killed or drowned, and more than four hundred were made prisoners. The remainder went up the right side of the Savannah, crossed it at Zublely's Ferry, and took shelter in the bosom of South Carolina.

Now, at the end of the fourth year of the war, the relative position of the belligerents was almost the same as at the close of 1776. The headquarters of Washington were again in New Jersey, and those of the British were in New York city. The British army had accomplished very little more, in the way of conquest, than it had at the end of the second year, while the Americans had gained strength by experience, and had learned much of the arts of war and of civil government. They had also secured the alliance of a powerful European nation, and the sympathies of other European governments. The British forces really occupied the position of prisoners, for, with the exception of those in Georgia, they were closely hemmed in upon two islands (Manhattan and Rhode Island) almost two hundred miles apart. The Americans were strong, too, in the justice of their cause, while the British were weak, because they were warring against the rights of man.

Although the motives of France in forming an alliance were purely selfish (for the king hated

republicans, and Vergennes was a thorough monarchist), and no real support had been given to the Americans by the French down to the close of the fourth year of the war, the fact served to give the patriots the moral strength of expectation, which, happily, was not powerful enough to make them neglect the use of their own resources in a reliance upon others, or to lose sight of real and constant danger. The Netherlands felt an earnest sympathy with the struggling republicans, and, as we have seen, refused to loan troops to Great Britain to fight her resisting subjects in America. Frederick the Great of Prussia had learned to distrust the friendship of England, and was coquetting with France; and early in 1778, he authorized his minister to write to the American commissioners at Paris: "The king desires that your generous efforts may be crowned with complete success. He will not hesitate to recognize your independence, when France, which is more directly interested in the event of the contest, shall have given the example."

Spain was hostile to the republican movement, for her monarch saw in the dissolution of the ties which bound the American colonies to Great Britain, a sure prophecy of the destruction of her own colonial system in America. He was willing to weaken Great Britain and therefore Spain, for a time, secretly feigned a friendship for the Americans, for she desired to exhaust the resources of the British government. At the same time she strongly opposed the French alliance. When it was accomplished, the Spanish monarch was undecided what to do. He deceived the British minister at his court by the false pretense that he was ignorant of what France had been doing in the matter, and so he postponed a final determination. Franklin, whose sagacity had penetrated the depths of Spanish diplomacy, had, from the beginning, advised his countrymen not to woo Spain, and now he urged that advice more vehemently. He saw that all the friendship she might profess would be false, and lead to embarrassment. At this time, the Congress, wearied by the dissensions of rival commissioners, and perceiving that Vergennes preferred to treat with Franklin alone, determined to abolish the joint commission. They did so in September, 1778, and appointed Franklin sole envoy at the French court.

The Americans entered upon the fifth year of the struggle for independence with clouded prospects. They had no national government. Their representatives had adopted a pattern for one, but, as we have observed, the several States were tardy in confirming their action. The finances of the country were in a wretched condition. Bills of credit or Continental Money representing one hundred million dollars were then in circulation, without adequate security, for the Congress, having no power to levy taxes, had very little credit. The coin value of the paper money was then rapidly depreciating. In January, 1779, one hundred dollars in gold or silver would purchase seven hundred and forty-two dollars in bills and from that time the depreciation was so rapid that, at the close of the year, one hundred dollars in specie would purchase twenty-six hundred in bills. While the amount of the issues was small the credit of the bills was good, and they were taken freely by the people for the space of eighteen months after the first issue in the summer of 1775; but when new and larger emissions took place, without adequate provisions for their redemption, suspicion supplanted confidence in the public mind. It was perceived that depreciation was inevitable. To prevent this disastrous tendency, the Congress, in January, 1777, when the bills had shrunk one-half in value, asked the several States to declare them a lawful tender, and denounced every person who refused to take them at par as enemies,

liable to forfeit whatever he or she might offer for sale. The States complied and they were invited to cancel their respective quotas of Continental bills, and to become creditors of the common treasury for such sums as they might thereafter advance. They were requested to call in their own bills of credit which they had put in circulation, and to issue no more; but they would not consent to these proposed financial arrangements.

In the autumn of 1776, the Congress opened loan-offices in the several States, and authorized a lottery to raise money for defraying the expenses of the next campaign." The prizes of the lottery were made payable in loan- office certificates. But loans came in slowly, and so few lottery tickets were purchased that the scheme was finally abandoned. The treasury became almost exhausted; and by drafts from the commissioners in Europe, the loan-offices were over-drawn upon. Attempts to borrow adequate sums abroad, utterly failed. The financial embarrassments had been increased by the circulation of an immense amount of counterfeits of the Continental bills, by the British and Tories, after the spring of 1777. They were sent out of the city of New York literally by cart-loads. The business was no secret. An advertisement in a New York paper ran thus: "Persons going into other colonies may be supplied with any number of counterfeited Congress notes for the price of the paper per ream; and they were assured that the counterfeit was so neatly and exactly executed that there was "no risk in getting them off."

For the want of money and credit, the campaign of 1778 was closed at the beginning of autumn, and the Congress felt the necessity of adopting some extraordinary efforts for redeeming the bills of credit. They taxed the several States; and in January, 1779, they called upon them, by a resolution, to "pay in their respective quotas of fifteen millions of dollars," for the current year, and "six millions of dollars annually, for eighteen years, from and after the year 1779, as a fund for sinking the emissions." All efforts were vain. Prices rose as the bills sunk in value, and every kind of trade was embarrassed. The Congress were sorely perplexed. Only about four million dollars had been obtained by loan from Europe, and present negotiations appeared futile. No French army was yet upon our soil; no French coin gladdened the eyes and hearts of the American soldiers, whose pay was much in arrears. A French fleet had, indeed, been upon our coast; but after mocking our hopes with broken promises of support in Rhode Island, had gone to the West Indies to fight battles for France. The Continental bills rapidly depreciated, and early in 1781, became worthless. I have before me an account rendered to Captain Allan McLane, in January, 1781, for merchandise purchased, in which appear the following items, among others: 1 pair of boots, 6 yds. chintz, \$150 a yard, \$900; 1 skein of thread, \$10."

The Congress resumed their sessions in Philadelphia, at the beginning of July, 1778, and in August they began to devote two days each week to a consideration of financial matters. In September they issued fifteen million dollars in bills of credit. Their depreciation became more rapid as the year drew to a close, and the Congress saw no other resource than in loans or subsidies from Europe. They instructed Dr. Franklin to assure the French monarch that they "hoped protection from his power and magnanimity." This humiliating step was not approved by some of the members of Congress, because they were unwilling to have their country placed under the protection of any foreign power which was likely to be the protection of the lamb by the

wolf. Eight States voted for the measure. Aid was hoped for from the Netherlands, and Henry Laurens was sent to the Hague to negotiate a loan.

The estimated expenses of the government of the United States for the year 1779 was over sixty million dollars in paper money, for which no adequate provision was made. A knowledge of these financial embarrassments gave the British ministry hopes of a speedy wreck of the cause of the republicans, and Germain prepared to carry on the war with relentless rigor. The Congress abandoned the wild scheme for the conquest of Canada; and they called Washington from his headquarters at Middlebrook to confer with them about the campaign for 1779. His troops were cantoned in a line of posts of observation, extending from the Delaware, by way of the Hudson Highlands, to the Connecticut line. It was resolved by the Congress and the commander-in-chief to act on the defensive only, except in retaliatory expeditions against the Indians and Tories. This policy was pursued in the north, and the chief efforts of the Americans were directed to the confinement of the British army to the seaboard, and chastising the Indian tribes.

The winter campaign opened at Savannah by Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell at the close of December, continued until late in the spring, and resulted in the complete subjugation of Georgia to British rule. The British authorities had planned this campaign with great care. Troops were to take possession of Savannah and subdue Georgia. Five thousand additional troops were to be landed at Charleston. The Indians in Florida and Alabama were to be brought upon the frontier settlements, and these were to be joined by warriors to be sent down from the northwest by the commandant at Detroit. A force sufficient to protect the Loyalists and restore government in North Carolina were to be landed on the banks of the Cape Fear River. Then by judicious operations in Virginia and Maryland, Germain confidently expected to bring all Americans below the Susquehanna River to allegiance to the British crown.

In the autumn of 1778, General Prevost, who was in command of some British regulars, Tories and Indians, in East Florida, sent from St. Augustine two expeditions into Georgia. One of these made an extensive raid, carrying off negro slaves, grain, horses, and horned cattle; destroying crops and burning the village of Midway; the other appeared before the fort at Sunbury, and demanded its surrender. Colonel Mackintosh, the commander of the garrison, said, "Come and take it," when the invaders retreated. These incursions caused General Robert Howe to lead an expedition against St. Augustine. On the banks of the St. Mary's River, a malarious disease swept away a quarter of his men. After a little skirmishing, he led the survivors back to Savannah, and these composed the handful of dispirited men who confronted Campbell at Brewton's Hill. The expulsion of Howe from Savannah was soon followed by the arrival of Prevost, who came up from Florida, captured the fort at Sunbury on the way (January 9, 1779), and assumed the chief command of the British troops in the South. The combined forces of Prevost and Campbell numbered about three thousand men.

In the meantime General Benjamin Lincoln of Massachusetts, appointed in September to the chief command of the patriot troops in the Southern States, had arrived in South Carolina, and on the 6th of January (1779), made his headquarters at Purysburg, twenty-five miles above

Savannah. There he began the formation of an army to oppose the British invasion. It was composed of the remnants of Howe's troops, some Continental regiments, and some raw recruits.

Campbell, elated by his easy victory, began the work of subjugation with a strong hand. He promised protection to the inhabitants provided all their able-bodied men would "support the royal government with their arms." They had the alternative to fight their own countrymen or fly to the interior uplands or into South Carolina. Howe's captive troops, who refused to take up arms for the king, were thrust into loathsome prison-ships, where many perished with disease. It was evident that the war was to be waged without mercy, and this conviction gave strength to the determined patriots in the field, for they were fighting for their lives and the welfare of those whom they loved most dearly.

Prevost sent Campbell up the Georgia side of the Savannah, to Augusta, with about two thousand men, for the purpose of encouraging the Tories, opening communication with the Creek Indians in the west, and subduing the Whigs into passiveness. At about the same time a band of Tory marauders, led by Colonel Boyd, desolated a portion of the South Carolina border while on their way to join the royal troops. They were pursued across the Savannah River by Colonel Andrew Pickens, with some militia of the District of Ninety-Six, so named from a fort there ninety-six miles from Charleston. In a sharp skirmish with a part of Pickens' men, Boyd lost a hundred of his followers; and on the 14th of February (1779) he was defeated by that officer in a skirmish on Kettle Creek, within two days march of Augusta. Boyd and seventy of his men were killed, and seventy-five were made prisoners. The latter were convicted of high treason, but only five of them were executed by order of the civil authorities of South Carolina.

Campbell was alarmed and Lincoln was encouraged by the defeat of Boyd. The latter then had three thousand men in camp. He sent General Ashe, of North Carolina, with almost two thousand men, consisting of a few Continentals and the remainder of militia, with some pieces of cannon, to drive Campbell from Augusta, and confine the invaders to the low and unhealthy regions near the sea, where, it was hoped, the deadly malaria from the swamps during the heats of summer, would decimate the regiments of the enemy. Ashe crossed the Savannah near Augusta, when Campbell fled seaward. Ashe pursued him forty miles to Brier Creek, near its confluence with the Savannah, in Severn county, Georgia, and there encamped in a strong position, his flanks thoroughly covered by swamps. Prevost, marching up with a considerable force to assist Campbell, discovered Ashe. Making a wide circuit, he gained the North Carolinian's rear, surprised him, and after a brief and sharp resistance (March 3, 1779), defeated and dispersed his troops. They fled in every direction, wading the swamp and swimming the river. Many perished, others returned to their homes, and only about four hundred and fifty rejoined Lincoln. By this disaster that general lost one-fourth of his army. It led to the temporary re-establishment of royal government in Georgia, which Prevost proclaimed. Meanwhile the British had suffered a reverse on the coast of South Carolina. Major Gardiner (one of the managers of the Mischianza), who had been sent from Savannah with some troops to take possession of Port Royal Island, about sixty miles south of Charleston, preparatory to a march upon that city, had been defeated by the Charleston militia under General Moultrie, in a skirmish there on the 3rd of February. Almost

every British officer, excepting the commander, and many private soldiers, were killed or made prisoners. Gardiner and a few men escaped in boats; and Moultrie, crossing to the main, joined Lincoln at Puryburg.

Chapter LXXIX

Invasion of South Carolina - The British Before Charleston - Their Retreat to Savannah - Battle at Stono Ferry - Character of the Invasion - British Marauding Expeditions in the North - Exploit of Putnam - Raid into Virginia - Capture of Stony Point - Desolation of Coast Towns in Connecticut - Recapture of Stony Point - Lee's Exploit at Paulus's Hook - Indian Raids - Sullivan's Campaign Against the Indians, and the Result - The Outlook - The American Army - D'Estaing Again on Our Coast - Siege of Savannah, and the Result.

HAVING military possession of Georgia, General Prevost prepared to attempt the subjugation of South Carolina. Informed that Lincoln was far up the Savannah River, and assured by timid men who professed loyalty and took protection from Prevost, to save their property, that Charleston might be easily captured, the British leader, with about two thousand regulars and a body of Tories and Indians, crossed the river at Purysburg, and took the nearest road leading to that city. When Lincoln heard of this movement, he resolved to attempt to regain possession of Georgia. He was then at the head of five thousand men. Sending a detachment, under Colonel Harris, to reinforce Moultrie, who was flying before Prevost, he crossed the river near Augusta, and marched down its Georgia side for Savannah, hoping to recapture that place, or to recall Prevost. When he discovered that the latter continued to press on toward Charleston, Lincoln recrossed the Savannah, and gave chase. At the same time Governor Rutledge, who had been gathering recruits near Orangeburg, was hastening toward Charleston with six hundred men; and at the beginning of May was seen the interesting spectacle of four armies marching upon the South Carolina capital.

Prevost had marked his pathway with plundering and fire; and Lincoln was hailed as a deliverer by the people who swelled his ranks. Stopping to exercise cruelty, Prevost was so tardy, that Rutledge, Harris, and Moultrie were allowed to reach Charleston before his arrival, and the inhabitants were given an opportunity to cast up strong entrenchments across the Neck. It was the morning of the 11th of May before he appeared in front of these works and made a demand of the instant surrender of the town, which was met by a prompt refusal. The works on the Neck were well manned. Fort Moultrie, in the harbor, was well garrisoned and the leaders of the troops felt confident that they could protect the city. The day was spent by both parties in preparations for a serious conflict; and the succeeding night was a fearful one for the citizens of Charleston, for they expected to be greeted at dawn with bomb-shells and red-hot shot. During that day of preparation, Count Pulaski, who was at Haddrell's Point, with his legion, was ferried over the Cooper River, and at noon he led his infantry to attack the British advanced-guard, when he was repulsed with heavy loss.

That evening there was an important executive council held by Governor Rutledge, in Charleston. The Continental Congress had been advised of the exposed condition of both Georgia and South Carolina, and the difficulty of raising recruits there, because the planters, fearing a servile insurrection would not leave their homes. Washington's army was too weak to allow any reinforcements to be sent to Lincoln. When young John Laurens heard in the camp of

the peril of his State, he was anxious to fly to its protection, proposing to place himself at the head of a regiment of faithful slaves. His friend', Colonel Alexander Hamilton, in a letter to the President of Congress, recommended the arming of the negroes; and Laurens said to Washington, that with three thousand of such black men as he could raise, he could drive the British out of Georgia. But Washington shook his head in doubt. The Congress, however, having nothing better to offer, recommended the extreme Southern States to select three thousand of their most trusted slaves, and arm them for battle under white officers.

While the British were marching on Charleston, Laurent arrived from Philadelphia, with the recommendation of the Congress. The South Carolinians were greatly irritated by what seemed the indifference of the Congress to their imminent danger. Many of them regretted having entered upon the struggle for independence, and were favorable to secession from the Union and assuming a neutral position. Governor Rutledge, dreading the taking of Charleston by storm, sent a flag to Prevost to ask his terms for a capitulation, and was answered: "Peace and protection for the loyal; the condition of prisoners of war for the remainder." Some of the military officers who were invited to the council, declared the ability of the troops to successfully defend the city, and leading patriots decided in favor of resistance; but a majority of the council declared in favor of neutrality, and leaving the question as to whether South Carolina should finally belong to Great Britain or the United States, to be decided by a treaty between those powers. Young Laurens was requested to carry a message to that effect to Prevost, but he scornfully refused the duty. A civilian was sent, but Prevost refused to treat with the civil power, and demanded the surrender of the troops as prisoners of war. Moultrie, who was present, said to the governor and his council: "Then we will fight it out," and left their presence. Gadsden, the stern patriot, and another, followed Moultrie out, and said to him: "Act according to your own judgment, and we will support you."

Ignorant of these deliberations, the citizens of Charleston momentarily expected an attack from the invaders. Every able-bodied man was at his post. The night wore away, and at the early dawn - the opening of a beautiful and serene day - not a scarlet coat was to be seen in front of the lines. Had the city awakened from a terrible dream? Beyond the Ashley, a long line of soldiers of flame-color uniform, with glittering fire-arms, were seen crossing the ferry to James Island. During the night Prevost had been informed that Lincoln was near with four thousand men, and he and his army had withdrawn in haste and abandoned the siege. They retreated leisurely toward Savannah, by way of the sea-islands along the coast. For more than a month a British detachment lingered on John's Island. On the 20th of June they had a fight with some of Lincoln's men at Stono Ferry, where the British had some works garrisoned by eight hundred men under Colonel Maitland. The contest was severe, each party losing almost three hundred men. The Americans, who had attempted to dislodge their enemy, were repulsed. But the British retreated a few days afterward to Port Royal, established a military post at Beaufort and on Lady's Island near, and finally made their way to Savannah. The hot season put an end to military operations in the South, and for awhile that region enjoyed comparative repose.

This invasion of the richest portion of South Carolina seems more like a raid for plunder than

an expedition for conquest. Almost every house over a wide extent of country was entered by the soldiery, who stripped the women of their jewelry and fine clothing, the men of their money, valuable horses and other wealth, and the houses of plate, furniture, bedding, and rare ornaments. Tombs were actually rifled by the soldiery in search of treasure. Gardens were devastated, beautiful conservatories were laid waste, and live-stock and foils were wantonly slaughtered. So complete was the devastation of the country, that many hundred fugitive slaves died of starvation in the woods, many perished by fever in the British camp, and full three thousand were carried into Georgia by the army, many of whom were sent to the West Indies and sold. This was done under the sanction of the king and his ministers. Germain had instructed the British officers to confiscate and sell not only the negroes employed in the American army, but those who voluntarily sought British protection.

While these events were occurring in the South, Sir Henry Clinton was not idle in the North, but sought to distress the Americans by marauding expeditions. In this business Ex-Governor Tryon, who had been named "The Wolf" by the suffering people of North Carolina over whom he had been ruler, was a willing worker. Late in April, 1779, he left camp near Kingsbridge, at the northern end of New York Island, with fifteen hundred regulars and Hessians, to destroy some salt-works at Horse Neck and attack an American detachment under General Putnam at Greenwich, on the borders of Connecticut. Putnam's scouts had discovered them, and on the morning of the 26th, he had his little band drawn up in battle array, with a two-gun battery to meet them. They approached in solid column, horse and foot. Perceiving their overwhelming numbers, Putnam ordered a retreat. That retreat became a rout. The soldiers fled to adjacent swamps, while the general, putting spurs to his horse, sped toward Stamford, pursued by several of the British dragoons. Near a meeting-house was a very steep hill around the brow of which the road swept in a broad curve. Up the acclivity some stone steps had been constructed, to allow the people beyond a nearer way to the meeting-house. When Putnam reached the turn in the road at the brow of the hill, the dragoons were so near, that he must either dash down the declivity or surrender. Choosing the former alternative, he spurred the horse down the hill at full speed, in a zigzag course, traversing a few of the lower steps, and escaped, for the troopers dared not follow him. They sent a few harmless bullets after him, and he flung curses upon the British behind him, in his flight. Tryon plundered the inhabitants there of everything valuable, destroyed a few salt-works and some vessels, damaged the houses of Whigs, and then went back to Kingsbridge. Putnam rallied a few of his men and some militia and pursued the marauders. He recaptured some of the plunder, which he returned to the inhabitants, and made thirty-eight of the British prisoners, having lost in the affair about twenty of his own men.

A little later, a marauding expedition appeared on the coast of Virginia. On the 9th of May, a squadron commanded by Sir George Collier, entered Hampton Roads, with land troops under General Matthews, who desolated the region on both sides of the Elizabeth River from the Roads to Norfolk and Portsmouth. After destroying a vast amount of property, they withdrew and returned to New York; and on the 30th of May this naval force accompanied Sir Henry Clinton up the Hudson River to dislodge the Americans at Stony Point and Verplanck's Point opposite. In this expedition, the troops were commanded by General Vaughan, the officer who led the

marauders who burned Kingston in the autumn of 1777. The British landed on the morning of the 31st, when the little garrison at Stony Point fled to the Highlands. The next morning (June 1, 1779) the guns of the captured fortress were pointed toward Fort Fayette, opposite. The little garrison there, attacked by troops in the rear, surrendered as prisoners of war. The loss of these forts was lamented by Washington, and his first care was to recover them.

These achievements accomplished, Sir Henry sent Collier with his squadron to the shores of Connecticut, with a band of marauders under Governor Tryon, about twenty-five hundred strong, composed of British and Hessians. The latter were sent on these expeditions, because they were more cruel than the Britons, and delighted in plundering, burning buildings, and ill-treating the defenseless inhabitants a mode of warfare ordered by Lord George Germain to awe the people into submission. The expedition left New York on the night of the 3rd of July, and in the course of about a week, laid waste and carried away a vast amount of property. They plundered New Haven on the 5th, laid East Haven in ashes on the 6th, destroyed Fairfield on the 8th, and plundered and burned Norwalk on the 12th. Not content with this wanton destruction of property, the invaders cruelly abused the defenseless inhabitants. The soldiery were given free license to oppress the people, Tryon encouraging instead of restraining them in their horrid work. The Hessians were his incendiaries. To them he entrusted the operation of the torch and the most brutal acts, which British soldiers would not perform. Whilst Norwalk was in flames, Tryon sat in a rocking-chair upon a hill in the neighborhood, a delighted spectator of the scene. Nero fiddled while Rome was burning; this puny imitator of the emperor made merry over the conflagration of a defenseless town inhabited by people of his own nation. In allusion to this and kindred expeditions, Trumbull, in his *McFingal*, makes Malcolm say:

"Behold like whelps of British lion, Our warriors, Clinton, Vaughan and Tryon, March forth with patriotic joy To ravish, plunder and destroy. Great generals, foremost in their nation, The journeymen of Desolation! Like Sampson's foxes, each assails, Let loose with firebrands in their tails, And spreads destruction more forlorn Than they among Philistines' corn."

When Tryon (whom the English people abhorred for his wrong doings in America) had completed the destruction of these pleasant New England villages, he boasted of his extreme clemency in leaving a single house standing on the coast of Connecticut.

The Americans, meanwhile, were preparing to strike the British heavy and unexpected blows. The brave and impetuous General Wayne was then in command of infantry in the Hudson Highlands. Washington was at New Windsor just above them. Wayne proposed to surprise the garrison at Stony Point, and take the fort by storm. "Can you do it?" asked Washington. "I'll storm hell, if you'll only plan it, general," replied Wayne. Washington consented to let him try Stony Point first; and on the evening of the 15th of July, Wayne was within half a mile of the bold, rocky promontory with a few hundred men whom he had led secretly through the mountains, from near Fort Montgomery. As stealthily they approached the fort at midnight, arranged in two columns, a greater part of the little force crossed a narrow causeway over a morass, in the rear, and with unloaded muskets and fixed bayonets, marched up to the assault. A forlorn hope of

picked men led the way to make openings in the abatis at the two points of attack. The alarmed sentinels fired their muskets, and the aroused garrison flew to arms. The stillness of the night was suddenly broken by the rattle of musketry and the roar of cannon from the ramparts. In the face of a terrible storm of bullets and grape-shot, the assailants forced their way into the fort at the point of the bayonet. Wayne, who led one of the divisions in person, had been brought to his knees by a stunning blow from a musket-ball that grazed his head. Believing himself to be mortally wounded, he exclaimed: "March on! carry me into the fort, for I will die at the head of my column!" He soon recovered, and at two o'clock in the morning, he wrote to Washington: "The fort and garrison, with General Johnston, are ours. Our officers and men behaved like men determined to be free." In this assault, the Americans lost about one hundred men fifteen killed and the remainder wounded. The British had sixty-three killed; and Johnston, the commander, and five hundred and forty-three officers and men, were made prisoners. The British ships lying in the river near by, slipped their cables and moved down the stream. The Americans attempted to recapture Fort Fayette, on Verplanck's Point opposite, but failed. They removed the heavy ordnance and the stores from Stony Point to West Point, for the republicans were not strong enough to garrison and hold it, and abandoning the post it was repossessed by the British a few days afterward. The Congress awarded a gold medal to Wayne, and a silver medal each to Colonels De Fleury and Stewart, the leaders of the two main divisions, for their gallantry on this occasion.

This brilliant victory one of the most brilliant of the war was followed by another bold exploit a month later. The British had a fortified post at Paulus's Hook (now Jersey City) opposite New York. Between three and four o'clock on the morning of the 19th of August (1779)- its garrison was surprised by Major Henry Lee, who had come from the rear of Hoboken with three hundred picked men, followed by Lord Stirling with a strong reserve force. The British garrison, unsuspecting of danger near, were careless. Lee entered the loosely-barred gate of the outer works, and gained the interior of the main entrenchments before he was discovered, the sentinels being absent or asleep. He captured one hundred and fifty-nine of the garrison. The redoubt, in which the remainder had taken refuge, was too strong to be affected by small arms, and as he was without cannon, Lee retreated, bearing away his scores of captives. For this exploit the Congress honored him with a vote of thanks and a gold medal. In this expedition, Lee had only two men killed and three wounded.

These events elated the Americans. A sad one in the far east lessened their joy. Massachusetts had fitted out about forty war-vessels and transports to convey almost a thousand men to attempt the capture of a British fort at Castine, at the mouth of the Penobscot River. They arrived on the 25th of July, and landed on the 28th. Too weak to take the fort by storm, they waited more than a fortnight for reinforcements. Meanwhile Sir George Collier sailed into the Penobscot with a British squadron, just as the republicans were about to assail the fort (August 14), and attacked the American flotilla. He captured two war-vessels, when the rest, with the transports, fled up the river, and were burned by their crews. Sir George took many of the soldiers and sailors prisoners, and drove the remainder into the wild forests, where they suffered intensely while making their way back to Boston. The survivors reached that town toward the close of September.

The atrocities of the Indians in the valley of Wyoming and around the headwaters of the Susquehanna in the summer and autumn of 1778, kindled the hottest indignation of the American people, and it was determined by the Congress to chastise the savages who committed the murderous deeds, especially the Senecas. In the summer of 1779, Washington sent General Sullivan, with a little army of Continental troops, into the heart of the country of the Six Nations, all of whom, excepting the Oneidas, had been won over to the royal cause by the Johnsons and other British emissaries. Sullivan gathered his troops in the Wyoming Valley, and with these, three thousand strong, he marched up the Susquehanna on the last day of July. On the 22nd of August he was joined, at Tioga Point, by General James Clinton, who had come from the Mohawk Valley with about fifteen hundred men. Meanwhile there had been hostilities in the wilderness. In April several hundred soldiers, led by Colonels Van Schaick and Willett, had penetrated the Onondaga country from Fort Schuyler, destroyed three villages, burned the provisions of the inhabitants, and slaughtered their live-stock. Three hundred Onondaga braves were immediately sent out upon the warpath charged with the vengeance of the nation. They spread terror and desolation far and near, in conjunction with other savages. They pushed down to the waters of the Delaware and the borders of Ulster county. In July, Brant, with Indians and Tories, fell upon and devastated the settlement of Minnisink in the night. Growing crops were destroyed, and cattle and other plunder were carried away. One hundred and fifty militia and volunteers went in pursuit, when, on the 22nd of July, the savages turned upon them. A severe conflict ensued; the republicans were beaten, surrounded, and murdered after they were made prisoners. Only thirty of the patriotic pursuers survived to tell the dreadful story. These events gave strength to the courage of Sullivan's men.

The forces of Sullivan and Clinton, at Tioga Point, numbered five thousand men. They moved cautiously, and on the morning of the 29th, did pursue a party of eight hundred Indians and Tories strongly fortified at Chemung, now Elmira. Brant was at the head of the Indians, and Sir John Johnson, with the Butlers and Captain McDonald, led the Tories. The fight was severe. Sullivan's army rested on the battle-ground that night, and the next morning pushed on in pursuit of the fugitives.

That pursuit was quick and sharp. A part of the army penetrated the wilderness to the Genesee Valley, and apart to Cayuga Lake. In the course of three weeks, they destroyed forty-three Indian villages, with a vast amount of food in fields, gardens, and garrisons - one hundred and sixty thousand bushels of corn. Flourishing and fruitful orchards were cut down hundreds of gardens were desolated the inhabitants were driven into the forests to starve, and were hunted like wild beasts their altars were overturned, and their graves were trampled upon by strangers and a beautiful well-watered country, teeming with a prosperous people, and just rising from a wilderness state by the aid of cultivation, to a level with the productive regions of civilization, was desolated, and cast back almost a century. This scourging awed the Indians for the moment, but did not crush them. The fires of hatred were fiercely kindled, and spread like a conflagration far among the tribes upon the great lakes and in the valley of the Ohio. Washington, who ordered the chastisement, was called "The Town Destroyer." Cornplanter, a chief of the Senecas, standing before President Washington said, in the course of a long speech: "When your

army entered the country of the Six Nations, we called you The Town Destroyer, and to this day, when that name is heard, our women look behind them and turn pale, and our children cling close to the necks of their mothers."

With the chastisement of the Indians, the campaign of 1779 ended in the North, where, at the close of the year, events appeared somewhat encouraging to the Americans. The British had withdrawn from Rhode Island, and had abandoned the forts on the Hudson, giving the freedom of King's Ferry, at Stony Point, to the Americans; and nowhere in New England, west of the Penobscot, did the enemy hold a foot of the soil. At the same time the army and the finances of the Americans were in a wretched condition, and gave a gloomy appearance to the future of the republican cause. The army, cantoned in New Jersey, were enveloped in snow two feet in depth, before the middle of December, and suffered dreadfully, at times, because of a lack of the necessaries of life. Washington's headquarters were again at Morristown, in the midst of a fertile region and patriotic people. Fortunately for the army and the cause, the crops in New Jersey during the year just closed, were abundant, and the people were willing to do all in their power to meet the requisitions upon the several counties from time to time, by the commander-in-chief, for supplies, notwithstanding the Continental bills offered in payment were rapidly depreciating. At the close of 1779 one dollar in gold or silver would purchase thirty dollars of paper money. Terms of enlistment of many of the troops would soon expire, and large bounties offered to those who should engage for the war brought very few into the ranks. The Congress could compel nothing; yet their appeals to the people - to the militia - in serious emergencies, seldom failed to receive an encouraging response. The Congress, the army and the people, never lost faith in the cause. That faith, and the generous aid afforded by the inhabitants of New Jersey from time to time, saved the army from disbanding in the winter of 1779-80.

We have observed that D'Estaing sailed to the West Indies late in 1778 to attack the British possessions there. He found the naval strength of the enemy in those waters to be superior to that of the French, and for six months he kept his fleet sheltered in the Bay of Port Royal. After that, he fought Admiral Byron successfully; and on the first of September, in response to the expressed wishes of the Congress and the urgent appeals of the South Carolinians, he appeared so suddenly off the coast of Georgia, with a powerful fleet, that he surprised and captured four British ships-of-war. He announced his willingness to co-operate with the republican army in the reduction of Savannah, provided he should not be detained too long on that dangerous coast, for he could find neither roadsteads, harbor, nor offing for his twenty great ships-of-the-line. His entire fleet consisted of thirty-three sail, bearing a large number of very heavy guns.

On the appearance of the French fleet, Prevost summoned the troops from all his outposts to come to the defence of Savannah. Three hundred negroes from the neighboring plantations and others not engaged were pressed into the service to strengthen the fortifications. Thirteen redoubts and fifteen batteries with connecting lines of entrenchments were speedily completed, upon which seventy-six cannon were mounted, and before them strong abatis were laid. The works on Tybee Island, at the mouth of the Savannah River, were also strengthened. All of these defenses were constructed under the supervision of the talented engineer, Major Moncrief.

Meanwhile General Lincoln had marched from Charleston and concentrated his army at Zuble's Ferry, on the 12th of September. On the same day the French troops of D'Estaing's fleet landed below Savannah, and moved up to a point within three miles of the town. Lincoln had sent Count Pulaski, with his legion of horse and foot, and McIntosh's infantry, to attack the British outposts, while he moved cautiously toward Savannah. On the 16th, he was within three miles of the town, with his whole force. On that day D'Estaing summoned Prevost to surrender the fort to the arms of the French king. The latter asked for a truce until the next day, for he hourly expected eight hundred men from Beaufort, under Maitland. It was unwisely granted. Meanwhile the British employed a large force in strengthening their works. Maitland came in time, warm with a fatal fever, and then Prevost sent a defiant answer to D'Estaing. The golden opportunity for the combined armies was lost by the unwise forbearance of the French commander.

It was now perceived that the town must be taken by regular approaches, and not by assault. The heavy French ordnance, and the stores, were brought up from their landing-place, and on the 23rd of September the siege began. It was continued, with varying success, until the 8th of October. D'Estaing became impatient to depart, for the season of dangerous gales on that coast had arrived. It was rumored, too, that Admiral Byron was approaching with a British fleet. A council was held. The engineers decided that it would take ten days more to reach the British lines by trenches whereupon D'Estaing told Lincoln that the siege must be raised immediately or an attempt must be made to take the place by storm. The latter alternative was chosen, and the sanguinary work began the next day, October 9, 1779. The plan of the attack was revealed to Prevost the night before, by a citizen of Charleston, named Cunny, a sergeant-major of Lincoln's army, who had deserted to the enemy. It gave the British a decided advantage.

About forty-five hundred men of the combined armies moved to the attack just before the dawn, completely shrouded in a dense fog, and covered by a heavy fire from the French batteries. They advanced in three columns, the main one commanded by D'Estaing in person, assisted by Lincoln; another led by Count Dillon, and a third by General Isaac Huger, of Charleston. The latter was to make a feigned attack to divert attention from the movements of the other two. The right of the British, where the principal assault was to begin, was commanded by the gallant Maitland, who was then suffering from the fever that finally destroyed him. His chief defence was a strong work on the Augusta road, known as the Spring-Hill redoubt. This D'Estaing was to attack, while Count Dillon was to make his way along the edge of a swamp to the weakest point of the British lines on the east, and assail them there.

Dillon became entangled in the swamp, and failed. At dawn D'Estaing and Lincoln attacked the redoubt. A fierce battle ensued, and lasted almost an hour. D'Estaing was wounded and carried to his camp. Whole ranks of the assailants were mowed down by bullets and grape-shot; yet the gallant allies pressed forward, leaped the ditch, and placed the French and American flags on the parapet of the redoubt. Fresh forces within pressed them back into the ditch, and tore down the ensigns. The American flags were two that were embroidered and presented to the Second South Carolina regiment by Mrs. Susannah Elliot of Charleston, and were planted on the parapet by Lieutenants Hume and Bush. These officers were both killed. Lieutenant Gray seized

the standards and kept them erect. He, too, was slain, when Sergeant Jasper, the hero of Fort Sullivan, rushed to the rescue of the flags, and fell into the ditch mortally wounded. Tell Mrs. Elliot," said the dying hero, that I lost my life supporting the colors she presented to our regiment." The flags were of silk; a blue field bearing a white crescent.

While this fearful struggle was going on at the redoubt, Huger and Pulaski were trying to force their way into the enemy's works on different sides of the town. The latter, at the head of his legion and with his banner in his hand, was fighting his way not far from the Spring-Hill redoubt, when he was mortally wounded by a grape-shot. His troops were driven back. Already the French had withdrawn from the assault, and the Continentals under Lincoln were falling back. After five hours hard fighting, the allies showed a white flag, and asked for a truce to bury their dead. It was granted. D'Estaing and Lincoln held a consultation about the future. The former had lost many of his men, and wished to abandon the siege; the latter, confident that a victory might be speedily won, wished to continue it. The former refused to remain any longer; and on the evening of the 18th, the allies withdrew - the French to their ships and the Americans to Zubley's Ferry. Lincoln made his way to Charleston with the remains of his army, and at the beginning of November, the French fleet sailed for France. The allied armies had lost over a thousand men in the siege and assault the British only one hundred and twenty. The South Carolinians were disheartened by the result, and looked to the future with gloomy forebodings.

Chapter LXXX

The Continental Navy - Its Organization - Success of Cruisers - A Cruise Around Ireland - Doings on the American Coast - Loss of British Vessels - Notable Cruisers - John Paul Jones in British Waters - Robbery of the Earl of Selkirk - Capture of the Drake - Activity of American Cruisers - Jones's Great Fight off the Coast of Scotland - His Rewards - The King and Parliament - Ireland - The Armed Neutrality - Foreign Negotiations - Lafayette.

WE have observed on page 828 that late in 1775, the Congress ordered the establishment of a Continental navy. The thirteen vessels then authorized to be built or purchased were furnished early in 1776, and these, with many privateers, did good service on the ocean. The affairs of the little navy were at first managed by a committee of Congress only. This committee was modified from time to time, and finally, in October, 1779, it assumed the form and name of a Board of Admiralty," with a salaried secretary, and was composed of members of Congress and three paid commissioners who were not members of that body. This organization continued until 1781, when General Alexander McDougal was appointed Secretary of Marine," whose functions were essentially those of our Secretary of the Navy at the present time. Very soon afterward he was superseded by an "Agent of Marine," and in that office the name of Robert Morris often appeared. That eminent financier of the Revolution had more to do with the management of naval affairs than any other man. He sent out privateers on his own account, a business in which other patriots engaged. Washington was, at one time, part owner of a privateer.

Esek Hopkins, of Rhode Island, was appointed commander-in-chief of the little Continental navy. The avowed object of the armament was to intercept British vessels bearing supplies for the British armies in America, but the Continental war-ships were frequently more aggressive. Hopkins sailed on his first cruise in February, 1776. He left the Delaware with a small squadron of five vessels, carrying an aggregate of ninety-eight guns. The Alfred, 28, was his flag-ship, and his first-lieutenant was John Paul Jones, who afterward became famous. Jones raised on the Alfred, in the Delaware, in December, 1775, the first American ensign ever shown on an American vessel-of-war. Hopkins's captains were Whipple, Biddle, J. B. Hopkins and Hazard, all of them but Biddle, Rhode Island men. The first cruise was against Lord Dunmore, then distressing the Virginia coast. Hopkins extended his cruise to the Bahama Islands to capture British stores at Nassau, New Providence, and was successful. Among the spoils were one hundred cannon. Retiring, he operated off the New England coasts; but the Congress censured him for departing from the line of his instructions, and dismissed him from the service. His lieutenant, Jones, was placed in command of the Alfred the following autumn. No naval commander-in-chief was subsequently appointed.

Jones was always successful. While in command of the Providence, in September, 1776, he was chased by two British ships-of-war off the Carolina coasts, but escaped, and sailing eastward as far as Nova Scotia, he captured and carried into Newport fifteen prizes. Meanwhile Whipple and Biddle were equally successful off the eastern coasts and the New England colony vessels were very active. These, and the Continental cruisers, deprived the British army of about five

hundred soldiers during the summer and fall of 1776. No less than three hundred and forty-two British vessels fell into the hands of the Americans that year.

In the fall of 1776, the Continental ship *Reprisal*, Captain Wickes, carried Dr. Franklin, as American Commissioner, to France, where she cruised in European waters, the first American armed ship that had appeared there. She captured several British prizes in the Bay of Biscay. Among these was the royal English packet on its way from Falmouth to Lisbon. These prizes were sold in French ports, and the proceeds were used by the American commissioners in Paris for purchasing other vessels in French ports. In the summer of 1777, Wickes, with a little squadron of three vessels, sailed entirely around Ireland, sweeping the channel in its whole breadth, and capturing or destroying a great number of British merchant vessels. This cruise produced a powerful impression on the public mind in England, and France was required to renounce its friendship for the rebellious colonists or pronounce a disclaimer. Policy, then, dictated the latter course, and the American vessels were ordered to leave the French coast. When the *Reprisal* was returning homeward, she was wrecked on the coast of Newfoundland, and Captain Wickes, and all of his people but the cook, perished.

The duplicity of France, at that time, caused much trouble. Franklin carried with him a number of blank commissions from the Congress, for army and navy officers who might be willing to enter the Continental service. One of them was given to Captain Conyngham, who sailed from Dunquerque (Dunkirk), on the northern coast of France, in the brig *Surprise*, in May, 1777. He captured two British vessels and re-entered the harbor of Dunkirk, when, on account of the remonstrance of the British ambassador, they were released and their captors were imprisoned. Unwilling to offend the American commissioners, the French government allowed Conyngham to sail from Dunkirk in the *Revenge*, with which he unsuccessfully sought the ships bearing the German mercenaries to America. He made many prizes, with the proceeds of which the Commissioners in Paris were supplied with money. General alarm prevailed. Marine insurance rose to twenty-five per centum and so loth were British merchants to ship goods in English bottoms, that at one time forty French vessels were together loading in the Thames.

While these events were occurring in European waters, there was no less activity shown by American cruisers off the western shores of the Atlantic. These contributed a greater share to the list of three hundred and forty-two British prizes captured. The success of these vessels off our coast, and naval events on Lake Champlain, closed the maritime operations of 1776, with honor to the Americans. Early in 1777, the *Randolph*, Captain Biddle, sailed on her first cruise. She was successful but in the spring of 1778, while fighting a British vessel-of-war, she blew up, and Biddle and all of his crew perished, excepting four men. During 1777, Captains Manly, McNeil, Saltonstall, Olney, Hinman, Thompson and others made successful cruises; and the year closed with a loss to the British of four hundred and sixty-seven merchantmen, notwithstanding they had seventy vessels-of-war in American waters.

Soon after the conclusion of the treaty of alliance in 1778, French vessels-of-war went out on the ocean to co-operate with the Americans, and the Congress fitted out some more armed ships

at the same time. Among them, the Alliance, 32, became the favorite ship of the patriots. The most conspicuous naval operations of that year were the cruise of the Providence, Captain Rathburne, to the Bahamas; of the Raleigh, Captain Thompson, and the Alfred Captain Hinman, from L'Orient; the Virginia, Captain Nicholson, on the American coast of John Paul Jones in the Ranger, in British waters, and of Captain Barry in the Raleigh, in the waters of the Atlantic ocean. The Alfred was captured, in March, 1778, by two British war-ships, in European waters, and at about the same time the Virginia was lost in Chesapeake Bay. Early in April (1778), Jones appeared in British waters for the first time. The Ranger was an inferior vessel, and yet her commander, after making some important captures in the British Channel, undertook the bold task of seizing the English ship-of-war Drab, lying in the harbor of Carrickfergus, Ireland. He failed. Then he sailed to the English coast, entered the port of Whitehaven, seized the forts, spiked the cannon, and, setting fire to a ship in the midst of a hundred other vessels, departed. The flames were extinguished and the shipping was saved and from that day to this, the name of Jones has been associated in the English mind with ideas of piracy and devastation, and he is called a pirate and corsair" by English historians. His exploit spread terror along the British coasts, and produced a profound sensation throughout the kingdom.

Emboldened by this success, Jones proceeded to the coast of his native country (Scotland), cruised up and down between the Solway and the Clyde, and attempted the capture of the Earl of Selkirk, at his seat near the mouth of the Dee. The earl was the early friend of Jones's father; and beneath his majestic oak and huge chestnut trees, our hero had played in his boy-hood. He anchored the Ranger in the Solway at noon, and with a few men in a single boat, went to the wooded promontory on which the earl's fine mansion stood, where he learned that his lordship was absent. Disappointed, he ordered his men back to the boat, when his lieutenant, a large and fiery man, proposed to carry away the plate of the earl, in imitation of English plunderers on the American coasts. Jones would not entertain the proposal. The memory of old associations forbade it. He was standing in the shadows of the old wood wherein he had enjoyed life in his childhood. From the hand of Lady Selkirk he had received nothing but kindness. Again he ordered his men back, but they and the lieutenant, eager for prize money, made his expostulations vain, and he ordered them to perform, what he deemed to be a mean robbery, with the greatest delicacy. The frightened Lady Selkirk delivered up the plate with her own hands; and when the marauders returned to the boat, they found Jones walking moodily among the old trees. He had laid his plans for the future. When the prizes of the Ranger were sold in the harbor of Brest, in May, he bought the plate and returned it to Lady Selkirk with a letter, in which he expressed his regret because of the annoyance she had suffered.

Late in April, Jones again appeared off Carrickfergus, when the Drake went out to give the Ranger battle. They fought more than an hour, when the Drake, much shattered, and forty of her men slain, surrendered. With this prize Jones went around Ireland and arrived at Brest on the 8th of May. Meanwhile D'Estaing had sailed for the Delaware, and his arrival made the American cruisers more active and bold. Captain Barry performed some notable exploits in the fall of 1778 and early in 1779, the Alliance, Captain Landais, sailed for France, bearing Lafayette, who went home to urge his king to send troops to America.

During the spring and summer of 1779, the American cruisers were very active. In March, the *Hampden*, a Massachusetts ship, had a severe fight with an English Indiaman, and was much damaged, but escaped capture. In April, Captain J. B. Hopkins, sailing on a cruise from Boston, captured several British vessels bound for Georgia with supplies for Prevost. In June, Captains Whipple and Rathburne, in command of two ships, captured several British merchant-vessels under convoy of a ship-of-the-line. In a money point of view, this was one of the most successful enterprises of the war. The estimated value of eight of the prizes taken into Boston was over a million dollars.

While these events were occurring in the western hemisphere, the French monarch and the American commissioners joined in sending Paul Jones, with five vessels, from L'Orient to the coast of Scotland, at the middle of August. His flagship was the *Bon-Homme Richard*. Just as he was about to strike some armed British vessels, in the harbor of Leith, a storm arose, which drove his squadron into the North Sea. When the tempest subsided he drew near the land, and cruising along the coast of Scotland, he captured thirteen prizes by the middle of September. Consternation prevailed along the coast, and many people buried their plate to keep the pirate's hands from it.

Late in September, while the squadron of Jones lay a few leagues north of the mouth of the Humber, he discovered the Baltic fleet of forty merchantmen, convoyed by the *Serapis*, a 44-gun ship, and the *Countess of Scarborough*, of 22 guns, stretching seaward from behind Flamborough Head. Here was a tempting prize for which he had sought. Jones signalled for a general chase, and all but the *Alliance*, Captain Landais, obeyed. The British vessels immediately prepared to defend the merchantmen and while they, and the *Richard* and *Pallas* were manoeuvring for advantage, night fell upon the scene. The darkness did not restrain the impetuous Jones. At seven o'clock in the evening, the *Richard* was within musket shot distance of the *Serapis*, when one of the most desperate naval fights ever recorded began. The wind was slack, and as the vessels were struggling for the weather gauge, they came in contact. Their spars and rigging were entangled, when Jones, at the head of his men, attempted to board the *Serapis*. After a sharp and close contest with pike, pistol and cutlass, he was repulsed, when Captain Pearson of the *Serapis*, who could not see the ensign of the *Richard* called out: Has your flag been struck? Jones shouted, "I have not begun to fight yet."

The vessels now separated, and Jones attempted to lay his ship athwart the hawser of his enemy. He failed, and the wind brought the two ships broadside to broadside, the muzzles of the guns touching each other. Jones instantly lashed the ships together, and in that close embrace they poured their terrible volleys into each other with awful effect. From deck to deck of the entangled vessels the combatants madly rushed, fighting like demons. Very soon the *Richard* was pierced between wind and water with several 18-pound balls, and began to fill. Her ten greater guns were silenced, and only three-pounders kept up the cannonade; but the marines in the round top of the *Richard* sent deadly volleys of bullets down upon the struggling Englishmen. Ignited combustibles were scattered over the *Serapis*, and at one time she was on fire in a dozen places. Some cartridges were ignited on her lower deck and blew up the whole of the officers and men

that were quartered abaft the mainmast. At half-past nine, just as the moon rose in a cloudless sky, the Richard was discovered to be on fire, also, and a scene of appalling grandeur was presented. In the midst of smoke and half-smothered flame, and the incessant roar of great guns, men as furious as wounded tigers were seen struggling hand-to-hand for the mastery. At that moment a cry was raised on the Richard - "The ship is sinking! A frightened gunner ran aft to pull down the American flag, when he found the halyards cut away. He cried, Quarter, quarter! until he was silenced by a blow from a discharged pistol which Jones hurled at his head. It fractured his skull, and sent him headlong down the gangway. "Did you ask for quarter?" shouted Pearson. "Never," replied Jones. "Then I'll give you none," answered the enraged Englishman and the desperate fight went on more fiercely than before.

The situation of Jones was becoming, every moment, more critical, for his ship could not float much longer. Nothing appeared more hopeless than his prospect for victory. Yet he won it. The flames crept up the rigging of the Serapis, and by their glow and the full light of the moon, Jones saw that his double-headed shot had almost cut Pearson's mainmast in two. He hurled another shot upon it, until the tall mast reeled. Pearson saw his great peril, and striking his flag, surrendered to his really weaker foe. Enveloped in sparks and smoke, Pearson said, in a surly manner, as he hurriedly handed his sabre to Jones: It is painful to deliver up my sword to a man who has fought with a rope around his neck." Jones courteously replied, as he returned the weapon Sir, you have fought like a hero, and I make no doubt your sovereign will reward you in the most ample manner." The king knighted Pearson. When Jones heard of it, he said: "Well, he deserves it and if I fall in with him again, I'll make a lord of him."

The battle ceased after raging three hours. Fire was consuming both ships, and all hands turned to fighting the flames. They did so successfully. The vessels were soon disengaged, when the mast of the Serapis, which had been kept erect by the entangled spars and rigging, fell with a tremendous crash, carrying with it the mizzenmast. The Richard was damaged past recovery, and now settled rapidly. Every living person was transferred to the Sc rap is, and sixteen hours afterward the gallant Bon Homme Richard went down into the valleys of the North Sea.

The Countess of Scarborough, Captain Cotineau, surrendered to the Pallas after an hour's fight, notwithstanding the treacherous Landais brought the guns of the Alliance to bear upon the latter as he had upon the Richard, pretending to mistake them, in the darkness, for the ships of the enemy. This brilliant victory was achieved on the night of the 23rd of September. The Baltic fleet had taken shelter behind Flamborough Head. After tossing about on the Northern Sea ten days, Jones ran into the Texel, Holland, with his little squadron and prizes, only a few hours before eleven English ships-of-war that had been sent after him, appeared in the offing. A demand was made upon Holland to deliver up the prizes, and Jones and his men, to the English authorities. By adroit diplomacy, the States-General refused, without involving themselves in trouble with the British government; and Jones, instead of being conveyed to England as a corsair," was put in command of the Alliance, and did good service for the Americans afterward. His fame spread through the civilized world. The French monarch gave him an elegant gold-mounted sword, bearing on its blade the words: "Louis XVI, Rewarder of the Valiant Asserter of the Freedom of

the Sea." He also created him a knight of the Order of Merit. Catharine of Russia conferred on him the ribbon of St. Anne; and from Denmark, he received marks of distinction and a pension. The United States thanked him cordially, and eight years afterward gave him a gold medal.

The exploits of Jones exasperated and alarmed the British. They made even heavy line-of-battle ships shy of him; and he was regarded as like a malignant comet, bearing in its tail, Death, famine, earthquakes, pestilence, and ruin." The British government put forth its energies to the utmost to carry on the war against the allies with vigor. The powerful East India Company, whose possessions were menaced by the French, presented to the crown three fine 74-gun ships for the purpose, and offered a bounty for raising six thousand soldiers. When the Parliament assembled on the 25th of November, the king, in his speech, called upon that body to exert their greatest efforts in defense of the country against "one of the most dangerous confederacies ever formed against the crown and people of Great Britain," alluding to France and Spain, the latter being then in an attitude of hostility to the British. He did not mention America in his speech but he called special attention to Ireland, where the discontents of the people appeared like the prelude to a general revolt. The separation of Ireland from Great Britain was a favorite scheme of Vergennes but, he said, he would not rely upon the Roman Catholics of that country, as they were naturally in favor of a monarchical government; and he had information that a large body of the most influential Irish Romanists, professing to speak for all their fellow Roman Catholic subjects," had addressed the English secretary in Ireland, expressing their abhorrence of the unnatural American rebellion," and their attachment to the best of kings," at the same time offering him two millions of faithful and affectionate hearts and hands in defence of his person and government in any part of the world." Vergennes said he would rely upon the numerous Presbyterians who inhabited the North of Ireland, whose fanaticism makes them enemies of all civil or religious authority concentrated in a chief. They aspire to nothing," he said, but to give themselves a form of government like that of the United Provinces of America." These Presbyterians were the men which the government suspected of contemplating rebellion, and the king recommended measures to conciliate them. Some of the sentiments of the king's speech were warmly criticized by the Opposition. The blunders of the ministry, in their dealings with the Americans, were severely condemned and it was shown that since the beginning of the war against the colonies, more than three hundred million dollars had been added to the national debt. It was shown that Great Britain then had a military establishment by sea and land of not much less than three hundred thousand men, "a force exceeding the ability of any power in Europe to support for a continuance." But the king and his ministers carried their measures triumphantly through Parliament. That body voted one hundred and twenty thousand men for the united service, and appropriated one hundred million dollars to defray the expenses of the campaign of 1780. Yet these formidable preparations to enslave them did not, at that gloomiest period of the war, make the Americans quail or falter. They relied for success upon the justice of their cause, the generosity of human nature, and the favor of a righteous God. Thomas Pownall, in the British Parliament, uttered some remarkable prophecies concerning the future of America, saying, after speaking of what the colonies had done:

"Commerce will open the door to emigration. By constant intercommunication, America will

every day approach more and more to Europe.

North America has become a new primary planet, which, while it takes its own course in its own orbit, must shift the common centre of gravity. These sovereigns of Europe, who shall find this new empire crossing all their settled maxims and accustomed measures, will call upon their ministers and raise men Come, curse me this people, for they are too mighty for me! These statesmen will be dumb, but the spirit of truth will answer: How shall I curse whom God hath not cursed.' Those sovereigns of Europe, who shall call upon their ministers to state to them things as they really do exist in nature, shall form the earliest, the most sure and natural connection with North America, as being, what she is, an independent state. . . . The new empire of America is like a giant ready to run its course. The fostering care with which the rival powers of Europe will nurse it, insure its establishment beyond all doubt or danger."

These significant words were uttered at the beginning of 1780, when the league of leading nations of Europe, known as the "Armed Neutrality" against the pretensions of Great Britain as Mistress of the Seas," was about to be consummated. That league had been in a formative state many months. It was conceived in the summer of 1778, when British cruisers seized American vessels engaged in commerce with Russia, in the Baltic Sea. Russia was then assuming colossal proportions among the European powers. They all courted the friendship of her empress, Catharine, who was talented and powerful and Great Britain tried to induce her to become its ally against France. Catharine coquetted with that government a long time, while her sympathies were with Sweden, Denmark and Holland, whose neutral ships were continually interfered with by British sea-rovers, and whose acts were justified by their government. The French monarch, by a master stroke of policy, had gained the goodwill of the northern maritime powers, by a proclamation of protection to all neutral vessels going to or from a hostile port with contraband goods, whose value did not exceed three-fourths that of the whole cargo. That was in the summer of 1778. From that time, until the opening of 1780, the insolence of British cruisers, and the tone of the British ministers, offended the northern powers. That tone was generally deprecatory and disparaging. "When the Dutch," said Lord North, say 'We maritime powers,' it reminds me of the cobbler who lived next door to the Lord Mayor, and used to say 'My neighbor and I.' Official language was sometimes equally offensive. When the Dutch complained of interference with their commerce and appealed to treaties in support of their claims as neutrals, the British minister at the Hague said "For the present, treaty or no treaty, England will not suffer materials for ship-building to be taken by the Dutch to any French port." A similar tone was indulged in toward the other northern powers, excepting Russia; but the shrewd Catharine, perceiving the commercial interests of her realm to be involved in the maintenance of the neutral rights of others, after long coquetting with Great Britain, assumed the attitude of defender of those rights before all the world. Early in March, 1780, she issued a declaration, the substance of which was (1) That neutral ships shall enjoy free navigation from port to port, and on the coasts of belligerent powers (2) That free ships free all goods except contraband (3) That contraband are arms and ammunition of war, and nothing else; (4) That no port is blockaded unless the enemy's ships, in adequate number, are near enough to make the entry dangerous.

It was declared that those principles should rule decisions on the legality of prizes and that state paper said: In manifesting these principles before all Europe, Her Imperial Majesty is firmly resolved to maintain them. She has therefore given an order to fit out a considerable portion of her naval forces, to act as her honor, her interest, and necessity may require."

The empress invited Sweden, Denmark, Portugal, and the Netherlands to join in support of her declaration. These, with Russia, entered into the league in the course of the year. France and Spain acquiesced in the new maritime code; and at one time a general war between Great Britain and the Continental powers seemed inevitable. The Congress approved the position of the empress, and toward the close of 1780, sent Thomas Dana as ambassador to the court of St. Petersburg to concede, on behalf of the United States, the principles of the coalition, and to negotiate a treaty of amity and commerce. At that time similar negotiations had been proposed or entered upon by the United States with other European powers. John Jay had been sent to Spain for the purpose, early in the fall of 1779; and John Adams was appointed a diplomatic agent to form a treaty of peace and commerce with Great Britain. Meanwhile Gerard had been succeeded by the Chevalier de Luzerne, as French minister in the United States, and was invested with limited authority from Spain to negotiate with our government concerning territories and boundaries in America. A plan for a commercial treaty with Holland had been perfected, but at the time we are considering (the beginning of 1780) nothing definite had been done. The States-General had pursued a timid policy, fearing to offend Great Britain, and were silent on American affairs but Van Berkel, the bold and enlightened head of the Amsterdam regency, had said in a letter to an American in 1778:"With the new republic, clearly raised up by the help of Providence, we desire a league of amity and commerce, which shall last to the end of time." He doubtless expressed the sentiments of the hearts of all intelligent Netherlanders at that time.

At the close of 1779, Lafayette had completed important services for the Americans, in France, by inducing the king to order a French army to America under the command of the Count de Rochambeau, to assist the republicans in their struggle. He had been received in France, on his return home early in the year, with intense enthusiasm, for his fame as a soldier here was universally known. His personal magnetism was wonderful. Whenever he appeared in the streets, crowds followed him. When his name was mentioned in the theatres, it was greeted with wildest applause. His persuasions at court were irresistible. Old Count Maurepas, who was at the head of the French ministry, said: It is fortunate for the king that Lafayette did not take it into his head to strip Versailles of its furniture to send to his dear America, as his majesty would have been unable to refuse it."

Chapter LXXXI

The Siege and capture of Charleston by the British - Violations of Solemn Engagements - Sufferings of Leading Citizens - Boldness of Gadsden - Effects of the Fall of Charleston - Buford's Defeat - Andrew Jackson - Harsh Measures - De Kalb - Gates in Command - Exploits of Sumter and Marion, and other Partisans - Cornwallis in Chief Command - Lord Rawdon at Camden - Cornwallis Defeats Gates - Sumter's Men Dispersed - A Mistaken Policy - Doings in Western Carolinas - Defeat of the British at King's Mountain - Its Effects - Treatment of Tories - Partisan Warfare - Marion's Exploits and His Swamp Camp.

THE British ministry ordered the subjugation of South Carolina, and on the day after Christmas, 1779, Sir Henry Clinton sailed from New York on that errand, with five thousand troops borne by a fleet commanded by Admiral Arbuthnot. He left General Knyphausen in charge of the troops in New York. Encountering heavy storms off Cape Hatteras, the fleet was scattered. Many of the horses perished. A ship loaded with cannon went to the bottom of the sea; another, bearing Hessian troops, was driven across the Atlantic and dashed on the shore of England. It was late in February, 1780, before the scattered British forces (including those of Prevost at Savannah), ten thousand strong, appeared on John's Island in sight of Charleston, a wealthy city of fifteen thousand inhabitants, white and black, and spread over a broad peninsula between the Ashley and Cooper rivers, at their entrance into the sea. The city was then defended by less than two thousand effective men, under General Lincoln. The people of the State were disheartened by events in Georgia. Their western frontier was menaced by the savages, and there was much disaffection in the interior. Had Clinton marched directly upon Charleston when he landed on the islands, it would have been an easy prey; but he tarried a month in preparations and waiting for the arrival of more troops which he had ordered from New York. Meanwhile Lincoln had cast up fortifications across Charleston Neck; and Commodore Whipple, who was in command of a flotilla of small vessels near the bar, had fled into the harbor, sunk some of his craft to obstruct the channels, and transferred his guns and seamen to the fortifications. Fort Moultrie (Sullivan) was well garrisoned, but offered no resistance to the British fleet when it entered the harbor on the 9th of April. The troops had appeared before the American works on the 29th of March, and on the 10th of April, Clinton and Arbuthnot demanded the surrender of the city. It was promptly refused by Lincoln, and a siege went on for a month afterward.

Lincoln soon discovered his peril, and on the 13th of April called a council of officers to consider the propriety of evacuating the town. Before a conclusion could be reached, that movement was impossible. Some detachments of cavalry sent out to keep open a communication between the town and country had been dispersed by British troopers, and Cornwallis had arrived from New York (April 19th) with almost three thousand fresh troops. All hopes for the Americans faded. Fort Moultrie was compelled to surrender to the British on the 6th of May; and on the 9th, a third summons was made for the surrender of the army and the city, and refused. The succeeding night was a terrible one for Charleston. Late in the evening a general cannonade began, and shook the city all night long. The thunders of two hundred heavy guns Fiery bomb-shells were rained upon it; and at one time the flames of burning buildings shot up at five

different points. Nor did the morning bring relief. The cannonade continued all the day. At two o'clock on the morning of the 11th, Lincoln made a proposition to Clinton for a surrender. The British fleet had moved near the town, to join in the work of destruction, and further resistance would have been madness. The terms of surrender were arranged. It was agreed that the Continental soldiers should march out with their colors cased, and to lay down their arms as prisoners of war; the militia to be dismissed on their parole to take no further part in the contest, and to be secure in person and property so long as they remained faithful to that parole. The citizens of suitable age were also paroled and by this extraordinary measure, Clinton could boast of over five thousand prisoners of war.

The city was given up to pillage by the British and Hessian troops. When the whole amount of plunder was appraised for distribution, it aggregated, in value, a million and a half dollars, Clinton and his major-generals each receiving about twenty thousand dollars. Houses were rifled of plate and other valuables; confiscation of the estates of the Whigs was threatened, and afterward executed; and slaves, even those who had sought British protection, were seized and sent to the West Indies for sale to swell the money-gains of the conquerors. Over two thousand were sent at one embarkation. They were driven on board the ships in gangs of four or five, lashed together by ropes - men and women - without regard to the separation of families or the supplications of parting kindred. Only upon the promise of unconditional loyalty was British protection offered to any citizen and in gross violation of the terms of the capitulation, a large number of the leading men of Charleston were taken from their beds, in August, by armed men, and carried on board prison-ships, under the false accusation that they were concerned in a conspiracy to burn the town and murder the loyal inhabitants. In these ships hundreds suffered terribly. Among the more prominent citizens thus treated were Lieutenant-Governor Gadsden and David Ramsay, the historian, who were sent to St. Augustine, where Governor Tryon, the North Carolina "Wolf" was in command. Tryon offered them their liberty on parole. Gadsden, the sturdy patriot, refused. He would make no further terms with men who had broken solemn pledges.

"Had the British commander," he said, "regarded the terms of capitulation at Charleston, I might now, although a prisoner, enjoy the smiles and consolations of my family under my own roof; but even without a shadow of accusation preferred against me, for any act inconsistent with my plighted faith, I am torn from them, and here, in a distant land, invited to enter into new engagements. I will give no parole." "Think better of it," said Tryon; "a second refusal of it will fix your destiny - a dungeon will be your future habitation." "Prepare it, then," replied the inflexible patriot. I will give no parole, so help me God! And the petty tyrant did prepare it. For forty-two weeks that brave man, almost three-score years of age, never saw the light of the blessed sun, but lay incarcerated in the castle at St. Augustine. And when he, and other prisoners, were exchanged the next year, they were not allowed to enter Charleston, but were sent to Philadelphia, whither their families had been exiled.

The fall of Charleston and the loss of the Southern army were severe blows to the republicans. It paralyzed their strength and, for awhile; South Carolina lay helpless at the feet of the oppressor. With an activity unusual for British officers in America, Clinton took immediate steps to extend

and secure his conquests, and to re-establish royal authority in the South. With a mistaken policy he used harshness instead of conciliation toward the smitten and humbled inhabitants. He sent out three strong detachments to overrun the country and awe the people by a display of power. One of these, under Lord Cornwallis, marched up the course of the Santee River, to Camden another, under Lieutenant-Colonel Cruger, was ordered to penetrate the country to Ninety-Six; and a third, under Lieutenant-Colonel Brown, went up from Savannah to Augusta.

Meanwhile Colonel Abraham Buford, with four hundred Continental infantry, a small number of cavalry and two cannon, who had hastened toward Charleston to help Lincoln, had been dreadfully smitten by Tarleton. Buford had retreated from Camden toward Charlotte, in North Carolina, on the approach of Cornwallis. Tarleton, with seven hundred cavalry and mounted infantry, was sent in pursuit. By a forced march of one hundred and five miles in fifty-five hours, he overtook Buford, on the Waxhaw (May 29th, 1780), and almost surrounded him before the republican leader was aware of his approach. Tarleton demanded his instant surrender upon the terms granted at Charleston. Buford refused compliance. While flags for conference were passing and re-passing, Tarleton, contrary to military rules, made preparations for assault when that conference should end. The instant he received Buford's reply, his cavalry made a furious charge upon the unprepared and astonished Americans. All was confusion. Some resisted others threw down their arms and begged for quarter. None was given, and men without arms were hewn in pieces by the British cavalry. One hundred and thirteen were slain one hundred and fifty were so maimed as to be unable to travel and fifty-three were made prisoners, and graced Tarleton's triumphal march into Camden. The spoils of victory were Buford's artillery, ammunition and baggage. Cornwallis eulogized this savage act of Tarleton; Stedman, one of Cornwallis's officers, and a historian of the war, wrote: On the occasion, the virtue of humanity was totally forgot." Tarleton received the special favor of Lord George Germain, for the cold-blooded massacre; and "Tarleton's quarter," became the synonym for cruelty. It was the war-cry for vengeance of the patriots in the field afterward. Among the witnesses of that massacre was Andrew Jackson, then a lad thirteen years of age. The event fired his patriotism, and he and his brother Robert entered the military service under Sumter. They were made prisoners, and while in captivity the spirit of the future military hero and headstrong President of the United States was displayed. A British officer ordered Andrew to clean his muddy boots. The boy refused to do this menial service for an enemy of his country, and received from the officer a sword-cut, the scar of which he bore to the grave sixty-five years afterward.

This massacre spread terror throughout the interior of South Carolina. Families fled from their homes in the pathway of the invaders, until there was no place of refuge for them. The exasperated patriots were ready to fight, but there was no military organization. Taking advantage of their helplessness, the conqueror now attempted to crush out all independence in the State by requiring every able-bodied man to join the British army, and take an active part in the re-establishment of royal rule, and threatening all who should refuse compliance with treatment as rebels to the government of the king." The silence of fear and weakness overspread the State. Mistaking this lull in the storm, and the numerous applications for protection, for permanent tranquillity, Clinton and Arbuthnot, with a large body of troops, returned to New York. On the

eve of his departure, Clinton wrote to Germain: "The inhabitants from every quarter declare their allegiance to the king, and offer their services in arms. There are few men in South Carolina who are not either our prisoners or in arms with us."

The lull in the tempest of war was brief. To aid the Southern patriots, Washington had sent the Baron De Kalb, with Maryland and Delaware troops, to help Lincoln at Charleston. He was a brave but slow moving French officer, about sixty years of age, who accompanied Lafayette to this country, and was commissioned a major-general by the Congress, in September, 1777. He was yet in Virginia, whose leading men were making noble sacrifices to strengthen him, when he heard of the surrender of Charleston, and it was late in June when he entered North Carolina. By the capture of Lincoln, De Kalb became commander-in-chief of the army in the South, a position which he was not competent to fill with efficiency. Washington desired to have General Greene succeed Lincoln, but the Congress, yielding to the importunities of the friends of Gates, procured his appointment to that difficult position. That body gave the favorite orders to act independently, and to report directly to them. He was gratified by the trust reposed in him, and joined De Kalb on the 25th of July. The prospect before him was far from flattering. An army without strength a military chest without money; an inefficient commissary department; a climate unfavorable to health; the spirit of the republicans cast don loyalists and timid patriot swarming in every direction, and a victorious enemy pressing on to spread his legions over the territory Gates had come to defend, were the grave obstacles to success before him. But the approach of the conqueror of Burgoyne," who was yet surrounded by the glory of that event, inspired the republicans of the South. Sumter, Marion, Pickens and Clarke, brave and skillful, true and persistent partisan leaders in Carolina and Georgia, summoned their fellow-patriots to the field. Seeing how lightly the invaders regarded their solemn pledges, the republicans, renouncing their "paroles and protections," flocked to the standards of these brave partisans, and prepared the way for Gates. They swept over the country with celerity, in small bands, striking British detachments here or a company of Tories there, such unexpected, sharp, quick and decisive blows that the enemy, alarmed and perplexed, was checked in their invading march into the interior.

General Thomas Sumter now first appeared in power on the borders of the Catawba River. The Whigs, following local leaders, had already assailed the enemy at different points between the Catawba and Broad rivers. Sumter, meanwhile, had gathered a considerable force, and on the 30th of July (1780) he attacked a British post at Rocky Mount, on the right bank of the Catawba, where he was repulsed but not disheartened. He crossed the river and fell upon another British post under Major Carden at Hanging Rock, a few miles eastward, on the 6th of August. A large body of British and Tories were there. They were at first dispersed but Sumter's men, seeking plunder, and drinking the liquors found in the camp after they had secured it, lost the victory through separation and intoxication. The ranks of the patriots became disordered. The enemy rallied, and a very severe contest ensued. The British were reinforced, and Sumter was compelled to retreat. But he had handled his enemy so severely, that he did not attempt to follow. In the meantime Colonel Francis Marion (soon afterward a brigadier-general), a soldier of the French and Indian war, a hero at Fort Sullivan in 1776, a brave combatant at Savannah in 1779, and an active partisan leader in his native State (South Carolina) afterward, was smiting the enemy with

sudden and fierce blows among the swamps in the low country, on the borders of the Pedee. So brave and wily were these partisans, that the British called Sumter "The Carolina Game-Cock," and Marion "The Swamp Fox." The latter was one of the most noted and beloved of the partisan leaders in that struggle, and was more feared by the British and Tories in the South than any other, for they never knew where he was until they felt his blows. He was "A moment in the British came A moment - and away Back to the pathless forest, Before the break of day." At the same time Colonel Andrew Pickens was annoying Cruger in the neighborhood of Ninety-Six and the waters of the Saluda, and Colonel Elijah Clarke was calling for the patriots of the country along the Savannah, Ogeechee, and Alatamaha, to drive Brown from Augusta.

On the morning of the 27th of July, General Gates, after sending Marion toward the interior of South Carolina, put his "grand army," as he called his forces, in motion, by the shortest route toward Camden. He was speedily joined by Colonel Porterfield with Virginians, and by North Carolinians under Colonel Caswell in the east, and Rutherford in the west. The British officers were perplexed. Clinton had left Cornwallis in chief command in the south, and the latter had entrusted the leadership of his troops on the Santee to Lord Rawdon, an active and meritorious officer. With these gathering legions in the north and the active Sumter and Marion on their flanks, the British were certainly in a perilous position. Major McArthur, who was on the Cheraw Hills to encourage the Loyalists, called in his detachments, and with his whole force hastened to join Rawdon at Camden. Cornwallis, perceiving the gathering storm on the borders of South Carolina, hastened to Camden to join Rawdon, and reached that village on the same day (August 14) when Gates advanced and took post at Clermont. There the latter was joined by seven hundred Virginia militia under General Stevens; and he felt so sure of victory, that he did not prepare for a retreat by appointing a place of rendezvous. It was a fatal blunder. On the same day Gates weakened his army by sending to Sumter a detachment to assist in intercepting a convoy of supplies on their way from Ninety-Six, to Rawdon and on the evening of the 15th he marched to attack the latter with a little more than three thousand men. He would listen to no advice from his officers, but began his march, confidently, before a proper disposition of his baggage in the rear had been made. Cornwallis had left Camden to meet Gates, at about the same time. The road was very sandy, and foot-falls could not be easily heard. The vanguards of the belligerents met, between two and three o'clock in the morning, on a gentle slope a little north of Sanders's Creek, that runs through a swamp; nearly eight miles from Camden. It was a mutual surprise, for neither party knew that the other had struck his tents. Both began firing at the same time. Some of Colonel Armand's troops, who led the van, were killed, and the remainder fell back in disorder upon the first Maryland brigade, and broke its line. The whole army were filled with consternation, and would have fled but for the wisdom and skill of Porterfield, who, in rallying them, was mortally wounded. Both armies halted, when it was perceived that the British had the advantage, having crossed the small creek, and being protected by an impenetrable swamp on their flanks and rear.

Both parties anxiously awaited the dawn, and prepared for battle. The right of the British line was commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Webster, and the left by Lord Rawdon. De Kalb commanded the American right, and General Stevens the left, and the centre was composed of

North Carolinians under Colonel Caswell. A second line was formed by the first Maryland brigade led by General Smallwood.

The battle was opened by American artillery. The war of cannon was followed by an advance to the attack by some volunteers under Colonel Otho H. Williams and Stevens's militia. The latter had been given bayonets only the day before, and were now ordered to rely upon them chiefly. They did not know how to use them. The veteran British troops, led by Webster, fell upon these raw recruits, when the latter threw down their muskets and fled to the woods for shelter. Then Webster attacked the Maryland Continentals, who fought gallantly until they were outflanked, when they, also, gave way. Twice they were rallied, but finally retreated, when the brunt of the battle fell upon the Maryland and Delaware troops, led by DeKalb, assisted by General Gist, Colonel Howard, and Captain Kirkwood. They fought desperately and were almost in possession of victory, when Cornwallis sent against them some fresh dragoons and infantry that turned the tide. De Kalb was so badly wounded that he died three days afterward.

Gates's whole army was utterly routed and dispersed, and he was the most expert of the fugitives in running away. He abandoned his army, and with Caswell fled to Clermont in advance of any of his flying troops. Thence he hastened to Charlotte where he left Caswell, and then hurried on to Hillsborough. In this ignoble flight, he rode about two hundred miles in three days and a half. He had lost about a thousand men in killed, wounded, and prisoners; the British loss was less than five hundred. In the meantime, Sumter had been successful in capturing the convoy alluded to, with about forty wagons and their contents. He was now at the head of the largest body of republican troops in South Carolina. On hearing of Gates's defeat, he marched up the Wateree to the mouth of the Fishing Creek and encamped; and there at midday, on the 18th of August (1780), he was surprised by some of Tarleton's cavalry. About three hundred and fifty of his men were killed or made prisoners, and the British captives and wagons were retaken. Sumter escaped in such haste that he rode into Charlotte without hat or saddle.

The defeat of Sumter's band made the victory of Cornwallis complete. The hopes of the patriots were almost extinguished. Within the space of three months, two republican armies had been almost annihilated by capture or dispersion; and the earl, regarding the full and final subjugation of South Carolina as accomplished, moved toward the North State accompanied by Martin, a former royal governor of North Carolina, who assured him that the people there would rise to welcome him. Had Cornwallis been guided by good judgment and humanity, the conquest of South Carolina, and the restoration of North Carolina to a loyal condition, might have been permanent; for the former State swarmed with Tories, and the republicans were weary of the unequal contest. But following the wicked suggestions of Martin and the sanguinary Tarleton, and animated by the cruel instructions from Germain, he proposed to establish a system of revolting terrorism. He put military despotism in place of civil law, and treated the people as slaves having no rights which he was bound to respect. He ordered all militiamen who had served in Loyalist corps and were afterward found in arms against the king, to be hanged without mercy. He gave full license to Tories to execute these orders. Private rights were everywhere trampled under-foot. Property was wantonly destroyed by fire and violence the chastity of women was set

at naught; plunder was universal; and Whigs, both men and women, cultivated and tenderly reared, were hunted by the ravenous Tory wolves as legitimate prey to their worst passions. These ruthless measures created the most intense hatred. The people revolted and thirsted for vengeance. They only awaited the appearance of good leaders, to fly to arms and rid the country of their oppressors. Only Marion was then in the field, untrammelled by any parole. Governor Rutledge had commissioned him a brigadier, and with his famous brigade of ragged followers, he performed those deeds for the redemption of South Carolina which have made his name immortal.

The first symptoms of that revolt were seen in Western Carolina. Cornwallis had marched his army to Charlotte, in North Carolina, early in September, and from that point he sent out detachments to execute his cruel orders. While Tarleton and his legions were operating eastward of the Catawba, Major Patrick Ferguson was sent to embody the Tories among the mountains west of the Broad River. Many profligate and unworthy men joined his standard, and at the beginning of October he was encamped among the gravelly, wooded hills of King's Mountain, about two miles south of the North Carolina border. Meanwhile the patriots west of the Alleghany ranges had taken up arms to frustrate the plans of Cornwallis. They were embodied in regiments under Colonels Shelby, Sevier, Campbell, Cleaveland, McDowell and Williams, and were chiefly Virginians and North Carolinians. On the evening of the 6th of October (1780) they were all assembled at the "Cowpens," in Spartanburg district, and called themselves The Western Army." There they heard that Ferguson was at King's Mountain, and they determined to proceed that night and strike him by surprise. Nine hundred of their best horsemen (they were all mounted) marched by moonlight, and on the afternoon of the next day, they came near Ferguson's camp of a little over eleven hundred men (mostly Tories), who were resting in fancied security on account of their peculiar position.

The republicans dismounted, and, forming themselves into four columns, advanced to within a quarter of a mile of Ferguson's camp, without being discovered. The regiments of Shelby and Campbell, which formed the right and left centres of the force, pushed up the hill and made the first attack. The aroused British flew to arms, and the bayonets of the few regulars overmatched the rifles of the assailants for a moment. For ten minutes the advanced regiments sustained a fierce contest for the crown of the hill, when the right and left wings of the republican army fell upon Ferguson's left and rear and drove him into a hollow, where he was slain on the border of a clear mountain brook. The position of his force was now untenable, and Captain De Peyster (of the King's American Regiment"), Ferguson's senior surviving officer, hoisted a flag of submission. The firing ceased, and the invaders surrendered, with fifteen hundred stand of arms. The entire loss of the British was eleven hundred and five, of whom four hundred and fifty-six were either killed or wounded. The Americans lost twenty-eight killed and sixty wounded. Among the British prisoners were many of the worst Tories, who had most cruelly executed the severe orders of Cornwallis. Ten of these, after a brief trial the next morning, were hanged together upon an outstretching limb of a tulip tree, which, when I visited the spot in 1849, was huge, and overshadowed a small monument erected on the spot where Ferguson was slain. That stone was set up in commemoration of Major Chronicle and three other Americans who were killed in the battle. Upon it were their names, and on the opposite side were these words: Colonel Patrick

Ferguson, an officer belonging to his Britannic Majesty, was here defeated and killed."

This annihilation of Ferguson's corps crushed the spirits of the loyalists, destroyed the hopes of Cornwallis of aid from those of South Carolina, and weakened, beyond recovery, the royal power in the South. King's Mountain was to Cornwallis what Bennington was to Burgoyne. When the earl heard of the disaster, he retreated from North Carolina and took position at Winnsboro in Fairfield district, between the Broad and Catawba rivers - a station between Ninety-Six and Camden. The loyalists of North Carolina were repulsed, and the Whigs, everywhere, were strengthened. There was a general revolt against Cornwallis, who had expected to subdue the whole region south of the Susquehanna by easy conquests. In his retreat he was greatly annoyed by the uprising of republicans, who hung on his rear; and his whole army suffered much from exposure in almost incessant rains, and for want of food for man and forage for horses, during the retrograde march of fifteen days.

Nearer the seaboard the patriots were gaining strength. Marion and his men were striking the banding Tories, and annoying British outposts continually; while Colonels Pickens and Clarke were hourly increasing their forces in Georgia and southwestern Carolina. Sumter, too, undismayed by his recent defeat, had rallied the patriots above Camden; and men were in the field here and there between the Yadkin and the Catawba, ready to swell the ranks of any good leader, or strike a British foraging party. Sumter's men were all mounted, and cut off many supplies for Cornwallis's army at Winnsboro. The earl sent Major Wemyss, with some mounted infantry, after him. These fell upon Sumter's camp at Fish Dam Ford on the Broad River, on the night of the 11th of November, but were repulsed. Wemyss was made prisoner, and on his person were found memoranda that revealed his cruelty toward the inhabitants. Cornwallis, on hearing of his defeat, recalled Tarleton from the pursuit of Marion in the lower country, and sent him after Sumter, who, with reinforcements, was pushing on to the British post of Ninety-Six. Tarleton overtook the partisan at Blackstock's plantation on the banks of the Tyger River, in Union district, and attacked him there on the night of the 20th of November. The assailants were repulsed, with heavy loss, leaving their wounded in the hands of Sumter. The latter was disabled by a severe wound, but his loss in men was inconsiderable.

Meanwhile Marion had won victory after victory in forays against British and Tories in the vicinity of the Pedee and Santee rivers. Cornwallis had sent Tarleton, with his legion, to catch the "Swamp Fox." That officer and his men marked their track with desolation and woe. It might have been traced by burning dwellings, and groups of homeless women and children. On the banks of the Santee he beat the widow of a republican officer because she would not tell him where Marion was encamped. He robbed her of all her clothing excepting what she had on; burned her house and devastated her plantation. While pursuing this wicked career, he was recalled to go in pursuit of Sumter. Now Marion attempted a bolder stroke, by assailing the British post at Georgetown, on Winyaw Bay, to procure needed supplies for his men. He was beaten in a skirmish near the town, and retired to Snow's Island at the confluence of the Pedee and Lynch's Creek, which was a high river swamp, dry, and covered with a heavy forest filled with game. At that skirmish, Marion's nephew was murdered after he had surrendered. From that time

the battle cry of Marion's men was No quarter for Tories!

On Snow's Island, surrounded by vast swamps, Marion had a secure retreat. To his camp, there, a young British officer was sent to treat concerning prisoners. He was led, blindfolded, to the camp, where he saw in the person of the famous partisan leader, a diminutive man, with large, sunken, lustrous eyes, and very coarsely clad, surrounded by rough-looking men with tattered garments. When the business of his mission was closed, Marion invited him to dine at his table. The invitation was accepted. Some roasted sweet potatoes were brought into the tent on a piece of bark, of which the general partook freely, and invited his guest to do the same. "Surely, general," said the astonished Briton, "this cannot be your ordinary fare." Indeed it is," Marion replied; "and it is a fortunate circumstance that, on this occasion, entertaining company, we have more than our usual allowance." The young officer threw up his commission on returning to his commander, saying, "Such a people cannot, and ought not to be subdued."

Chapter LXXXII

Position of the Belligerent Armies - Mrs. Washington at Headquarters - Hamilton and Miss Schuyler - British Invasion of New Jersey - Murder of Mrs. Caldwell - Arrival of French Forces - Treason of Arnold - His Character - Progress of His Treason - Interview between Arnold and Andre - Arnold's Escape - Discovery of the Treason - Execution of Andre - The Fate of Arnold and Andre Considered - The Captors of Andre Rewarded - The British Government and Holland - The American Cause in Peril - A Stronger Government Looked for - Hamilton's Project - Reforms in the Army.

WHILE stirring events were taking place in the South, important ones were occurring in the North, where military operations had almost ceased because the theatre of war had been transferred to the Carolinas and Georgia. Washington had his headquarters at Morristown, at a house yet standing there, and his main army were encamped within call.

The winter of 1779-80 was very severe. The salt waters that surround New York city were so bridged with solid ice that the British took heavy cannons across from that town to Staten Island. The Continental Army, as we have observed, were encamped chiefly in New Jersey, and the British occupied the city of New York. The snow lay so deep on the ground that both armies were compelled to remain quiet several weeks. When the spring opened, the troops under the direct command of Washington numbered less than four thousand effective men and between the Chesapeake and the northern and eastern frontiers of the Union, there were not more than seven thousand Continental soldiers.

The troops at and near Morristown suffered much from hunger and cold, at times. Mrs. Washington passed that winter there, with her husband. Sentinels and Life-Guardsmen were continually on duty to defend headquarters from sudden and secret attack. Sometimes, when alarms were quite frequent, guards were placed in Mrs. Washington's sleeping apartment. When an alarm occurred, they threw open the windows to give full play to their muskets. On one of these occasions, on a bitter cold night, the windows were kept open more than an hour, exposing Mrs. Washington to the intense cold, with no other defence against it than the ordinary bed clothing and the thick curtains drawn. General Schuyler also passed a greater portion of the winter and spring at Morristown, in consultation with Washington about the future. His quarters were near those of the commander-in-chief, and his family were with him. His daughter Elizabeth was then betrothed to Colonel Alexander Hamilton, of Washington's staff, and the young couple were together almost every evening. On one of these occasions, when Hamilton was returning to his quarters, he had forgotten the countersign. The charms of Miss Schuyler seem to have obliterated the word from his memory. He came to the sentinel, who knew him well, but the faithful soldier would not let him pass without giving the word. The colonel was greatly embarrassed. A son of Mr. Ford, a lad fourteen years of age, at whose father's house Washington had his quarters, was entrusted with the counter-sign for the day, whenever he wished to go to the village and return in the evening. He had just passed the sentinel, when, hearing the voice of Colonel Hamilton, he stopped and waited for him to come up. Hamilton discovered the boy, by

the light of the stars, and called out, "Aye, Master Ford, is that you?" Then stepping aside, he called the boy to him, and drawing young Ford's ear to his lips, he whispered, "Give me the countersign." He did so, and the colonel presented himself in front of the sentinel and gave the word. The soldier kept his bayonet at a present. "I have given you the word, why do you not shoulder your musket?" Hamilton asked. The sentinel, suspecting the colonel was trying his fidelity, said, "Will that do, colonel?" It will for this time," Hamilton replied, "let me pass." The soldier reluctantly obeyed the illegal command. Colonel Hamilton and his betrothed were married in December following.

The news of the surrender of Charleston reached New York at near the close of May. This intelligence, and the assurance of Tories from New Jersey that the people there were wearied with the struggle and were disposed to submit, seemed to present a favorable opportunity for making a raid into that State by British troops, and setting up the royal standard there. At the beginning of June, General Maxwell, with his New Jersey brigade, was at Connecticut Farms (now the village of Union); a hamlet a few miles from Elizabethtown and three hundred New Jersey militia under Colonel Dayton occupied the latter place. Against these, Knyphausen sent General Mathews, with about five thousand troops, on the 6th of June. They passed over from Staten Island to Elizabethtown Point, and the next day took possession of Elizabethtown. The militia there retired before the superior force, when the invaders pressed on to Connecticut Farms, greatly annoyed on their way by the rising militia who hung upon their flanks. At the Farms the British murdered the wife of the Rev. James Caldwell, a very active patriot, who was then in Washington's army. Mrs. Caldwell did not fly, with her neighbors, on the approach of the enemy, but remained, trusting in Providence for protection. When the invaders entered the hamlet, she retired to an inner room with her children, one of them a suckling. A British soldier came through a yard to an open window of the room, and shot her as she sat on the edge of the bed. Two bullets pierced her, and she fell dead to the floor, with her infant in her arms. The babe was unhurt. The nurse snatched it up and ran out of the house, which was on fire. The church and every building of the hamlet became a victim to the flames. There was barely time to drag the body of Mrs. Caldwell out of the burning building into the street, where it lay exposed several hours, until permission was given to her friends to bury the remains.

As the invaders pushed on toward Springfield, they were met by Maxwell's troops, and after a brief skirmish, and hearing that forces were coming down from Morristown, they retreated to the coast, where they remained about a fortnight. Meanwhile Clinton had arrived from Charleston. He sent reinforcements to Mathews, and after making a feint upon the Hudson Highlands he and Knyphausen crossed over and joined the troops at Elizabethtown Point. The feint deceived Washington, who left the command of a considerable force of Continental troops at the Short Hills, between Springfield and Morristown, with General Greene, while he moved with another force in the direction of the Hudson. Early in the morning of the 23rd of June (1780), the British advanced toward Springfield, and Greene moved forward to meet them, in battle array. The invaders approached in two columns. Greene was advantageously posted. The British force, about five thousand strong, with cavalry and almost twenty cannon, seemed sufficient to crush any republican army that might oppose them; but after a very severe skirmish, the invaders were

defeated. Setting fire to Springfield, they retreated to the shore, and crossed over in haste from Elizabethtown Point to Staten Island, on a bridge of boats. Clinton had lost a rare opportunity for the conquest of New Jersey, and possibly the destruction or dispersion of Washington's army.

Good news for the Americans now came from the east. The strong recommendations from D'Estaing on his return to France, joined with the persuasions of Lafayette, had induced the French government to send an army to America, under the Count de Rochambeau who was instructed to act under the orders of Washington at all times, after his arrival. The troops were borne over the Atlantic in a fleet commanded by Admiral de Ternay, and arrived at Newport, Rhode Island, on the 10th of July. The General Assembly of the State were then in session, and received the strangers cordially. The news of their arrival was greeted with joy everywhere in the Union and Washington sent a letter of welcome to Rochambeau, by the hand of Lafayette, who was instructed to concert measures with the French general for the future operations of the allied armies. In compliment to the strangers and as a symbol of the alliance with them, Washington requested his officers to wear on their chapeaus white and black cockades.

When news of the arrival of the French at Newport reached New York, Clinton ordered the British fleet there to bear an army to Rhode Island to attack the newly arrived enemy. He detached about eight thousand men for that service. The militia of New England flew to arms, and the French longed for the British to come; but the expedition did not go out of Long Island Sound, and soon returned to New York. Clinton now attempted, by the aid of treason, to accomplish what he had failed to do by honorable warfare. The man who played the part of a traitor to the American cause on that occasion was General Benedict Arnold, a brave soldier, but a bad man. He was ambitious of personal renown, impulsive, rapacious, unscrupulous, and vindictive; personally very unpopular, and seldom without a quarrel with some of his fellow-officers. The sad story of his treason has been so often told in detail, that we need to give it in general outline only.

Soon after the appointment to the military governorship of Philadelphia, in 1788, he married the beautiful daughter of Edward Shippen, a leading loyalist of that city. He lived in a style which caused expenditure beyond his income, and to meet the demands of importunate creditors, he engaged in fraudulent and dishonorable official acts which caused the public to detest him. Finally serious charges of dishonesty were preferred against him before the Continental Congress and a court-martial ordered by that body to try him, found him guilty. In their sentence they treated him most leniently. It was a simple reprimand by the commander-in-chief. That duty was performed by Washington in the most delicate manner; but the disgrace awakened vengeful feelings in the bosom of Arnold. These, operating with the pressure of debt, made him listen to the suggestions of a bad nature; and he let Sir Henry Clinton know that he preferred service in the British army to that in which he was engaged. Correspondence upon the subject, which was continued several months, was conducted on the part of Sir Henry, through the accomplished Major John Andre, his adjutant-general, under an assumed name. So, also, did Arnold assume a fictitious name; and on the part of both, the correspondence was carried on in commercial phraseology. Arnold agreed to ask for the command of the strong post of West Point and its dependencies, in the Hudson

Highlands, and, if obtained, to betray it into the hands of Clinton. For this service Arnold was to receive the commission of brigadier in the British army, and fifty thousand dollars in gold. It is asserted by Mr. Bancroft, that in the course of the winter of 1778-1779, he was taken into the pay of Clinton, to whom he gave on every occasion most material intelligence."

The nefarious plot had been made known to the British minister, and he and Clinton believed that its consummation would end the war. In the spring of 1780, Arnold took measures to secure for himself the command of West Point. He enlisted the sympathies and services in his behalf of General Schuyler, Robert R. Livingston and other leading patriots of New York, pretending that his wounds would not permit him to do active service in the field, and that he was very anxious to serve his country. His professions of patriotism were so vehement that he deceived those men, and they united in recommending Washington to give him the important position. The latter had lost faith in Arnold's integrity, but could not believe him capable of treason to the cause. He finally yielded to the request of others more than to the dictates of his better judgment, and in August (1780) he placed Arnold in command of the Highland forts, with his headquarters at the house of Beverly Robinson (yet standing), opposite West Point. Then Arnold bent all his energies for the consummation of his treason, first requiring a personal interview with Andre, to make a definite arrangement about the terms of the bargain.

It was late in September before that personal interview was held. Washington, accompanied by Lafayette and Hamilton, crossed the Hudson at Verplanck's Point (where he was joined by Arnold), on his way to Hartford, to have his first personal conference with Rochambeau there. That was on the 18th. Arnold ascertained the time when they might be expected at West Point, on their return, and he resolved to bring the plot to a point ready for the final act before then. He immediately informed Clinton of the situation, and desired him to send Andre up the river to the Vulture sloop-of-war, then lying just above Teller's (now Croton) Point, to which a boat with a flag would be sent to convey the major to a selected place of meeting, between midnight and dawn. Clinton embarked troops on the Hudson, with a pretext that they were bound for the Chesapeake. These he intended to lead in person against the Highland forts.

On the morning of the 20th Andre departed from Dobb's Ferry for the Vulture, but it was the second night after his arrival, when the flag appeared, borne by Joshua H. Smith, a resident near Haverstraw. Andre had been instructed by Clinton not to change his dress and not to take any papers with him so, with his regimentals, covered with a long surtout, he went ashore, and met Arnold in bushes at the foot of Torn Mountain, near Haverstraw, by the light of a waning moon. Dawn was approaching before the interview was ended and the conspirators mounted horses which Arnold had provided, and rode to the house of Smith before the break of day. At sunrise, cannons were heard upon the river, and the Vulture was seen to fall down the stream, out of sight, to avoid the effects of artillery trained upon her at Teller's Point. This gave Andre uneasiness, for he would be compelled to return to New York by land.

The conference at Smith's house lasted several hours. It was agreed that Arnold should so distribute the garrison at West Point as to weaken it. When it should be known that the British

troops were ascending the river, Arnold was to apply to Washington at Tappan for reinforcements; and after making a show of resistance, he was to surrender the post in time for Clinton to fall upon the approaching troops which might be led by the commander-in-chief in person. So, at one blow, Washington's army was to be ruined, and the important post to be seized by the enemy.

Andre received from Arnold a written statement of the condition of the Highland forts, and a pass for "John Anderson" (his assumed name) "to the White Plains and beyond." With the latter in his pocket and the former under his feet, in his boots, the young officer, having exchanged his scarlet uniform for a coat that belonged to Mr. Smith, buttoned his surtout up to his chin, crossed the river at the King's Ferry, and on horseback made his way toward New York on the east side of the Hudson. So far the plot had worked well. Knowledge of the conspiracy was yet locked in the bosom of a single American - the traitor himself. But difficulties soon arose. When the major had reached the vicinity of Tarrytown, sixteen miles from the strong British post at King's Bridge, and was riding in fancied security up the gentle hill from Sleepy Hollow, he was suddenly confronted by three young militiamen - John Paulding, Isaac Van Wart, and David Williams - who belonged to a party of seven who were out to prevent cattle being driven from the vicinity to the British lines, and to arrest any suspicious characters on the highway. These young men were playing cards in the shadow of a wood by the road-side, when Andre appeared. Paulding, followed by his companions, stepped into the road, and presenting his bayonet ordered the well-dressed gentlemanly traveler to stop. Andre, supposing them to be Loyalists, said: "Gentlemen, I hope you belong to our party." "Which party?" asked Paulding. "The Lower party." Paulding answered misleadingly, "We do," when Andre said, "Gentlemen, I am a British officer, out in the country on particular business, and hope you will not detain me a minute." He then showed them his watch in token of his being an officer, when Paulding ordered him to dismount. Perceiving his mistake, Andre said: My God! I must do any thing to get along," and then showed them Arnold's pass. "Gentlemen," he said, "you had best let me go, or you will bring yourselves into trouble, for your stopping me will detain the general's business." He told them he was going to Dobbs' Ferry to meet a person there from whom he expected important intelligence for Arnold. Paulding courteously said: I hope you'll not be offended we do not intend to take any thing from you there are many bad people on the road, and you, perhaps, are one of them. Have you any letters?" He answered, "No." Then they took him into the bushes, and searched him. Andre was dressed in a blue surtout, a claret-colored body-coat trimmed with lace nankeen waistcoat and breeches flannel underclothes, round hat, and thread stockings, and boots. They stripped him to his shirt, but found no papers on him and they were about to let him go, when it was suggested that something might be concealed in his boots. He reluctantly obeyed an order to pull them off, when the papers alluded to were found between his stockings and his feet. This is a spy! exclaimed Paulding Andre offered them large bribes to release him. Not for ten thousand guineas," said Paulding and the three young men conducted their prisoner to Lieutenant-Colonel Jameson, who was in command of the nearest military post, at North Castle. Jameson, with amazing stupidity, resolved to send the prisoner to Arnold. Major Tallmadge, next in rank, suspecting the general of treachery, warmly remonstrated, when Jameson consented to confine the captive until he should receive orders from Washington or Arnold. He insisted upon writing a

letter to Arnold informing him of the arrest of the prisoner. This was a fatal blunder, and led to great mischief.

That night the prisoner wrote a letter to Washington, frankly announcing his name and rank, and giving a truthful account of the whole affair. He gave the letter to Tallmadge to read, who was astonished to find that the captive was Major Andre, adjutant-general of the British army. He was finally taken to the headquarters of the army at Tappan.

While these events were occurring, Washington was on his way from Hartford. On the morning of the 25th (September, 1780), he and his attendants left Fishkill before the dawn, and rode on with speed toward the Robinson house to breakfast with General and Mrs. Arnold. When near there, the chief turned down a lane to view a battery on the brink of the river, and told his young companions to go forward and he would soon join them. While they were at the table with the general, a messenger brought a letter to him from Jameson but instead of announcing, as he expected it would, that a British armament was ascending the river, it told him of the arrest of Major Andre. His presence of mind did not forsake him. He told his guests that business of importance demanded his presence at West Point immediately. He ascended to his wife's chamber and sent for her. There, in brief and hurried words, he told her that they must instantly part, perhaps forever, for his life depended upon his reaching the British lines as quickly as possible. Horror-stricken, the poor young creature, one year a mother but not two a bride, swooned and sank senseless upon the floor. Arnold dared not call for help, but kissing with lips blasted by words of guilt and treason, his boy then sweetly sleeping, he rushed from the room, mounted a horse belonging to one of his guests, and hastened to the river along a byway yet known as Arnold's Path. Then he entered his barge, and directed his six oarsmen to push out into the middle of the river and pull for Teller's Point. They were ignorant of his errand, and having their muscles stimulated by a promise of two gallons of rum, they rowed the little vessel swiftly down the stream to the Vulture. Having made himself known to the commander, Arnold rewarded his faithful men with the fate of prisoners instead of the promised beverage. Clinton, despising the traitor's meanness, set them at liberty when the Vulture arrived at New York.

Washington arrived at Robinson's house just after Arnold had left. No one there, excepting Mrs. Arnold in her chamber, knew of the traitor's flight. Supposing he had gone over to West Point, the chief crossed the river, and did not return until near noon. He was met near the landing-place by Hamilton, into whose hand a messenger from Jameson had placed the proof of Arnold's guilt - the papers taken from Andre's boots, and the major's letter to Washington. Efforts were immediately made to overtake the traitor, but he had four hours the start, and escaped, as we have observed. The fugitive's wife was crazed by the shock for several hours, and her condition excited the warmest sympathy of the chief and his attendants. She pressed her infant to her bosom and lamented his fate because of the conduct of his father. "All the sweetness of beauty, all the loveliness of innocence, all the tenderness of a wife, and all the fondness of a mother," wrote Colonel Hamilton, showed themselves in her appearance and conduct." They believed that she was entirely ignorant of his crime until it was revealed to her at the time of his flight.

Major Andre was tried at Tappan by fourteen general officers, found guilty, and hanged there on the 2nd October, 1780. He begged to be shot that he might die like a soldier and not as a slave. In a letter to Washington he pleaded with touching but manly earnestness for this boon. That letter has been thus paraphrased in verse, by Willis:

It is not the fear of death that damps my brow, It is not for another breath, I ask thee now; I can die with a lip unstir'd, and a quiet heart - Let but this prayer he heard ere I depart.

I can give up my mother's look - my sister's kiss; I can think of love - yet brook a death like this! I can give up die young fame I burn'd to win; All - but the spotless name I glory in.

Thine is the power to give, thine to deny Joy for the hour I live, calmness to die. By all the brave should cherish, by my dying breath, I ask that I may perish by a soldier's death."

The usage of both armies and the implacable demands of the military code toward a spy forbade a compliance with his wishes. The British officers, on all occasions, had been quick to hang American captives. We have seen how brutally they gibbeted young Nathan Hale; and scores of patriots in South Carolina had recently perished by the rope by order of Cornwallis, for no other offence than loving the service of their own country better than that of their oppressors. Every officer in the American army would gladly have exchanged Andre for Arnold, and efforts to accomplish that end were made, but failed. Arnold died in his bed twenty one years afterward while Andre, the more innocent victim of the wicked complot of Clinton and Arnold, perished on a gibbet four days after he was convicted. The last words of Andre to the multitude who saw him die were - "I pray you bear me witness that I met my fate like a brave man." The American people and their annalists have ever done so. His king knighted his brother, and pensioned his mother and sisters; and the custodians of Westminster Abbey dishonored that sanctuary of the virtuous and noble dead of the kingdom, by allowing a conspicuous monument to his memory to be placed in it. Arnold escaped punishment altogether, for his was too coarse a nature to suffer the mental anguish of remorse. He was shunned and neglected by those who accepted the treason but despised the traitor, excepting the king and a few persons in office; and he died in London, in poverty and obscurity. His children were placed on the pension-list of the realm.

The captors of Andre - the three young militiamen - were rewarded by the Congress with a vote of thanks; and to each was awarded a commemorative medal of silver and two hundred dollars a year for life. At the burial place of each a marble monument has been erected; and another marks the spot where Andre was arrested.

The year 1780 now drew to a close, yet the patriots were far from being subdued. The British government had expended vast sums of money and many precious lives in endeavors to subjugate them, and had involved the nation in a war with France, as a consequence. Yet English pluck would not yield an iota to adverse circumstances. Great Britain seemed to acquire fresh vigor when any new obstacle presented itself. Seemingly unmindful of the fact that large French land and naval forces were on the shores of America, the British ministry, when satisfied that Holland

would give national aid to the rebellious colonies," caused a declaration of war to be made against that power by the king, and procured from Parliament immense appropriations of men and money, ships and stores, to sustain the power of the empire on land and sea. British cruisers had already depredated upon Dutch commerce in times of peace; and the British government treated the Netherlands more as a vassal than as an independent nation. So early as May (1780) the British minister at the Hague had been instructed to inform his government concerning the current voyages of Dutch merchantmen, "that the British cruisers might know where to go for the richest prizes."

To prevent Holland joining the Armed-Neutrality league, the ministry sought a decent pretext for making war on that republic. It was found in October (1780) when Henry Laurens, late president of the Congress, who had been authorized by that body a year before to negotiate a commercial treaty with Holland and for a loan of ten million dollars from that government, was captured on the high seas by a British cruiser. Among his papers (which he threw into the sea, but which were recovered) were found an unofficial copy of a treaty with the Netherlands, and evidence that such negotiations had been going on between Holland and the United States. Here was the coveted pretext. Laurens was confined as a state prisoner in the Tower of London under circumstances of great severity, and on the 20th of December, the king declared war against Holland. Before his declaration had been promulgated, and while efforts were a-making at the Hague to conciliate England and avoid war, British cruisers pounced upon and captured two hundred unsuspecting Dutch merchantmen, laden with cargoes valued at more than five million dollars; and orders had gone forth for the seizure of the Dutch island of St. Eustatius. It was a cruel and unjust war, and deepened the hatred of Continental Europe for Great Britain. That government was regarded as a bully ready to oppress and plunder the weak.

Notwithstanding the Americans were not subdued at the close of 1780, their cause was in great peril from the weakness of its material props. The condition of the currency was an impediment to all vigorous measures. A wagon-load of money would scarcely buy a wagon-load of provisions." The States were urged to supply quotas of funds for the common use, but their responses were slow and feeble, and there was no central power competent to levy taxes or demand forced loans. A closer union and greater power in the general government were essential to success, and wise patriots in every position appealed to the people in favor of a stronger government. General Greene, who, as quartermaster-general, saw clearly the public needs, wrote in June, 1780: The Congress have lost their influence. I have for a long time seen the necessity of some new plan of civil constitution. Unless there is some control over the States by the Congress, we shall soon be like a broken band." There was a spirit of patriotism among the people ample to meet the great emergency; but legislators lacked wisdom to grasp the problem. While the people yearned for a closer union and a truly national government, Virginia was contending for State supremacy. The legislators of that State agreed with John Adams, who wrote that the assembly in any State was every way adequate to the management of all the federal concerns of the people of America, because Congress is not a legislative assembly, nor a representative assembly, but a diplomatic assembly."

At a convention of delegates from three New England States, held in Philadelphia in August, 1780, it was resolved that the national concerns should be "under the superintendency and direction of one supreme head," and recommended the investment of the Congress with such power. These words powerfully impressed the mind of young Hamilton, who was then a member of Washington's military family and his able secretary. He invited Mr. Duane, a representative of New York in the Congress, to propose in that body a convention of all the States in November following, and submitted a general plan for a national government, not in form but in concrete suggestions, full of wisdom and evidences of sound statesmanship. He said, truly, that the plan for a confederation which the Congress had adopted, and was awaiting the ratification of the several States, was neither fit for war or peace, saying The idea of uncontrollable sovereignty in each State will defeat the powers given to Congress, and make our union feeble and precarious." At the same time Washington, who, from the beginning, had urged the necessity of a permanent military force, now pleaded for a system of enlistments for the war," and other reforms in the army. "We have lived," he wrote, "upon expedients till we can live no longer. The history of this war is a history of temporary devices instead of a system." The Congress took measures for "reforming the army," but that body was powerless, and cast the burden of responsibility upon the several States.

Chapter LXXXIII

Patriotism of the Soldiers Remarkably displayed - A Mutiny Supressed - John Laurens and a French Loan - Articles of Confederation - A Bank Established - Greene Succeeds Gates - Cunningham's Atrocities - Battle at the Cowpens - Greene Chased by Cornwallis - Battle at Guildford Court-House - Fox and Pitt on American Affairs - Arnold in Virginia - Depredations by Phillips and Arnold - Lafayette and Steuben in Virginia - Cornwallis and Lafayette - Capturing Expeditions Foiled - Cornwallis Marches for the Sea-Coast - Orders from Clinton - Cornwallis Seated at Yorktown.

THE seventh year of the old war for independence (1781) opened with an extraordinary display of patriotism on the part of the Continental soldiers. Always lacking means for the prompt performance of their legitimate duties, the Congress were ever dilatory in carrying out their promises embodied in resolutions. The consequence was that the army suffered great privations for want of money and clothing. Not comprehending the real weakness of the Congress, loud complaints were uttered that sometimes grew into the manifestations of a mutinous spirit. The tardiness in exchanging prisoners, and the seeming neglect of them by the Congress, had been a source of much dissatisfaction from the time when the sugar-houses and churches in the city of New York were made prisons for the reception of American captives taken on Long Island and at Fort Washington in 1776. Their sufferings in those sugar-houses, three in number, and in the Provost prison under the wicked rule of Marshall Cunningham, were very terrible. The story of the horrors of those prisons and of the prison-ships near New York form some of the darkest chapters in human history.

At the time we are considering there was great dissatisfaction in the army because of the official interpretation of the words for three years or during the war," in the terms of enlistment of the private soldiers. The latter claimed that it meant for three years if the war continued, or to be discharged sooner if the war should cease. The official interpretation was that it meant for three years or longer if the war continued. This matter, the promises of Congress repeatedly broken, and the real sufferings of the soldiers at that time from lack of necessaries for themselves and their families, partly on account of the worthlessness of the Continental money, caused thirteen hundred men of the Pennsylvania line to march from the camp at Morristown for Princeton, on the first of January, 1781, with the avowed intention of going to Philadelphia and, in person, demanding justice at the hands of Congress. General Wayne, their commander, tried by threats and persuasions to induce them to return to their duty. They regarded their time of enlistment as fulfilled; and when he placed himself before them and cocked his pistol, they presented bayonets at his breast, declaring that much as they loved and respected him, they would put him to death instantly if he should fire. He appealed to their patriotism. Finding they would not listen to him, he resolved to accompany them. At Princeton they gave him a written list of their demands. They appeared reasonable. He caused them to be laid before Congress, who promptly complied with them as far as possible, and disbanded a larger portion of the Pennsylvania line for the winter, which was filled by new recruits in the spring.

When Sir Henry Clinton heard of this movement, he mistook the spirit of the mutineers and hoped to gain great advantage from the revolt. He passed over to Staten Island with troops to support them, and sent two emissaries among them, with a New Jersey Tory, bearing an offer to pay them the arrearages of their wages in hard cash, clothe them well, give each a free pardon, and take them under the protection of the British government if they should lay down their arms and march to New York. The soldiers treated his offers with scorn. "See, comrades," said one of them, "he takes us for traitors. Let us show him that the American army can furnish but one Arnold, and that America has no truer friends than we." They immediately seized the emissaries, and handed them over to Wayne to be tried as spies. They were found guilty and executed. The reward which had been offered for the apprehension of the emissaries was tendered to the soldiers, when they crowned their act of patriotism by refusing it, saying: "Necessity wrung from us the act of demanding justice from Congress, but we desire no reward for doing our duty to our bleeding country."

At the middle of January, a part of the New Jersey line followed the example of the Pennsylvanians. Washington, perceiving the danger of allowing troops to obtain even their just rights by mutinous ways, promptly put down this second revolt by force of arms, and hanged two of the ringleaders. These measures of justice and harshness had a salutary effect. The Congress and the people saw the necessity for more efficient measures for the support of the army, and the former sent young Colonel John Laurens abroad to negotiate loans from France. Laurens bore a letter from Washington to Vergennes, setting forth the absolute need of aid at that time, and another from the chief to Franklin, written in a similar strain. Lafayette also sent by the same hand an urgent memorial to Vergennes. When the special ambassador one day stood before that minister, and in eloquent words in the French language pressed his errand, Vergennes said coldly, that the king had "every reason to favor the United States." These words and the manner of the minister kindled the indignation of the young diplomatist, and he replied, with emphasis: "Favor, Sir! The respect which I owe to my country will not admit the term. Say that the obligation was mutual, and I will acknowledge the obligation. But, as the last argument, I shall offer to your excellency this: The sword which I now wear in defence of France as well as of my own country, unless the succor I solicit is immediately accorded, I may be compelled, within a short time, to draw against France, as a British subject." This assertion had the intended effect. Nothing was more dreaded by France at that moment than a reconciliation between Great Britain and her colonies, and a cessation of the war for independence. A subsidy of one million two hundred thousand dollars, and a further sum as a loan, were granted. At the same time the necessity for a closer union was generally felt by the Americans, and the imperfect plan for a national government known as the Articles of Confederation, already described, was ratified by the requisite number of States, on the 1st of March, 1781. In May following an amendment was offered by Mr. Madison, for establishing a stronger central government. The same month Pelatiah Webster published a pamphlet in which he recommended a convention to revise the Articles.

The ratification of the defective constitution was also followed in May (1781) by the submission of a financial plan by Robert Morris for raising money for the support of the army, which seemed ready to be disbanded by their own act. It was perceived that the Congress had no

power to enforce taxation. Morris proposed the establishment of a bank at Philadelphia with a capital of four hundred thousand dollars, the promissory notes of which should be a legal-tender currency to be received in payment of all taxes, duties and debts, due the United States. The plan was approved by the Congress, and that financial agent of the government was chartered with the title of The President and Directors of the Bank of North America. With the able guidance of Mr. Morris, who was the Secretary of the Treasury, that corporation furnished adequate means for saving the Continental army from disbanding. He collected the taxes, and he used his private fortune freely for the public welfare.

The chief theatre of war continued to be in the South, where it was prosecuted with energy during a greater portion of 1781. On the 30th of October, 1780, General Nathaniel Greene was appointed to succeed Gates in command of the troops in the Southern States. Congress, perceiving their folly in making the Southern Department independent, gave Greene all the power which they had conferred upon their favorite, but "subject to the control of the commander-in-chief." This unity of the military forces had a most salutary effect. Greene hastened southward and leaving Steuben in Virginia, to collect and forward troops, he reached Charlotte on the 2nd of December, where he received a complaint from Cornwallis concerning the ten Tory prisoners who were hung on the tulip tree at King's Mountain. That complaint Greene quickly silenced, by sending to the earl a list of full fifty patriots who had been hanged by his orders, in South Carolina, because they were patriots at the same time he avowed his determination to be governed by the principles of humanity, whatever the British commander might do to the contrary. Greene and his subordinates adhered to this principle, while the British leaders ridiculed the idea of extending mercy to the "rebels," whom they held to be traitors to the king and deserving of death. One of the most noted of the executors of the British will, in this regard, was Colonel William Cunningham, who was ordered by Colonel Balfour at Charleston to carry terror into the interior of South Carolina. At the head of a hundred and fifty white men and negroes, he carried out these orders during the winter of 1781. He killed every person suspected of being favorable to the American cause, and burned their houses. Full a hundred persons were murdered by this British agent, with the approval of his masters.

General Greene, with his usual energy, at once prepared to fight or pursue the enemy, as circumstances might require. He arranged his army in two divisions. With the main force he took post at Cheraw, east of the Pedee River, and sent General Daniel Morgan, the heroic leader at Saratoga, with about a thousand men, to occupy the country near the junction of the Broad and Pacolet rivers in Western South Carolina. Cornwallis, who was just preparing to march into North Carolina again, now found himself in a position of danger, for he was between two hostile forces. Unwilling to leave Morgan in his rear, he sent Tarleton to capture or disperse his troops. Before this superior force Morgan retreated over rivers and small streams, and through tangled marshes, to the Thicketty Mountains, in Spartanburg District, not far from the North Carolina line. There, near a place called The Cowpens, where great herds of cattle were salted and marked by their owners, Morgan encamped on a plain covered by an open pine forest; and there he was overtaken by Tarleton, and compelled to fly again or fight. The brave soldier chose the latter, and with deliberation prepared for battle. About four hundred of his best men he arranged in battle

order on a little rising ground - Maryland light infantry under Lieutenant-Colonel John Eager Howard composing the centre, and Virginia riflemen forming the wings. Eighty dragoons, led by Lieutenant-Colonel William Washington, were placed out of sight as a reserve, and about four hundred Carolinians and Georgians under Pickens were in the advance to defend the approaches to the camp. North Carolina and Georgia sharpshooters acted as skirmishers on each flank.

Such was the disposition of Morgan's little army when, at eight o'clock on the morning of the 17th of January, 1781, Tarleton, with eleven hundred troops, horse and foot, with two pieces of cannon, rushed upon the republicans with loud shouts. A furious battle ensued. In a skillful movement in the form of a feigned retreat, Morgan turned so suddenly upon his pursuers, who believed the victory was secured for them, that they wavered. Seeing this, Howard charged the British line with bayonets, broke their ranks, and sent them flying in confusion. At that moment Washington's cavalry suddenly broke from their concealment, and made a successful charge upon Tarleton's horsemen. The enemy was completely routed, and were pursued almost twenty miles in their eager flight. In this Battle of the Cowpens the Americans lost only seventy-two killed and wounded; the British lost over three hundred killed and wounded, and more than five hundred prisoners. The spoils were cannon, horses, wagons, eight hundred muskets, and two standards. The two cannon had been taken from the British at Saratoga, and were retaken by them at Camden. Tarleton's immense baggage, which he had left in the rear, was destroyed by his own men to prevent its being taken by the Americans. The Congress gave Morgan their thanks and a gold medal for his brilliant victory, and to Lieutenant-Colonels Howard and Washington each a silver medal.

At the close of the battle, Morgan pushed forward with his prisoners across the Broad River intending to pass the Catawba River and make his way toward Virginia. When Cornwallis heard of Tarleton's defeat, he started in pursuit of Morgan, with his whole army, as little encumbered with baggage as possible. He hoped to intercept the Americans at the fords of the Catawba, but he was too late. Morgan had crossed two hours before the arrival of the earl. Feeling sure of his prey, Cornwallis deferred crossing the river until morning. A heavy rain during the night swelled the stream to its brim, and he was kept back many hours. Meanwhile Morgan had reached the banks of the Yadkin, where he was joined by Greene. The latter, on hearing of the fight at the Cowpens, had left the camp at Cheraw in command of General Huger, and hastened to confer with Morgan. On the way he heard of the pursuit by Cornwallis, and sent back an order to Huger to break up the camp and join Morgan at Salisbury or Charlotte, in North Carolina. Cornwallis had been joined by troops from Camden under General Leslie; and at Ramsour's Mills (where, in June, 1780, North Carolina militia and a body of Loyalists had a sharp fight), he ordered all superfluous baggage and wagons to be destroyed. It was the 31st of January when Greene reached Morgan's camp on the Yadkin.

Now began one of the most remarkable military movements on record. It was the retreat of the Americans under Greene from the Catawba into Virginia, closely pursued by Cornwallis for about two hundred miles. When the waters of the Catawba had subsided, the earl had renewed the chase after Morgan and he reached the western shore of the Yadkin (February 3) just as the

Americans had formed for marching, on the eastern bank. Swelling floods again arrested the pursuers. Onward the retreating army pressed, but Cornwallis could not cross and give chase until the next day. At Guilford Court-House Greene was joined by his forces from the Pedee, but being still too weak to fight the stronger pursuers, he continued his flight, with the whole army, to the Dan, which he reached on the 13th of February. The wearied troops crossed the rising flood and found repose in the bosom of Halifax county, in Virginia. The earl, unable to cross the ford because of the high water, discomfited a third time by the elements, gave up the chase, turned his face southward, and moving sullenly back through North Carolina, established his headquarters at Hillsborough.

Greene remained in Virginia only long enough to rest and recruit his army, when he recrossed the Dan (February 23) with the intention of frustrating the efforts of Cornwallis to embody the Loyalists of North Carolina into military corps. The gallant Colonel Henry Lee, with his legion, was with Greene. At the head of his cavalry he scoured the country around the headwaters of the Haw and Deep rivers, where, by force and stratagem, he foiled Tarleton, who was recruiting among the Tories there. On the 2nd of March he deceived Colonel Pyle, who was at the head of three hundred Loyalists, and near the Allamance Creek attacked, defeated, and dispersed his men. Tarleton, who was near, fled in alarm to Hillsborough, and the disheartened Tories returned to their homes. "I am among timid friends and adjoining inveterate rebels," Cornwallis wrote.

General Greene, in the meantime, had moved cautiously forward, and on the first of March found himself in command of almost five thousand effective troops. Feeling strong enough to cope with the earl, he sought an opportunity to fight him. The earl, too, was anxious to attack Greene, and on the 15th of March they met and contended fiercely near Guilford Court-House, not far from the present Greensborough, in Guilford county, North Carolina. Greene had encamped within eight miles of the earl on the evening of the 14th. The latter had been trying to bring on an engagement with the Americans, and on the morning of the 15th, he moved against Greene. The latter was prepared to receive his enemy. His main camp was upon a large hill surrounded by smaller ones, and all were covered with a forest of magnificent old trees, and thick underwood. Greene had sixteen hundred and fifty of the best veteran Continental troops, and two thousand militia. Cornwallis had nineteen hundred of the finest British veterans.

Greene disposed his army in three positions - the first at the edge of the woods on the greater hill the second in the forest three hundred yards in the rear, and the third a little more than a fourth of a mile in the rear of the second. The first was composed of North Carolina militia, not quite eleven hundred in number and mostly raw recruits, commanded by Generals Butler and Eaton. They had two 6-pounders, with Washington's cavalry on the right wing and Lee's legion, with Campbell's militia, on the left wing. Their position was a very advantageous one. At a little past noon the British appeared on their front in full force, and, under cover of cannon-firing, they delivered a volley of musketry as they approached the Americans, and then, with a shout, rushed forward with their bayonets. The American militia fled after firing one or two volleys, when the victors, without halting, pressed on and attacked the second line composed of Virginia militia under Generals Stevens and Lawson. These were used to forest warfare and made a stout

resistance for awhile, when they, too, fell back upon the regulars of the third line. Thus far the fight had been carried on by the British with their right, which was commanded by General Leslie; now Colonel Webster, who commanded the left, pressed forward with his division, in the face of a terrible fire of musketry and grape-shot. Greene commanded the Americans in person and nearly the whole of the two armies were now in conflict. The battle lasted about two hours, when Greene, ignorant of the heavy losses of his enemy, ordered a retreat, leaving his cannon and the field to the British.

This was one of the sharpest battles of the war, and was disastrous to both armies. The Americans lost about four hundred killed and wounded, and a thousand who deserted to their homes the loss of the British was about six hundred. Among their mortally wounded was Colonel Webster. "Another such victory," said Charles James Fox in the House of Commons, "will ruin the British army." Fox moved (June 12) to recommend the ministers to conclude a peace, at once, with the Americans. On the same day, William Pitt, son of the great Chatham, and then only twenty two years of age, spoke of the war against the Americans as a "most accursed one, wicked, barbarous, cruel, and unnatural conceived in injustice, it was brought forth and nurtured in folly." "Its footsteps are marked with slaughter and devastation, while it meditates destruction to the miserable people who are the devoted objects of the resentments which produced it." Fox said: "America is lost, irrevocably lost to the country. We can lose nothing by a vote declaring America independent."

The battle at Guilford put an end to British domination in North Carolina. The forces of Cornwallis were too much shattered for him to maintain the advantage he had gained; so after issuing a proclamation, in which he boasted of his victory, called the Tories to rally to his standard and offered pardon to the "rebels," he moved, with his whole army, toward Wilmington, near the sea-board, while Greene retreated to the Reedy Fork. To these commanders might have been appropriately applied the line of a Scotch ballad: "They baith did fight; they baith did beat; they baith did run away."

When Greene heard of the earl's retreat, he pursued him as far as the Deep River, whence he turned back and moved toward Camden with a determination to strike a blow for the recovery of South Carolina.

Virginia, with great generosity, had sent her best troops to assist the Carolinians in their attempts to throw off the yoke of the oppressor. To prevent this movement, or to call back the Virginians to the defence of their State and so aid Cornwallis in his subjugation of the Carolinas, Arnold the traitor was sent with a marauding party of British and Tories, about sixteen hundred in number, with some armed vessels, to plunder, distress, and alarm the people of that State. In no other way could Arnold be employed by his master, for respectable British officers refused to serve with him in the army. The traitor appeared in Hampton Roads, with his motley host, at the close of December, and, ascending the James River in armed vessels and transports, he landed, with about a thousand men, at Westover, on the 2nd of January, 1781. The Baron de Steuben had been left in Virginia by Greene, as we have observed, to gather up and discipline the levies

voted by that State for the Southern army; and on the appearance of this new danger, the militia flocked to his standard. Believing Petersburg to be Arnold's chief object, the Baron kept his small force on the southern side of the James River; but Arnold pushed on toward Richmond from Westover, to plunder the tobacco warehouses there. He offered to spare the town if his vessels might be permitted to carry away his plunder unmolested. The proposition was rejected with scorn by Governor Jefferson, when the invader applied the torch and laid the village and stores, public and private, in ashes. Then he withdrew to Westover, and re-embarked for a marauding raid down the river. He was pursued by Steuben and General Nelson, with Virginia militia; and having been warned by Admiral Arbuthnot, that French vessels from Rhode Island were on their way to the Chesapeake, Arnold fled up the Elizabeth River and made his headquarters at Portsmouth, opposite Norfolk.

Great efforts were made by the Americans to capture and punish Arnold. Jefferson offered five thousand guineas for his arrest, and Washington detached Lafayette, with twelve hundred troops drawn from the New England and the New Jersey levies, to march to Virginia to assist in protecting that State and catching the traitor. For the same purpose some French war-vessels were sent to the Chesapeake from Rhode Island in March, but as they could not go up the Elizabeth River, they soon returned to Newport.

Late in March, General Phillips, who had been sent from New York to Virginia with two thousand picked men, joined Arnold, and took the chief command. They went up the James River to plunder and ravage, and to attempt the subjugation of the State. They carried away or destroyed a vast amount of stores, and they also plundered the plantations of slaves and sent them to the West Indies to be sold. This formidable invasion caused widespread alarm. Lafayette was on his way, and Wayne was preparing to follow with Pennsylvanians. By a forced march of two hundred miles, the marquis reached Richmond at the close of April, twelve hours before Phillips and Arnold appeared on the opposite side of the river. He had just been joined by militia under Steuben, and they held the invaders in check. Two weeks later Phillips died at Petersburg of a malignant fever, when the command devolved upon Arnold a few days, until the arrival of Cornwallis, who, abandoning North Carolina, had marched into Virginia, hoping by that movement to draw Greene away from Lord Rawdon, then encamped at Camden. The earl so heartily despised Arnold that he could not endure him in his camp, and he sent him to New York. During the few days that the latter was in command he wrote an official letter to Lafayette, who returned it unopened, for he would have no communication with a traitor. One day Arnold found an intelligent young man among his prisoners, and questioned him respecting the feelings of his countrymen. If the Americans should catch me, what would they do with me?" he asked. The prisoner promptly replied: They would bury, with military honors, your leg wounded at Quebec and Saratoga, and hang the rest of you."

Cornwallis determined to make the Virginians feel his power. He seized all the fine horses he could find along the James River, with which he mounted almost six hundred cavalry, whom he sent after Lafayette, then not far distant from Richmond, with three thousand troops, waiting for Wayne and his Pennsylvanians. The vigilant marquis fell slowly back, keeping north of the earl.

He crossed the South and North Anna rivers, and at Raccoon's Ford, on the Rapid Anna River, he met Wayne with eight hundred men. Cornwallis had pursued him as far as Hanover Court-House, from which place the earl sent Lieutenant-Colonel Simcoe, with his Queen's Rangers, to capture or destroy stores in charge of Steuben at the Point of Forks, at the junction of the Rivanna and Fluvanna rivers. Steuben, warned of his approach, had taken most of his stores beyond the Fluvanna, which Simcoe's horses could not ford. Tarleton had been detached at the same time with orders to capture Governor Jefferson and the members of the Virginia legislature at Charlottesville, whither they had fled from Richmond. Only seven of the law-makers were captured. Jefferson narrowly escaped by fleeing from his house on horseback, accompanied by a single servant, and hiding himself in the mountains. He had left his dwelling only ten minutes before one of Tarleton's officers entered it.

Cornwallis was now at Jefferson's Elk Hill plantation, near the Point of Forks, where he committed the most wanton destruction of property, cutting the throats of young horses not fit for service, slaughtering the cattle, burning the barns with the crops of the previous year, and destroying the growing ones, laying all the fences on the estate in ashes, and carrying away about thirty slaves. The agile Lafayette had now turned upon the earl. The latter supposing the forces of the marquis to be much greater than they really were, turned his face toward the sea-coast and retreated down the peninsula to Williamsburg, making his pathway a black line of desolation. It is estimated that during this invasion of Virginia, from the advent of Arnold in January, until Cornwallis reached Williamsburg late in June, property to the value of fifteen million dollars was destroyed, and thirty thousand slaves were carried off. The British had been closely followed by Lafayette, Wayne and Steuben, and were allowed to rest at Williamsburg. They were there reinforced, and were protected by shipping.

A few days after reaching Williamsburg, Cornwallis received an order from Sir Henry Clinton to send three thousand of his troops to New York, then menaced by the combined American and French forces. Clinton also directed the earl to take a defensive position in Virginia at some healthy location, and fortify it. This order greatly irritated the earl, for he regarded it as an intentional frustration of his own plan for an active campaign in Virginia. He aspired to Clinton's place, and was a favorite of Germain. Clinton knew that, and for a long time the two commanders had been excessively jealous of each other.

Cornwallis, satisfied that after he should send away so large a detachment of his army he could not cope with Lafayette, determined to cross the James River and make his way to Portsmouth. This movement was accelerated by the bold attitude of the republican troops, who were pressing close upon him. On the 6th of July, a detachment sent out by Wayne to capture a British field-piece, boldly resisted a large portion of Cornwallis's army, as the former fell back to Lafayette's main force near the Green Spring plantation, the estate of Governor Berkeley, where a sharp skirmish occurred, in which the marquis had a horse shot under him, and each party lost about a hundred men. The blow was so severe that Cornwallis hastened to cross the river, which he did on the 9th of July, and marched without further molestation to Portsmouth. Disliking that situation, he went to Yorktown, on the York River, and there, upon a high and healthful plain, he

established a fortified camp. He also threw up strong military works at Gloucester, on the opposite side of the river. Here we will leave the earl, while we take a brief survey of military events in the Carolinas.

Chapter LXXXIV

Battle between Greene and Rawdon near Camden - Rawdon Abandons Camden - Capture of British Posts - Patriotism of Mrs. Motte - Siege and Capture of Augusta - Siege of Fort Ninety-Six - Greene Raises the Siege and Pursues Rawdon - The Brave Emily Geiger - Greene on the High Hills of Santee - Murder of Isaac Hayne - Greene Pursues Stewart - Battle at Eutaw Springs - Greene Returns to the Santee Hills - The British Driven into Charleston - Junction of the American and French Troops - Arnold's Raid into Connecticut - Gathering of Troops at Williamsburg - Siege at Yorktown - Surrender of Cornwallis.

GREENE perceived that the possession of the interior of South Carolina depended on the posts at Camden and Ninety-Six, and he resolved to capture them. Lord Rawdon was in command at Camden with a force nine hundred in number, and strongly entrenched. When Greene relinquished the pursuit of Cornwallis, he marched directly against Rawdon, and arrived within a mile of his entrenchments on the 19th of April, 1781. The works were too strong for Greene's force to assail, and the latter were not numerous enough to invest them and begin a siege; so he withdrew to Hobkirk's Hill, a well-wooded eminence northward of Camden, and encamped within a mile and a half of Rawdon's entrenchments, where he awaited expected reinforcements under Sumter. There, on the 24th, he heard of the capture of a post at Wright's Bluff, below Camden, by Marion and Lee, and was impatient to fall upon Rawdon, for he was informed that almost five hundred troops were marching up the Santee to reinforce the latter. That night a drummer deserted to the enemy, and informed Rawdon of the weakness of Greene and his expectation of reinforcements immediately. Rawdon's provisions were almost exhausted, he saw no chance for success in battle excepting in an immediate surprise and attack. So he prepared to fall upon Greene early in the morning of the 25th.

At dawn Greene's cavalry, who had been on duty all night, were dismounted, their horses were unsaddled, and they were taking refreshments preparatory to a few hours repose. Some of the other soldiers were washing their clothes, and Greene and his staff were at a spring on the eastern slope of Hobkirk's Hill, at breakfast. Rawdon had sallied out with his whole garrison, and by marching unperceived along the margin of a swamp, had gained the left flank of the Americans. Greene, partially surprised, quickly formed his little army in battle-line. His cavalry were immediately remounted. The Virginia brigade under General Huger, with Lieutenant-Colonels Campbell and Hawes, formed the right the Maryland brigade (with Delaware troops under Kirkwood), led by Colonel Williams, with Colonel Gunby and Lieutenant-Colonels Ford and Howard, occupied the left, and the artillery under Colonel Harrison were in the centre, on the road. Washington's cavalry were directed to make a circuit through the woods and fall upon the rear of the enemy, and North Carolina militia were held as a reserve. In this position Greene prepared to receive the on-coming Rawdon. As the British troops moved slowly up the slope, with a narrow front, the regiments of Campbell and Ford were ordered to turn their flanks, and Gunby's Marylanders to assail their front with bayonets, without firing. The battle now opened with great vigor, the Virginians led by Greene in person. The artillery hurled grape-shot with deadly effect, when the British line wavered, and the Americans felt sure of gaining a victory. At

that moment Captain Beatty, commanding a company of Gunby's veterans, was killed, and his followers gave way. Unfortunately an order followed for the whole regiment to retire, when the British broke through the American centre, pushed up the brow of the hill, and forced Greene to retreat. Washington, meanwhile, had succeeded in capturing about two hundred of the British soldiers, whose officers he quickly paroled and in the retreat he carried away fifty of the captives. The Americans were chased a short distance, when Washington, turning upon his pursuers, by a gallant charge checked them. Greene saved all of his artillery and baggage, rallied his men at Rugeley's, crossed the Wateree River above Camden, and took a strong position to rest before marching on Ninety-Six. The loss of each was less than two hundred and seventy. This defeat was unexpected to Greene, and disconcerted him at first, but his genius and courage were equal to the occasion.

Rawdon followed Greene a little way beyond the Wateree, but finding the communication between Camden and Charleston broken by American partisans, he resolved to abandon the whole country north of the Congaree. He ordered Colonel Cruger to leave Fort Ninety-Six, and join a British force at Augusta; and on the 10th of May, after burning his stores and public and private buildings at Camden, Rawdon left that post forever, and marched down to Nelson's Ferry on the Santee, to drive off Marion and Lee, then besieging Fort Motte. But within six days afterward the post at Nelson's Ferry, Fort Granby near the site of the city of Columbia, Fort Motte on the Congaree, and Orangeburg near the waters of the Edisto, fell into the hands of the Americans. Fort Motte was composed of the fine residence of Mrs. Rebecca Motte (a widowed mother with six children), and temporary fortifications constructed around it. Mrs. Motte was an ardent Whig, and had been driven from her house by the British. She had taken refuge at her farm-house on a hill near by, when Marion and Lee approached with a considerable force. They had no artillery, and could make only a slight impression upon the fort. What was to be done had to be done quickly. Lee proposed to dislodge the enemy by hurling some combustible material upon the roof of the building and setting it on fire. Mrs. Motte readily consented to the destruction of her property. She brought out a strong Indian bow and some arrows, and with these a soldier, expert in their use, sent fire to the dry roof. When it burst into a flame, the alarmed garrison, one hundred and sixty-five in number, surrendered. The patriotic owner then regaled both the American and British officers with a good dinner at her own table.

Marion now hastened to attack a British post at Georgetown and Lee pushed forward toward the Savannah to aid Pickens and Clarke in holding the country between Ninety-Six and Augusta, to prevent the garrison at either place joining the other. In this they were successful. Rawdon's order to Cruger to evacuate Ninety-Six reached him when the pathway between that post and Augusta was closed by the partisan rangers; and Rawdon, alarmed by the rapid and successful movements of these partisans, fled toward the sea-coast, and did not halt until he reached Monks Corners, well down toward Charleston. Pickens and Clarke had kept watch over the British at Augusta, and when, on the 20th of May, they were joined by Lee, they proceeded to invest the fort there. Fort Galphin, twelve miles below Augusta, was taken on the 21st of May, and then an officer was sent to demand the surrender of the main fort. Lieutenant-Colonel Brown, one of the most cruel of the Tories of that region, who was in command, refused to surrender, when a

regular siege began. A general assault was about to be made on the 4th of June, when Brown proposed to surrender, and on the following day this important post passed into the hands of the Americans. In that siege the Americans lost fifty-one killed and wounded, and the British parted with fifty-two in the same way, and over three hundred made prisoners. At the close of the siege, Lee and Pickens hastened to Ninety-Six, then beleaguered by the forces of Greene.

Kosciuszko was Greene's chief engineer, and with that skillful officer he began the siege of Ninety-Six on the 22nd of May, with about a thousand men. The garrison numbered five hundred and fifty. The post was well fortified, and Cruger was a brave soldier. Some troops having arrived from Ireland early in June, Lord Rawdon, thus reinforced, hastened to the relief of the beleaguered fort, with about two thousand men. His approach was heralded by a horseman in the garb of a planter, who rode along the American lines at twilight one evening, and talked freely with the officers. It was a common occurrence, and attracted no special attention. When he reached the road leading directly to the fort, he put spurs to his horse and dashed toward the gate of the fortress followed by a score of bullets. He reached the portal unharmed, bearing in his upraised hand a large letter. It was a despatch to Cruger from Rawdon, announcing his approach. The former had not heard from the writer since he fled from Camden; and he was so hard pressed by the besiegers, who had cut off his water supply, that he was contemplating a surrender. The news encouraged the garrison to endure a little longer. When, on the 28th of June, Rawdon was drawing nigh, Greene attempted to take the fort by storm. It was a disastrous failure. Only one of every six of the assailants escaped unhurt one-third of them were killed. On the following day Greene raised the siege and fled beyond the Saluda, pursued some distance by the garrison.

The chief commanders of the contending armies now changed their relative positions. As the post of Ninety-Six could not be held, Rawdon ordered its abandonment. Leaving Cruger and the garrison to assist the loyalists in fleeing to Charleston from the wrath of their incensed neighbors, he pushed on toward Orangeburg, with about a thousand men, pursued by Greene, but avoiding a contest with him. Greene sent a message to Marion and Sumter, then on the Santee, to take a position in front of the enemy and impede his progress. His messenger was Emily Geiger, daughter of a German planter. No man in the army was willing to attempt the hazardous service, for the Tories were on the alert. The brave young girl was not more than eighteen years of age. She volunteered to carry a letter to Sumter. With his usual caution Greene told her its contents, so that, in case she might find occasion to destroy it, she could still bear the message to the partisan. The brave maiden mounted a fleet horse, crossed the Wateree at the Camden Ferry, and while passing through a dry swamp on the second day of her journey, she was arrested by some Tory scouts. As she came from the direction of Greene's army, she was suspected of being a messenger. They took her to a house on the edge of the swamp, and with proper delicacy employed a woman to search her person. No sooner was she left alone than she ate up Greene's letter, piece by piece. The matron who was sent for searched in vain for any scrap of paper. Her captors made many apologies for detaining her, and Emily passed on to Sumter's camp. Very soon he and Marion were cooperating with Greene in sorely pressing the troops of Rawdon. Emily Geiger afterward married a rich planter on the Congaree.

When Greene approached Orangeburg, he found Rawdon reinforced and so strongly entrenched that he did not deem it prudent to attack him; and as the heats of summer were approaching, he crossed the Congaree and in July encamped his army on the High Hills of Santee, famous for the salubrity of the air and the purity of the water. Then Rawdon, leaving the troops at Orangeburg in command of Colonel Stewart, went down to Charleston, and complaining of ill-health soon embarked for England. A short time before he sailed, he was a party to an inhuman transaction. Among those who took protection after the fall of Charleston was Isaac Hayne, a planter in the low country. When the British were driven out of his section, by Greene's troops, they could no longer give him protection and feeling himself relieved from the obligation which it had imposed, he took command of a regiment of South Carolina militia. While in arms he was made prisoner. Colonel Balfour, then in command at Charleston, hesitated in disposing of him but when Rawdon arrived, that officer, pursuant to the spirit of Cornwallis's orders, directed Hayne to be hung. This was done without even the form of a trial. Not even the prisoner anticipated such harsh treatment, until he was informed that he had not two days to live. The patriot's children, the women of Charleston, the lieutenant-governor of the province, all pleaded for his life in vain. The savage sentence was executed, and Isaac Hayne has been embalmed in history as a martyr. After Balfour's death, Rawdon tried to fix the ignominy of the act on that officer. It aroused the fiercest indignation even among moderate men who were inclined to feel kindly toward British rule and the patriotic women of Charleston could not, at times, restrain their feelings of contempt for British officers after that. One day when Colonel Balfour was walking in the garden of Charles Elliot, in Charleston, with the wife of that gentleman, he pointed to a chamomile flower, and asked its name. "The rebel flower," said Mrs. Elliot. "And why is it called the rebel flower?" inquired Balfour. "Because," replied the patriotic woman, "it always flourishes most when trampled upon."

Greene did not tarry long on the High Hills of Santee. He was reinforced there by North Carolina troops early in August, and toward the close of that month he crossed the Congaree with a greater part of his force, and marched upon Orangeburg. Stewart had just been joined by Cruger and the garrison of Fort Ninety-Six, but he immediately fled eastward forty miles and pitched his tents at Eutaw Springs, near the Santee. So secretly and skillfully was he pursued by Greene, that he was not fully aware that the republicans were after him until they were close upon his heels and near the Springs a severe battle was fought on the 8th of September, 1781. Greene had moved before the dawn in two columns so stealthily that it was almost a surprise. The centre of his first line was composed of North Carolina militiamen, with a battalion of South Carolina militia on each flank commanded respectively by Marion and Pickens. The second line consisted of North Carolina regulars led by General Sumner, on the right an equal number of Virginians under Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell in the centre, and Marylanders commanded by Colonel Williams, on the left. Lee's legion covered the right flank, and troops led by Lieutenant-Colonel Henderson covered the left. Washington's cavalry with Kirkwood's Delawares formed a reserve, and each line had artillery on its front. Skirmishing commenced at eight o'clock in the morning, and very soon the fight became general and very severe. The British were defeated and driven from the field with much loss in killed, wounded, and prisoners. The victory was complete, when the Americans, like those under Sumter at Hanging Rock, spread over the deserted camp of the

enemy, eating, drinking, and plundering. Very suddenly and unexpectedly the British renewed the battle, and after a terrible conflict for about five hours the Americans, who had lost heavily, were compelled to give way. Stewart felt insecure, for the partisan legions were not far away; so, that night, after breaking up a thousand muskets and destroying stores, he retreated toward Charleston. Early the next morning (September 9, 1781) Greene sent parties in pursuit, who chased the fugitives far toward the city by the sea, and then took possession of the battle-field. Although the advantage lay with the Americans, neither party could claim a victory. In killed, wounded and prisoners, the British lost full eight hundred men; the Americans lost about five hundred and fifty. Lieutenant-Colonel Washington was severely wounded in the second battle on that day, and was made a prisoner. For his good conduct on that occasion, Greene was presented by Congress with a vote of thanks, a gold medal, and a British standard taken in the fight. Having a large number of sick soldiers, he left Eutaw Springs a few days after the battle, and again encamped on the High Hills of Santee, where he remained until the middle of November, when he marched his army into the low country, where he might obtain an abundance of food. Meanwhile his partisan corps under Marion, Sumter, Lee and others had been driving the British force from post to post in the low country, and smiting Tory bands in every direction. The British finally evacuated all of their interior stations and retired to Charleston, pursued almost to the verge of the city by partisan troops. Greene's main army occupied a position between that city and Jacksonborough, where the South Carolina legislature had resumed its sessions. That able and skillful leader had not won victories in the field, but had accomplished the objects for which he fought. In the course of nine months he had recovered the three Southern States, and at the close of 1781, he had all the British troops below Virginia hemmed in the cities of Charleston and Savannah, General Wayne and his little army becoming the jailers at the latter place at the opening of 1782.

While these events were occurring south of Virginia, important ones had taken place in that State. We left Cornwallis at Yorktown establishing a fortified camp there. Lafayette had taken a position with his little army eight miles from the British lines to oppose the projects of the Court of St. James and the fortunes of Lord Cornwallis," he wrote to old Maurepas. He had plainly Perceived the mistake of Clinton in ordering Cornwallis to take a defensive position in Virginia and as early as July, he wrote to Washington from Randolph's, on Malvern Hill, urging him to march into Virginia in force, and saying,"Should a French fleet enter Hampton Roads, the British army would be compelled to surrender." The Count de Grasse was, at that time, in command of the French fleet in the West Indies, and Washington had received assurances that he would co-operate with the allied armies in any undertaking that promised success. Meanwhile Rochambeau had led the French army from New England to the Hudson River, and the junction of the American forces and their allies was effected on the 6th of July, near Dobbs Ferry.

At that time Washington was contemplating an attack on the British in New York. Preparations were made for the movement but before De Grasse was ready to co-operate with them, Sir Henry Clinton was reinforced by three thousand troops from England. They arrived at New York on the 11th of August. At about the same time Washington was informed that De Grasse could not leave the West Indies just then. Thus foiled, the commander-in-chief turned his

thoughts toward Virginia, to which Lafayette had invited him. Thenceforth his plans were made in reference to an autumn campaign in that State. While he was yet uncertain what course it was best to pursue in the absence of a co-operating French fleet, he received from De Barras, the successor of Admiral de Ternay, who had died at Newport, the joyful intelligence that De Grasse was to sail for the Chesapeake Bay at the close of August with a powerful naval armament, and more than three thousand land troops. De Barras wrote: "M. de Grasse is my junior yet, as soon as he is within reach, I will go to sea to put myself under his orders."

Washington had made ample preparations for marching into Virginia. To prevent any interference from Sir Henry Clinton he wrote deceptive letters to be intercepted, by which the British general was made to believe that his enemy still contemplated an attack upon New York. So satisfied was he that such was Washington's designs, that for nearly ten days after the allied armies had crossed the Hudson (August 23 and 24) and were marching through New Jersey, he believed the movement was only a feint to cover a sudden descent upon the city in overwhelming force. It was not until the 2nd of September that he was convinced that the allies were marching against Cornwallis. Then he rejoiced that on the arrival of his reinforcements, he had countermanded his order for Cornwallis to send troops to New York.

On the 5th of September the allied armies encamped at Chester, in Pennsylvania, where Washington received news that De Grasse with his ships and land troops had entered Chesapeake Bay. The heart of the commander-in-chief was filled with joy, for in this event he saw a sure prophecy of success and the security of independence for his country. De Grasse had moored the most of his fleet in Lynn Haven Bay, barred the York River against reinforcements for Cornwallis, and landed three thousand troops, under the Marquis de St. Simon, on the peninsula, near old Jamestown. Meanwhile De Barras had sailed from Newport, with a fleet convoying ten transports laden with ordinance for the siege of Yorktown. Arbuthnot had been succeeded in command of the British fleet at New York by Admiral Graves, a coarse, vulgar, and inefficient man. That officer, on hearing of the approach of the French fleet, sailed for the Chesapeake. De Grasse went out to meet him, and on the 5th of September they had a sharp fight, in which the British fleet was so much damaged that it returned to New York, leaving De Grasse master of the Chesapeake.

When Clinton was assured that Washington was really leading the armies to Virginia, he tried to recall some of the troops by menacing posts at the North. He threatened New Jersey, and caused a rumor to go abroad that he was about to attack the American works in the Hudson Highlands with a strong force. He also sent Arnold on a marauding expedition into New England. The traitor, with a band of regulars and Tories, crossed the Sound from Long Island, and on the 6th of September, landed his troops on each side of the Thames below New London. That town, which could offer very little resistance, was plundered and burned. Fort Griswold, at Groton, opposite New London, was taken by storm after a gallant defence by Colonel Ledyard and his little garrison of one hundred and fifty poorly-armed militiamen. Only six of the Americans were killed in the fight but after the surrender, the British officer in command murdered Colonel Ledyard with his sword, and refused to give quarter to the garrison. Seventy-three were

massacred. Some were badly wounded, and others were carried away captive. Some of the wounded were placed in a baggage-wagon at the brow of the hill on which the fort yet stands, and it was sent down the rough and steep slope, a hundred rods, with great violence, for the purpose of plunging the helpless victims into the river. The jolting caused some of the wounded to expire, while the cries of agony from the lips of the survivors were heard across the river in the midst of the crackling noise of the burning town. An apple-tree had arrested the course of the wagon, and there the sufferers remained more than an hour, when their captors laid them on the beach and left them to die. Friendly hands conveyed them to a house near by, where they were cared for by tender women. With this atrocious expedition the name of Benedict Arnold disappears from history.

Neither Clinton's threats nor Arnold's atrocities stayed the onward march of the allied troops. It was intended to transport them by water from the head of Elk (now Elkton, in Maryland) but there were not sufficient vessels there for the purpose, and a greater portion of them made their way to Annapolis by land. Afterward the whole of the allies were carried by water to the James River by transports from the squadron of De Barras. From Baltimore, where he arrived on the 8th of September, Washington, accompanied by Rochambeau and the Marquis de Chastellux, journeyed to his home at Mount Vernon, from which he had been absent since July, 1775. There they remained two days, when they departed for Williams burgh, and arrived there on the 14th. Washington immediately repaired to the Ville de Paris, De Grasse's flag-ship, lying off Cape Henry, to meet the admiral, and to congratulate him on his victory over Graves on the 5th. There satisfactory arrangements were made for a combined attack upon Yorktown by land and water, as soon as the troops should reach Williamsburgh. While waiting for the slowly approaching forces, word came that the British fleet at New York had been reinforced. De Grasse proposed to leave some frigates to blockade the York River, and go out in his great ships in quest of the enemy. There would be great danger in such a movement. The British fleet might enter Chesapeake Bay, and assist Cornwallis in making his escape. Washington perceived the peril, and persuaded De Grasse to remain. The last division of the allied forces reached Williamsburgh on the 25th of September, when preparations for the siege were immediately begun.

Cornwallis had solicited aid from Clinton. On the 17th he wrote: "This place is in no state of defence. If you cannot relieve me very soon, you must be prepared to hear the worst." On the same day a council of Clinton's officers in New York decided that Cornwallis must be relieved before the end of October"-and so he was, but not by their aid.

On the 28th the allied armies marched from Williamsburgh, about twelve thousand in number, to begin the siege of Yorktown, twelve miles distant, driving in the British outposts on the way. Some of the allies took possession of outworks which the British had abandoned, and then sent out covering parties for the diggers of trenches and builders of redoubts. The line of the allies extended in a semicircle about two miles from the British works, each wing resting on the York River, and on the 30th the place was completely invested. On account of the possession of the abandoned outworks, the allies were in an advantageous position to command the British lines and carry on the siege by opening trenches. The enemy at Gloucester were imprisoned by the

French dragoons under the Duke De Lauzun, Virginia militia under General Weedon, and eight hundred French marines. Only once did the British attempt offensive operations from that point. Tarleton and his legion once sallied out, but were all driven back by Lauzun's cavalry, who took Tarleton's horse a prisoner and came near capturing its owner.

In the besieging line the French troops occupied the left, the West India troops of St. Simon on the extreme flank. The Americans were on the right, and the French artillery, with the quarters of the two commanders, occupied the centre. The American artillery under General Knox were on the right. De Grasse remained in Lynn Haven Bay to beat off any British fleet that might attempt to relieve Cornwallis.

On the night of the 6th of October, the heavy ordnance had been brought from the vessels, and trenches were begun at a distance of six hundred yards from the British works. The night was dark and stormy, and at dawn the Americans, working under the command of General Lincoln, had completed the first parallel, their labors being entirely unsuspected by the British sentinels. On the afternoon of the 9th several batteries and redoubts were completed, and a general discharge of heavy guns was begun by the Americans on the right. All night long cannon thundered, and the roar of artillery was increased early in the morning when the French on the left opened several batteries. At evening (October 10) the French hurled red-hot cannon-ball upon British vessels in the river, which fired the Charon, a 44-gun ship, and three heavy transports, and all were consumed. The whole scene that night was one of terrible grandeur.

On the night of the 11th the allies began the second parallel within three hundred yards of the British works. This labor was not discovered by the enemy until daylight, when they brought heavy guns to bear upon the diggers. It took them days to complete this second parallel. Two redoubts that commanded the trenches and greatly annoyed the diggers were breached by the cannon-balls of the besiegers on the 14th, when it was determined to attempt to take them by storm. One on the right, near the York River, was garrisoned by forty-five men; the one on the left was manned by about one hundred and twenty men. The capture of the former was intrusted to Americans led by Lieutenant-Colonel Alexander Hamilton, and that of the latter to French grenadiers led by Count Deuxponts. At a given signal Hamilton advanced in two columns - one led by Major Fish, the other by Lieutenant-Colonel Gimat, Lafayette's aid, while Lieutenant-Colonel John Laurens, with eighty men, turned the redoubt to intercept a retreat. The assailants leaped the abatis and the palisades with so much celerity, and attacked the garrison so furiously, that the redoubt was captured in a few minutes with little loss on either side. Laurens was among the first to enter the work and make the commander, Major Campbell, a prisoner. The life of every man who ceased to resist was spared. In the meantime the French, after a severe struggle with ball and bayonet (in which they lost about a hundred men in killed and wounded), captured the other redoubt in a similar manner. As they charged the garrison with the bayonet, Deuxponts, their leader, shouted Vive le Roi! And the cry was echoed by his followers. Washington, with Knox and some others, had watched these movements with intense anxiety; and when he saw both redoubts in possession of his troops, he turned to Knox and said, "The work done, and well done." Then calling to his favorite body-servant, he said: "Billy, hand me my

horse." That night both redoubts were included in the second parallel.

The situation of Cornwallis was now becoming desperate. A superior force environed him, and his works were crumbling; and he knew that when the second parallel of the besiegers should be completed, his post would be untenable. He resolved to make an effort to escape by abandoning his baggage and sick, crossing the river with his troops to Gloucester, cutting up or dispersing the allies who were imprisoning the British garrison there, and by rapid marches gaining the forks of the Rappahannock and Potomac, and, forcing his way through Maryland and Pennsylvania, join Clinton at New York. Boats for the passage of the York were prepared, and on the evening of the 16th a part of the troops were carried over to Gloucester, when a furious storm of wind and rain, as sudden as a summer tornado, arose and made any further attempt to pass the river too hazardous to be under-taken. The troops were brought back. The earl lost hope. The bombardment of his lines was very severe and destructive, and on the 17th he proposed to surrender. On the following day Lieutenant-Colonel Laurens and Viscount de Noailles (a relative of Lafayette's wife), as commissioners on the part of the allies, met Lieutenant-Colonel Dundas and Major Ross of the British army, and drafted a capitulation. The terms were similar to those demanded of Lincoln at Charleston. All the troops were to be prisoners of war, and all public property was to be surrendered. All slaves and plunder found in possession of the British might be reclaimed by their owners; otherwise, private property was to be respected. The loyalists were abandoned to the mercies or resentments of their countrymen. Such were the general terms but by the packet which carried his despatches to Sir Henry Clinton, Cornwallis managed to send away persons who were most obnoxious to the Americans.

Late in the afternoon of the 19th of October, 1781, the surrender of Cornwallis and his army took place. The allied troops were drawn up in two columns. Washington on his white charger was at the head of the Americans; and Rochambeau on a powerful bay horse at the head of the French columns. A vast concourse of people from the surrounding country were spectators of the impressive scene. Cornwallis, feigning sickness, sent General O'Hara with his sword, as his representative. That officer led the vanquished troops out of their entrenchments with their colors cased, and marched them between the victorious columns. When he arrived at their head he approached Washington to hand him the earl's sword, when the commander-in-chief directed him to General Lincoln as his representative. It was a proud moment for Lincoln. Only the year before he had been compelled to make a humiliating surrender to royal troops at Charleston. He led the subdued army to the field where they were to lay down their arms, and then received from O'Hara the sword of Cornwallis, which he politely returned to be given back to the earl. The standards, twenty-eight in number, were then given up, and the royal army laid down their arms.

The whole number of troops surrendered was about seven thousand. To these must be added two thousand sailors, eighteen hundred negroes, and fifteen hundred Tories, making the total number of prisoners over twelve thousand. Besides these, the British lost in killed, wounded and missing during the siege, about five hundred and fifty men; the loss of the Americans was about three hundred. The spoils of victory were nearly eight thousand muskets; seventy-five brass and one hundred and sixty iron cannon, and a large quantity of munitions of war and stores. To

accomplish this great victory, the French had provided thirty-seven ships-of-the-line and seven thousand men; and the Americans furnished nine thousand troops, of which number five thousand five hundred were regulars.

Chapter LXXXV

Effect of the Surrender of Cornwallis, in Europe and the United States - The News in Philadelphia - Scenes in Parliament - Negotiations for a Treaty of Peace Begun - Various Military Movements - Washington Adopts His Stepson's Grandchildren - Affairs in South Carolina - Evacuation of Savannah and Charleston - Peace Commissioners Appointed - Preliminary Treaty with Great Britain - Treaty with Holland - Great Seal of the United States - A Budding Conspiracy Rebuked by Washington - Departure of the French Army - Seditious Movement at Newburgh Foiled by Washington - Gradual Disbanding of the Army - Treaty with Sweden - Definitive Treaty of Peace - Washington's Farewell Addresses - The Two Armies - Evacuation of the City of New York - The Last Combat.

ON the day after the surrender of Cornwallis, Washington, in general orders, expressed his great approbation of both armies. That all his soldiers might participate in the general joy and thanksgiving, he ordered every one under arrest or in confinement to be set at liberty; and as the following day would be the Sabbath, he closed his orders by directing divine service to be performed in the several brigades on the morrow.

The surrender of so large a portion of the British army in America secured the independence of the United States. The blow of final dismemberment had fallen war would no longer serve a useful purpose; humanity and sound policy counselled peace. The king and his ministers were astounded when the news of the surrender reached them. Lord North received the intelligence, said Germain, as he would have taken a cannon-ball in his breast, for he opened his arms, exclaiming wildly, as he paced up and down the apartment a few minutes, O God, it is all over! words which he repeated many times under emotions of the deepest consternation and distress." The stubborn king was amazed and greatly disturbed, but he soon recovered his calmness and wrote in view of propositions in the Parliament to give up the contest: No difficulties can get me to consent to the getting of peace at the expense of a separation from America."

Great was the exultation and joy of the Americans as the news of the surrender went from lip to lip throughout the Union. Lieutenant-Colonel Tighlman, one of Washington's aids, rode express to Philadelphia to carry the despatches of his chief announcing the joyful tidings to the Congress. It was midnight (October 23) when he entered the city. Thomas McKean, then President of the Congress, resided on High Street near Second Street. Tighlman knocked so violently at his door that a watchman was disposed to arrest him as a disturber of the peace. McKean arose, received the messenger with joy, and soon the glad tidings spread over the city. The watch-men proclaiming the hour, and the usual cry All's well! added and Cornwallis is taken!" That announcement, going out upon the frosty night air, called thousands from their beds. The old State-House bell that sounded so clearly when independence was declared more than five years before, now rang out tones of gladness. Lights were seen moving in almost every house and very soon the streets were thronged with men and women, in eager to know the details. It was a night of great joy in Philadelphia, for the people had anxiously waited for news from Yorktown. The first flush of morning was greeted with the booming of cannon; and at an early hour the

Congress assembled and heard Charles Thompson read the despatch from Washington. That grave Senate could hardly repress huzzahs while the Secretary read; and at its conclusion it was resolved to go in a body, at two o'clock in the afternoon, to the Dutch Lutheran Church, and return thanks to Almighty God for crowning the allied armies of the United States and France with success." Six days afterward that body voted thanks and appropriate honors to Washington, Rochambeau, and De Grasse and their officers, and resolved that a marble column should be erected at Yorktown with emblems of the alliance in commemoration of the event. The Congress also appointed a day for a grand thanksgiving and prayer throughout the Union, on account of the signal mark of Divine power. Legislative bodies, executive councils, city corporations, and many private societies presented congratulatory addresses to the commanding generals and their officers; and from almost every pulpit in the land arose the voice of thanksgiving and praise accompanied by the alleluias of thousands of worshippers before the altars of the Lord of Hosts.

The Duke de Lauzun bore the glad tidings to France, where he found the king and court rejoicing because of the birth of a dauphin, or heir to the French throne. The news reached England by way of France on the 25th of November, and produced the effect already noticed. The city of London petitioned the king to "put an end to the unnatural and unfortunate war;" and in Parliament, a great and rapid change of opinion on the subject was visible. Late in February General Conway, in the House of Commons, moved to address the king in favor of peace, when warm debates arose, Lord North defending the royal policy with vigor on the ground of its justice and its maintenance of British rights. "Good God! are we yet to be told of the rights for which we went to war?" exclaimed Burke. "O, excellent rights! O, valuable rights! Valuable you should be, for we have paid dear at parting with you. O, valuable rights! that have cost Britain thirteen provinces, four islands, one hundred thousand men, and more than seventy millions [\$350,000,000] of money." Conway's proposition was carried at the beginning of March.

The opposition in Parliament now pressed measures for peace more vigorously; and on the 20th of March (1782) Lord North, who, under the inspiration of the king, had misled the nation for twelve years, retired from office, and he and his fellow-ministers were succeeded by the friends of peace. The stubborn king stormed, but was compelled to yield to the inexorable logic of events. The Parliament resolved to end the war at once, and he was obliged to give his sanction and early in May, Sir Guy Carleton arrived in New York, bearing propositions for reconciliation. Lord Shelburne, who had charge of American affairs in the new cabinet, selected Richard Oswald, a merchant, as a diplomatic agent to repair to Paris and confer with Dr. Franklin on the subject of a treaty for peace.

In the meantime the Americans did not relax their vigilance nor preparations for the continuance of the war. General Greene, as we have observed, left the High Hills of Santee, when he heard of the surrender of Cornwallis, and marched toward the seaboard. The South Carolina legislature at Jacksonborough authorized Governor Rutledge to offer pardon to all penitents, and hundreds of Tories gladly availed themselves of the privilege. General St. Clair, while on his way to reinforce Greene, had driven the British from Wilmington and left the Tories of North Carolina undefended, amazed and confounded. Wayne, as we have observed, was keeping the enemy close

within his entrenchments at Savannah, and Washington, who returned to the North soon after the surrender of Cornwallis, closely imprisoned Sir Henry Clinton and his army in New York. When the commander-in-chief had completed his arrangements to leave Yorktown, he hastened to the bedside of Mr. Custis, his aid, and the only son of Mrs. Washington, who was dying of camp fever at Eltham, the seat of Colonel Bassett. He was met at the door by Dr. Craik, who informed Washington that all was over. The chief bowed his head, and with tears gave vent to his great sorrow; then turning to the weeping widow, the mother of four children, he said: I adopt the two younger children as my own." These were Eleanor Parke and George Washington Parke Custis, the former then three years of age, and the latter six months. Washington remained a short time to console the afflicted widow, and then pressed on toward Philadelphia and the Hudson River.

Marion and his men kept watch and ward over the country between the Ashley and Cooper rivers, to prevent intercourse from the enemy at Charleston, and the latter began to feel straitened in their supplies. When General Leslie, who was in command of the British army in that city, heard of the peace proceedings in Parliament, he proposed to General Greene a cessation of hostilities, and asked the latter to allow him to purchase food for his troops. Greene was unwilling to nurture a viper in his own bosom, and refused. Leslie made several ineffectual attempts to penetrate the country by force of arms to procure supplies; and in August he sallied out in considerable force, and attempted to ascend the Combahee River, when he was confronted by General Gist, who, with about three hundred men of the Maryland line, horse and foot, had been detached to watch the movements of the British. After a severe skirmish near Combahee Ferry, the enemy were driven to their boats. They succeeded in carrying away from the neighboring islands a large amount of plunder, and returning to Charleston enriched by considerable supplies. In that skirmish the accomplished Colonel John Laurens was slain. His blood was almost the last that was spilled in the struggle for independence. It is believed that the very last life sacrificed in the cause was that of Captain Wilmot, who was killed in a skirmish at Stono Ferry in September following.

The British had evacuated Savannah on the 11th of July, when General Wayne, in consideration of the eminent services of Colonel James Jackson, appointed the latter to receive the keys of that city from a committee of British officers." So Georgia was redeemed forever from British rule, and Wayne joined his forces to those of Greene. Charleston was evacuated on the 14th of December following. At daylight on that morning the British left Gadsden's wharf for their ships, and at eleven o'clock an American detachment marched in and took formal possession of the city, when General Greene escorted the governor and other civil officers to the Town Hall. From windows and balconies, and even from the house-tops, the American troops were greeted with cheers, waving of handkerchiefs, and cries of Welcome! welcome! God bless you, gentlemen Before sunset the British fleet of transports, about three hundred sail, had crossed the bar and disappeared below the eastern horizon.

Measures had meanwhile been taken by the Congress and the British government to arrange a treaty of peace. The former appointed (September, 1782) four Commissioners for the purpose, that different States of the Union might be represented. These Commissioners were John Adams

of Massachusetts, John Jay of New York, Dr. Franklin of Pennsylvania, and Henry Laurens of South Carolina, who were all in Europe at that time. The British government gave Mr. Oswald full power to treat for peace with these Commissioners. He had discussed the terms with Dr. Franklin, who assured him that independence, satisfactory boundaries, and a participation in the fisheries would be indispensable requisites in a treaty. In July the British Parliament had passed a bill to enable the king to acknowledge the independence of the United States, and all obstacles in the way of negotiation were removed. The American Commissioners first named were joined by Laurens at Paris, where the negotiations were carried on. There, on the 30th of November, a preliminary treaty of peace, on the basis of independence, was signed by the American Commissioners and Mr. Oswald without the knowledge of the French government. This was in violation of the spirit of the terms of alliance, by which it was understood (and the Commissioners had been so instructed) that no treaty should be signed by either party to the alliance without the knowledge of the other. Some of the Commissioners doubted the good faith of Vergennes, believing him to be swayed by Spanish influence; but he acted honorably throughout. Dr. Franklin, who never doubted him, removed the dissatisfaction in the mind of Vergennes, because of this affront, by a few soft words. In the meantime the States-General of Holland had acknowledged the independence of the United States by receiving John Adams as an ambassador from the Congress in April of that year; and on the 8th of October (1782) they concluded a treaty of amity and commerce with them. This was signed at the Hague by Mr. Adams and representatives of the Netherlands. It was not ratified until January, 1783.

Coincident with these preparations for a solid national existence, was the adoption of a device for a great seal - the symbol of sovereignty and authority - for the inchoate republic. A committee for the purpose was appointed on the afternoon of the 4th of July, 1776. That committee and others, from time to time, presented unsatisfactory devices. Finally, in the spring of 1782, Charles Thompson, the Secretary of Congress, gave to that body a device largely suggested to John Adams by Sir John Prestwich of England, which was made the basis of a design adopted on the 20th of June, 1782, and which is still the device of our great seal. It is composed of a spread-eagle, the emblem of strength, bearing on its breast an escutcheon with thirteen stripes alternate red and white. In his right talon he holds an olive-branch, emblem of peace, and in his left, thirteen arrows, emblems of the thirteen States, ready for war if it should be necessary. In his beak is a ribbon bearing the legend: E Pluribus Unum - "many in one" - many States making one nation. Over the head of the eagle is a golden light breaking through a cloud surrounding thirteen stars forming a constellation on a blue field. On the reverse is an unfinished pyramid, emblematic of the unfinished republic, the building of which is still going on. In the zenith is an All-seeing Eye surrounded by light, and over the eye the word *Annuit Coeptis* - "God favors the undertaking." On the base of the pyramid, in Roman numerals, the date 1776, and below the words: *Novus ordo seclorum* - "a new series of ages." So the Americans showed their faith in the stability of the structure whose foundations they had laid. Only the side on which the eagle and escutcheon appear has ever been used, and that as a recumbent seal the size of the engraving here given.

With the joyful prospect of returning peace came many shadowing forebodings of evil in the

near future for the poor soldiers, when the army should be disbanded and they be compelled to seek other employment lot - a livelihood among the desolations caused by war. Many of them were invalids and for a long time neither officers nor private soldiers had received any pay, for the treasury was empty, and the prospect of a continuance of the poverty of the government had produced widespread discontent in the army. The officers had been promised half-pay for life; but would that promise be fulfilled? was a question that pressed upon the minds of many. Contemplating the evidently inherent weakness of the government, many were inclined to consider it a normal condition of the republican form and to sigh for a stronger one - like that of Great Britain. This feeling became so manifest in the army, that Colonel Nicola, a foreigner by birth and of weighty character, at the head of a Pennsylvania regiment, addressed a well-written letter to Washington in May, 1782, in which, professing to speak for the army, he urged the necessity of a monarchy to secure for the Americans an efficient government and the rights of the people. He proposed to Washington to accept the headship of such a government with the title of king, and assured him that the army would support him. Possibly a budding conspiracy to that end existed in the army, but it was crushed by the stern rebuke administered by the chief in a letter to Nicola. "If I am not deceived," Washington wrote, "in the knowledge of myself, you could not have found a person to whom your schemes are more disagreeable."

Many months later discontents in the army assumed a more dangerous form. The headquarters of the army had been, during the autumn of 1782, at Verplanck's Point, on the Hudson, when the troops numbered about ten thousand men. There they formed a promised junction with the French army on their return from Virginia. From that point the latter marched to New England ports and embarked for France, and the Americans went above the Highlands and spent the ensuing winter in huts in the vicinity of Newburgh. At the latter place Washington made his quarters in a house yet standing in the southern portion of that rural city, on the brow of a slope extending to the river.

In the latter part of the winter of 1783, the discontent in the army appeared more formidable than ever. In December (1782), the officers seeing in the continued weakness and poverty of their government no apparent security for a future adjustment of the claims of the army for back-pay or for the promised half-pay for a term of years for themselves, sent a respectful memorial to the Congress by the hands of General McDougall, the head of a committee appointed for the purpose, in which they asked (1) for present pay; (2) a settlement of arrearages of pay and security for what was due (3) a commutation of the half-pay or an equivalent in gross and (4) a settlement of the accounts of deficiencies of rations, clothing, and compensation. The Congress adopted a series of resolutions on the subject, late in January, which were not very satisfactory. Feeble in resources, they made no definite promises of present relief or future justice, and the discontents of the army were greater than before. Early in March a well-written address to the army was circulated extensively through the camps. It bore no name of author, but was calculated to stir up the spirit of revolt in the hearts of the soldiers. It advised the army to take matters into their own hands, make demonstrations of power and determination that should arouse the fears of the people and of the Congress, and so obtain justice for themselves. With this address was circulated privately a notification of a meeting of officers at a large building called The Temple,

which had been erected for public meetings and a gathering-place for the Freemasons of the army.

These papers were brought to the notice of Washington on the day when they were issued, and he determined to guide and control the movement. In general orders the next morning he referred to them expressed his disapprobation of the whole proceedings as disorderly, and requested the general and field officers, with one officer from every company in the army, to meet at the New Building" (The Temple) on the 15th at noon. General Gates, the senior officer, was requested to preside. On the appearance of this order, the writer of the anonymous addresses issued another, more subdued in tone, in which he tried to give the impression that Washington approved the scheme, the time of meeting being changed. There was a full attendance, and deep solemnity pervaded the assembly, when the commander-in-chief stepped upon the platform to read an address which he had prepared for the occasion. As he put on his spectacles, he remarked: "You see, gentlemen, that I have not only grown gray, but blind in your service." This simple remark, under the circumstances, had a powerful effect upon the assemblage. When he had read his address, so compact in form and construction, so clear in expression and in meaning, so dignified and patriotic, so mild yet so severe, and withal so vitally important in its relations to the well-being of the unfolding republic, the men before him and the army they represented, as well as the best interests of human freedom, he immediately retired and left the officers to discuss the matter unrestrained by his presence. Their conference was brief; their deliberations, short. They passed resolutions by unanimous vote thanking their chief for the course he had pursued expressing their unabated attachment to his person and their country; declaring their unshaken confidence in the good faith of Congress, and their determination to bear with patience their grievances until, in due time, they should be redressed. These proceedings were signed by General Gates as president of the meeting; and three days afterward Washington, in general orders, expressed his entire satisfaction. All the papers relating to this affair were forwarded to the Congress and entered at length in their journals; and very soon that body took action that satisfied the army of the wisdom of Washington's proceedings at Newburg. The author of the anonymous addresses was Major John Armstrong, one of General Gates' aids, who afterward held civil offices of distinction in our national government. He was Secretary of War during a portion of the conflict between the United States and Great Britain in 1812-15. In a letter to Armstrong many years after the events above related, Washington expressed his belief that the motives of the major were patriotic.

Another question now became a serious one. When the ratification of the preliminary treaty of peace was made known, a cessation of hostilities was proclaimed, on the 19th of April, 1783, just eight years to a day since they began at Lexington. Then the soldiers who had enlisted for the war" claimed the right to go home. Congress decided that the time of their enlistment would not expire until a definitive treaty of peace should be concluded. Much dissatisfaction was felt; but Washington soothed the feelings of the soldiers by allowing a very large portion of them to go home on long furloughs, during the summer of 1783. As the definitive treaty was concluded at the beginning of September, these men never returned to the army and so was gradually and quietly disbanded a greater portion of the Continental Army in the field.

In April, 1783, a treaty was concluded between the United States and the king of Sweden and in the same month the British government gave to David Hartley full powers to negotiate a definitive treaty with the American commissioners. It was concluded and signed at Paris on the 3rd of September, 1783, by David Hartley on the part of Great Britain, and by Dr. Franklin, John Adams, and John Jay on the part of the United States. Then Franklin put on his suit of clothes which he had laid aside after receiving personal abuse before the British Privy Council, with a vow never to wear them again until America was independent and England humbled. Definitive treaties between Great Britain and France and Spain were signed on the same day; one between Great Britain and Holland was signed the day before. That between the United States and Great Britain was unqualifiedly acknowledged by the king of Great Britain; the Mississippi River was made the western boundary, and Canada and Nova Scotia the northern and eastern boundaries of the territory of the new Republic the navigation of the River St. Lawrence was abandoned to the English; the navigation of the Mississippi was made free to both parties; mutual rights to the Newfoundland fisheries were adjusted no impediments were allowed in the way of the recovery of debts by bona fide creditors; certain measures of restitution of confiscated property to Loyalists were to be recommended by the Congress to the several States; and there was to be a general cessation of hostilities: withdrawal of troops, and a restoration of public and private property.

While waiting for the arrival of the definitive treaty, Washington made a tour, with Governor George Clinton, to the theatre of military operations in Northern New York. On his return to Newburgh, he found a letter from the President of Congress, asking his attendance upon that body, at Princeton. Leaving the army in charge of General Knox, he complied with their request, and for many weeks he was in conference with committees of that body concerning a peace establishment, etc. Meanwhile the Congress had voted to honor him with an equestrian statue to be placed at the seat of the national government but that, like similar honors voted to others of the Continental Army, has never been executed.

In October, 1783, the Congress proclaimed the discharge of the soldiers enlisted for the war, and only a few who had been re-enlisted until a peace establishment should be arranged, now formed the remnant of the Continental Army. Soon after this proclamation, Washington put forth a farewell address to the army, which, with one sent to the governors of the several States, from Newburgh, in June, constitute admirable state papers.

The great drama of the war for independence was now drawing to its close. Sir Guy Carleton was ordered to evacuate the city of New York, the only place in our republic then occupied by British troops. He was delayed by waiting for vessels to convey refugee Loyalists to Nova Scotia, who were compelled by a law of their State to leave their country and their confiscated property. Finally, the 25th of November was the day fixed for the evacuation by Carleton. Washington repaired to West Point, where Knox had stationed the remnant of the Continental Army - the remnant of two hundred and thirty thousand regulars and fifty-six thousand militia who bore arms during the war. Of all that glorious band of patriots, not one now remains. The two latest survivors were William Hutchings of Maine and Lemuel Cook of New York, who both died in the month of May, 1866, the former at the age of one hundred and one years and seven months, and

the latter, one hundred and two years. The British had sent to subdue the American "rebels" one hundred and thirteen thousand troops for the land service, and more than twenty-two thousand seamen. Of the former, one of them (John Battin), died in the city of New York at the age of a little more than one hundred years.

Accompanied by Governor George Clinton and other civil officers, and escorted by a detachment of troops from West Point under General Knox, Washington, with his staff, appeared near the city of New York (at the site of the Cooper Institute), on the morning appointed for the evacuation - the city from which he and his troops had been compelled to fly more than seven years before. At one o'clock in the afternoon, when the British had withdrawn to the water's edge for embarkation, the Americans marched into the city, the General and Governor at their head, the civil officers and a cavalcade of citizens following, with the regular troops. In compliment to the governor and the civil authority the procession was escorted by Westchester Light Horsemen, the continental jurisdiction having ceased or was suspended. Before three o'clock General Knox had taken possession of Fort George, at the foot of Broadway, amid the acclamations of thousands of citizens and the roar of artillery; when Clinton formally re-established civil government there, and closed the important transactions of the day by a public dinner.

Before the British left Fort George, they nailed their colors to the top of the flag-staff, knocked off the cleats, and "slushed" the pole from top to bottom to prevent its being climbed. When Knox took possession of the fort, John Van Arsdale, a lively sailor boy sixteen years of age, climbed the flag-staff by nailing on the cleats, tore down the British flag, and in its place unfurled the American banner of Stars and Stripes. The British hoped to leave the harbor with their flag still floating over the spot they had occupied so long, but they did not. The last sail of the British fleet that bore away the army and the Loyalists, did not disappear beyond the Narrows, before the evening twilight.

The late Dr. Alexander Anderson, the pioneer wood-engraver in America, related to me the following amusing incident of that evacuation-day. He was then a boy between eight and nine years of age, having been born three days after the skirmishes of Lexington and Concord. He was living with his parents in Murray street, near the Hudson River, then sparsely settled. Opposite his father's dwelling was a boarding-house kept by a man named Day, whose wife was a large, stout woman and zealous Whig. On the morning of evacuation-day, she ran up the American flag upon a pole in front of her house. The British claimed possession of the city until twelve o'clock at noon, and this act was offensive to them. Early in the forenoon, when young Anderson was on his father's stoop, he saw a burly red-faced British officer, in full uniform, coming down Murray street in great haste. Mrs. Day was sweeping in front of her door when the officer came up to her in a blustering manner, and in loud and angry tones ordered her to haul down the flag. She refused, when the officer seized the halyards to pull it down himself. Mrs. Day flew at him with her broomstick, and beat him so furiously over his head, that she made the powder fly from his wig. The officer stormed and swore, and tugged in vain at the halyards, which were entangled; and Mrs. Day applied her weapon so vigorously that he was soon compelled to retreat, and leave the flag of the valiant woman floating triumphantly in the keen morning breeze. The British

officer was the infamous provost marshal of the army, William Cunningham, who, for seven years, had cruelly treated American prisoners under his charge in New York, and terribly oppressed some of the few Whig families who remained in that city. This inglorious attempt to capture the colors of Day Castle and the result, was the last fight between the British and Americans in the Old War for Independence.

Chapter LXXXVI

Closing the Drama on Both Sides of the Atlantic - Washington Parts with His Officers and Resigns His Commission - His Journey from New York to Mount Vernon - Society of the Cincinnati - Weakness of the New Government - The Opinions of British Statesmen - The Public Debt and Credit - The States Refuse to Vest Sovereign Powers in the Congress - Lord Sheffield's Pamphlet - John Adams as Minister in England - Insurrection in the United States - Desire for a Stronger Government Manifested - Hamilton's Early Efforts to that End - A National Convention - Franklin's Motion for Prayers - Formation and Adoption of a National Constitution - Signing it and Its Ratification - The Northwestern Territory - The New Government Put into Operation.

THE struggle of the English-American colonies for political independence ended in victory for the patriots. That independence was finally assured when, on the 5th of December, 1783, the king of England said in a speech from the throne: I have sacrificed every consideration of my own to the wishes and opinions of my people. I make it my humble and earnest prayer to Almighty God that Great Britain may not feel the evils which might result from so great a dismemberment of the empire, and that America may be free from those calamities which have formerly proved, in the mother country, how essential monarchy is to the enjoyment of constitutional liberty. Religion, language, interests, affections may, and I hope will, yet prove a bond of permanent union between the two countries to this end neither attention or disposition shall be wanting on my part."

With that speech the king closed, in Great Britain, the impressive drama which opened at Lexington in 1775, and exhibited its most glorious act in the Declaration of Independence in 1776. With another act, dissimilar but quite as interesting, it had closed in America the day before. The Continental Army had been disbanded and every hostile British soldier had left our shores, when Washington, on the 4th of December (1783), called around him his officers who were near and bade them farewell. That event occurred in the great public-room of the tavern of Samuel Fraunce, at the corner of Broadway and Pearl streets, in the city of New York. The scene is described as one of great tenderness. The officers were assembled in the room, when Washington entered and taking a glass of wine in his hand said: With a heart full of love and gratitude, I now take leave of you. I most devoutly wish that your latter days may be as prosperous and happy as your former ones have been glorious and honorable." Having tasted the wine, he continued: I cannot come to each of you to take my leave, but shall be obliged to you if each will come and take me by the hand." General Knox, who stood nearest to the commander-in-chief, turned and grasped his hand, and, while the tears flowed down the cheeks of each, Washington kissed his beloved companion in arms on the forehead. This he did to each of his officers. With these parting tokens of affection Washington left the room, and passing through a corps of light infantry, he walked to White Hall (now the Staten Island Ferry) followed by a vast procession, and at two o'clock in the afternoon entered a barge to be conveyed to Paulus's Hook, now Jersey City, on his departure for Annapolis, where the Continental Congress was then in session. The last survivor of the participants in that parting scene was Major Robert Burnet of Orange County, New York, who lived until 1854. From his lips I received the account. It was an old story related long before by the historian, but it seemed fresh as it came from the lips of an

eye-witness.

Washington proceeded to Philadelphia, where he delivered his public accounts into the hands of the proper officer, and with his wife rode to Annapolis, the capital of Maryland. The Continental Congress was then in session in the State-House there. At noon on the 23rd of December, the patriot entered the Senate Chamber (the hall in which the Congress sat) according to previous arrangement, and was led to a chair by Charles Thompson, the Secretary. The President of Congress, General Mifflin, then rose and informed the General that The United States, in Congress assembled, were prepared to receive his communications." Washington arose, and, with great dignity and much feeling, delivered a brief speech and then handed to Mifflin the commission which he had received from that body in June, 1775. Mifflin received it, and made an eloquent reply. He closed by saying: We join you in commending the interests of our dearest country to the protection of Almighty God, beseeching him to dispose the hearts and minds of its citizens to improve the opportunity afforded them of becoming a happy and respectable nation. And for you, we address to Him our earnest prayers that a life so beloved may be fostered with all His care that your days may be as happy as they have been illustrious; and that He will finally give you that reward which this world cannot give."

Washington and his wife set out from Annapolis for Mount Vernon, on the day before Christmas, and arrived home that evening, where they were greeted with great joy by the family and flocks of colored servants. They were accompanied a short distance by the governor of Maryland and his suite, on horseback. All the way from New York to Annapolis and thence to Mount Vernon, Washington's journey was a triumphal march. He was escorted from place to place by cavalcades of citizens and volunteer military corps, and was everywhere greeted with the most emphatic demonstrations of love and respect. For more than eight years he had served his country faithfully and efficiently. Now that its independence was secured, he crowned the glory of his patriotic devotion by resigning into the hands of his country's representatives the instrument of his power and as a plain, untitled citizen, he sat down in peace in the midst of his family, on the banks of the Potomac.

A few months before the disbanding of the army a tie of friendship had been formed among the officers, at the suggestion of General Knox, by the organization at the cantonment of the troops, near Newburgh, New York, of an association known as The Society of the Cincinnati, were to promote a cordial friendship and indissoluble union among themselves, and to extend benevolent aid to such of its members as might need assistance. Washington was made its President-General, and remained so until his death. General Knox was its Secretary-General. To perpetuate the association, it was provided in the constitution of the society, that the eldest masculine descendant of an original member should be entitled to wear the Order and enjoy the privileges of the society. That society is yet in existence. The Order or badge consists of a gold eagle, suspended upon a ribbon, on the breast of which is a medallion with a device, representing Cincinnatus receiving the Roman Senator.

The Americans were now free but not independent. Why not Because they had not established

a nation endowed with the functions of absolute sovereignty. The British statesmen were wise enough to see this, and sagacious enough to take advantage of the situation. They saw that the Americans were without a government sufficiently powerful to command the fulfillment of treaty stipulations, or an untrammelled commerce sufficiently important to attract the cupidity or interested sympathies of other nations. John Adams was received with courtesy as the ambassador of an independent nation at the court of St. James, and King George had said to him: I was the last man in the kingdom, Sir, to consent to the independence of America; but now it is granted, I will be the last man in the world to sanction a violation of it."

These courtesies and fair words were only the velvet that covered the mailed hand of power. The British ministry, misled by the Loyalists that swarmed in the metropolis, believed that the weak confederacy would soon crumble, and that each part would be suing for restoration to the privileges of subjects to the crown. It was prepared to seize with merciless grasp the inchoate nation and destroy its sovereignty. The trade, commerce, manufactures, arts, literature, science, religion and laws were yet largely subservient to the parent country, without a well-grounded hope for speedy deliverance from the thrall. These facts gave Dr. Franklin good reason for saying to a compatriot who remarked that the war for independence was successfully closed: "Say, rather, the war of the Revolution. The war for Independence is yet to be fought." That struggle occurred, and that independence was won by the Americans in the war of 1812.

We have already observed that wise men deplored the weakness of the government under the Articles of Confederation ratified in 1781. The powers of that government were soon tested by its efforts to employ the functions of sovereignty. A debt of \$70,000,000 lay upon the shoulders of a wasted people, besides the promises of the dead Continental money to pay more than \$200,000,000 more. About \$44,000,000 of this live debt was owing by the general government, \$10,000,000 in Europe, and the remainder by the individual States. The debt had been contracted in carrying on the war, which, for a long time, was sustained only by money borrowed for the purpose. By this means the public credit had sunk very low. The restoration of that credit or the downfall of the infant republic was the alternative presented to the Americans at the close of the war.

With a determination to restore the public credit, the General Congress put forth all their strength, which was only absolute weakness. They asked the several States to vest that body with power to levy, for the term of twenty-five years, duties on certain imported articles, the revenue therefrom to be appropriated to the sole purpose of paying the interest and principal of the public debt. It was also proposed that the States should establish, for the same time and for the same object, substantial revenues for supplying each its proportion of \$1,500,000 annually, exclusive of duties on imports. This financial system, which was approved by the leading men of the country, was not to go into effect without the consent of every State in the league. For three years the proposition was before the people. All the States but two were willing to raise the required amount but they would not consent to vest the Congress with the asked-for power. "It is money, not power," they said, that ought to be the object. The former will pay our debts, the latter may destroy our liberties." So ended in failure the first important effort of the general government to

assume the functions of sovereignty. It was the beginning of a series of failures, and was mischievous because it excited the jealousy of the respective States. It also exposed the impotency of a so-called national government, whose very vitality, as well as the right to exercise governing functions, depended upon the will of thirteen distinct legislative bodies, each tenacious of its own peculiar rights and interests, and miserly in its delegation of power. It was perceived that the public credit must inevitably be destroyed by a repudiation of the public debt.

The League were equally unfortunate in their attempts to establish commercial relations with other governments, especially with Great Britain. The British ministry in power when the treaty of peace was ratified were disposed to make liberal commercial arrangements with the Americans, and our commerce began to revive. William Pitt, son of the Earl of Chatham, and then, at the age of twenty-four years, Chancellor of the Exchequer, proposed a plan by which the British West India Islands and other possessions of the crown, should be thrown open to American commerce. Such a measure would have secured a lasting peace between the two countries. But the unwisdom of British statesmen could not discern it. The shipping interest, then potential in Parliament, opposed it, and the wiser ministry did not survive the proposition a month. The new ministry, listening to the suggestions of bitter American Loyalists in England, assumed a haughty tone toward the Americans, treating them as vassals, and inaugurating a restrictive commercial policy which indicated that they regarded the States of the League as only alienated members of the British realm. Lord Sheffield, in a pamphlet that was widely circulated, declared his belief that utter ruin must soon overtake the League because of the anarchy into which their independence had thrown them. He saw the utter weakness of their form of government, and advised his countrymen to consider them of little account as a nation. If the American States choose to send consuls," he said, receive them and send a consul to each State. Each State will soon enter into all necessary regulations with the consul, and this is the whole that is necessary." In other words, the United States have no dignity above that of a fifth-rate power; and the States are still, in fact, only dismembered fragments of the British empire.

Impelled by this unfriendly conduct of Great Britain, the Congress, in the spring of 1784, asked the several States to delegate powers to them for fifteen years, by which they might, by countervailing measures, compel the British to be more liberal. The appeal was in vain. The States growing more and more jealous of their own dignity, refused to vest any such powers in the Congress; nor would they make any permanent or uniform arrangement among themselves. Without public credit their commerce at the mercy of every adventurer without respect at home or abroad, the League exhibited the sad spectacle of the elements of a great nation paralyzed in the formative process. Then came a threatened open rupture with Great Britain on account of the inexecution of the Treaty of Peace, when John Adams was sent to England early in 1785, clothed with the full powers of plenipotentiary, to arrange all matters in dispute. But he could accomplish little. He was courteously received, as we have observed, but was coldly treated afterward. The representative of a weak government, he was compelled to bite his lip in silence and he asked and obtained leave to return home.

Meanwhile matters were becoming infinitely worse in the United States. The League appeared

to be on the verge of dissolution. The idea of forming two or three distinct confederacies took possession of the public mind. The people of Western North Carolina revolted and a new State called Frankland, formed by the insurgents, lasted several months. A portion of Southwestern Virginia sympathized in the movement. Insurrections against the authorities of Pennsylvania appeared in the Wyoming Valley. A convention at Portland discussed the propriety of making the Territory of Maine an independent State. An armed mob surrounded the New Hampshire Legislature and demanded a remission of taxes. In Massachusetts, Captain Daniel Shays led a formidable insurrection, which caused the calling out of several thousand militia under General Lincoln to suppress it. There was resistance to taxation everywhere. It was caused by the hard necessities of the people. Debt weighed down all classes; and the burden of the tax-gatherer was often the feather that would break the camel's back."

Wise and patriotic men now saw clearly that the chief cause of all the trouble was the inherent weakness of the general government. Sagacious men like young Hamilton had perceived it long before. So early as 1780, when he was only twenty-three years of age, Hamilton seems to have formed well- defined, profound and comprehensive opinions on the situation and wants of the States. In a long letter to James Duane, in Congress, dated "At the Liberty-Pole," September 3rd, he gave an outline sketch of a national constitution, and suggested the calling of a convention to frame such a system of government. During the following year he published in the New York Packet, then printed at Fishkill, in Dutchess County, New York, a series of papers under the title of The Constitutionalist, which were devoted chiefly to the discussion of the defects in the Articles of Confederation. They excited much local attention. In the summer of 1782, as we have observed, he succeeded in having the subject brought before the Legislature of New York, then in session at Poughkeepsie. It was favorably received; and on Sunday, the 21st of July, that body, by resolution, drawn by Hamilton and presented by General Schuyler, his father-in-law, recommended the "assembling of a convention of the United States, specially authorized to revise and amend the Confederation, reserving the right to the respective legislatures to ratify their determination." In the spring of 1783, Hamilton, in Congress, expressed an earnest desire for a Convention charged with that high duty. In the same year, Thomas Paine and Pelatiah Webster wrote on the subject; and in the spring of 1784, Noah Webster, the author of the Dictionary, published a pamphlet on the great topic, which he took pains to carry in person to General Washington. In that pamphlet he suggested a new system of government which should act, not on the States but directly on individuals, and vest in Congress full power to carry its laws into effect." In the autumn of 1785, Washington, in a letter to James Warren, deplored the weakness of the government and the "illiberality, jealousy, and local policy of the States" that was likely to sink the new nation, "in the eyes of Europe, into contempt."

Grave discussions on the subject were held in the Library at Mount Vernon, where Washington, acting upon the suggestion of Hamilton five years before, proposed a convention of the several States to agree upon a plan for unity in a commercial arrangement over which, by the constitution, the Congress had no control. That suggestion beamed out upon the surrounding darkness like a ray of morning light, and was the herald and harbinger of future important action. Coming from such an exalted source, the suggestion was heeded. A convention of the States was

called at Annapolis, in Maryland. Only five States (New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, and Virginia) sent deputies. These met on the 11th of September, 1786. There being only a minority of the States represented, action was postponed, and they adjourned after adopting the form of a recommendation for the several States to send deputies to a convention to meet in Philadelphia in May following. A report of their proceedings was sent to the Congress, and that body, in February, 1787, passed a resolution strongly urging the legislatures of the several States to send deputies to meet in the proposed convention for the sole and express purpose of revising the Articles of Confederation, and reporting to Congress and the several legislatures such alterations and provisions therein as should, when agreed to in Congress and confirmed by the States, render the Federal Constitution adequate to the exigencies of the government and the preservation of the Union." Delegates were appointed by all the States excepting Rhode Island. While there was a general feeling that something must be done for the preservation of the Union, great caution was manifested in the delegation of powers to those who were to represent the States in the proposed convention.

In May, 1787, delegates from several States assembled in convention in Independence Hall in the State-House at Philadelphia. George Washington, a delegate from Virginia, was chosen to preside over their deliberations, and William Jackson, one of Washington's most intimate personal friends, was appointed secretary. It was the 25th of May before there were delegates enough from the requisite number of States to form a quorum. The business of the convention was opened by Edmund Randolph of Virginia who, at the request of his colleagues, made a carefully prepared speech, in which he pointed out the serious defects in the Articles of Confederation, illustrated their utter inadequacy to secure the dignity, peace, and safety of the republic, and asserted the absolute necessity of a more energetic government. At the close of his speech he offered to the convention fifteen resolutions, in which were embodied the leading principles whereon to construct a new form of government. The chief business of the convention was suggested by his proposition, "that a national government ought to be established, consisting of a supreme legislative, executive, and judiciary."

Upon this broad foundation all future action of the convention was based. The members had scarcely a precedent in history for their guide. The great political maxim established by the Revolution was, the original residence of all human sovereignty is in the people. It was left for the founders of the republic to parcel out from the several Commonwealths of which the new nation was composed, so much of their restricted power as the people of the several States should be willing to dismiss from their local political institutions, in making a strong and harmonious government that should be, at the same time, harmless toward reserved State rights. This was the difficult problem to be solved. "At that time," says Mr. Curtis in his History of the Constitution, "the world had witnessed no such spectacle as that of the deputies of a nation, chosen by the free action of great communities, and assembled for the purpose of thoroughly reforming its Constitution, by the exercise and with the authority of the national will. All that had been done, both in ancient and modern times, in forming, molding or modifying constitutions of government, bore little resemblance to the present undertaking of the States of America. Neither among the Greeks nor the Romans was there a precedent, and scarce an analogy."

The Convention had not proceeded far when it was discovered that the Articles of Confederation were too radically defective to afford a basis for a stable government, and therefore, instead of trying to amend them, they went diligently at work to form a new constitution. Slow progress was made, for opinions were very conflicting. At length, when it appeared probable that the result would be a failure to agree upon anything, the venerable Dr. Franklin, then eighty-two years of age, arose in his place and said: How has it happened, Sir, that we have not hitherto once thought of humbly applying to the Father of Lights to illuminate our understandings? In the beginning of the contest with Britain, when we were sensible of danger, we had daily prayers in this room for the divine protection. Our prayers, Sir, were heard and they were graciously answered. All of us who were engaged in the struggle must have observed frequent instances of a superintending Providence in our favor. To that kind Providence we owe this happy opportunity of consulting in peace on the means of establishing our future national felicity. And have we now forgotten this powerful Friend? or do we imagine we no longer need His assistance? I have lived Sir, a long time and the longer I live the more convincing proofs I see of this truth, that God governs in the affairs of men." At the conclusion of his remarks Franklin moved: "That henceforth prayers, imploring the assistance of Heaven and its blessings on our deliberations, be held in this Assembly every morning before we proceed to business; and that one or more of the clergy of this city be requested to officiate in this service." Upon a memorandum of this motion, Franklin wrote: "The convention, except three or four persons, thought prayers unnecessary!"

For many weeks the debates went on, sometimes with courtesy and at others with great acrimony, until the 10th of September (1787), when all plans and amendments adopted by the Convention were placed in the hands of a committee for revision and arrangement. That committee, composed of Messrs. Madison, Hamilton, King, Johnson, and Governor Morris, chose the latter to put the document into proper literary form. On the 17th, after the plan reported by the committee had been discussed clause by clause, slightly amended and adopted, and it had been neatly engrossed on parchment, it was spread before the members for their signatures. In the performance of that act there was some hesitation. A large majority of the delegates wished it to go forth to the people, not only as the act of the Convention, but of the individual members. Some who could not agree to it in all its parts, objected to giving their sanction to the whole, by appending their signatures but the patriotic action of Hamilton, caused several who held back, to sign the instrument. He desired a much stronger national government than the Constitution would establish, but said: "No man's ideas are more remote from the plan than my own but is it possible to deliberate between anarchy and confusion on one side, and the chance of good on the other?" His appeals, and those of Franklin, caused every member present to sign, excepting Mason and Randolph of Virginia and Gerry of Massachusetts. Then Franklin, pointing to the chair occupied by Washington, the President of the Convention, at the back of which a Sun was painted, said: I have often and often, in the course of the session, and the vicissitudes of my hopes and fears as to its issue, looked at that Sun behind the President without being able to tell whether it was rising or setting at length I have the happiness to know that it is a rising sun."

The Convention ordered their proceedings to be laid before the Congress, and by a

carefully-worded resolution recommended that body to submit the new Constitution to the people (not the States), and ask them, the source of all sovereignty, to ratify or reject it. The Congress did so. Conventions of the people were accordingly held in the several States, to consider the instrument. It was violently assailed in these conventions and through the medium of the press, by those who regarded allegiance to a State as paramount to that to the national government; while powerful essays in its favor were written by Hamilton, Madison and Jay, under the title of *The Federalist*. These had a most salutary effect upon the public mind, and were very influential in producing the happy result obtained. Long and able debates upon the subject were had in the conventions; and at public gatherings and at every fireside it was a topic for discussion and earnest conversation. Slowly the people deliberated and it was nine months after the Constitution was adopted by the Convention before it was ratified by nine States, that number being necessary to make it the organic law of the land. The following are the names of the delegates who signed the Constitution, and the order of their signatures: George Washington, of Virginia, President; John Langdon and Nicholas Gilman, of New Hampshire, Nathaniel Gorham and Rufus King, of Massachusetts, - Wm. Samuel Johnson and Roger Sherman, of Connecticut, - Alexander Hamilton, of New York, William Livingston, David Brearley, William Paterson and Jonathan Dayton, of New Jersey, Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Mifflin, Robert Morris, George Clymer, Thomas Fitzsimmons, Jared Ingersoll, James Wilson, Governor Morris, of Pennsylvania, George Read, Gunning Bedford, Jr., John Dickinson, Richard Bassett and Jacob Brown, of Delaware, James McHenry, Daniel-of-St.-Thomas Jenifer and Daniel Carroll, of Maryland, John Blair and James Madison, of Virginia, William Blount, Richard Dobbs Spaight, Hugh Williamson, of North Carolina, John Rutledge, Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, Charles Pinckney and Pierce Butler, of South Carolina, and William Few and Abraham Baldwin, of Georgia.

While the national Convention was in session at Philadelphia, the Continental Congress, feeble and dying, were sitting at New York, with only eight States represented; but they performed a very important work at midsummer. By treaties with the principal Indian tribes between the Ohio River and the Great Lakes, the aboriginal titles to seventeen million acres of land in that region had been extinguished. This act, with that of the cession of Virginia to the United States of all its claims to lands in that region, put the general government in actual possession of a vast country out of which several flourishing States have been formed. The Congress, by unanimous vote on the 13th of July, 1787, adopted an Ordinance for the Government of the Territory of the United States northwest of the Ohio." It provided, among other things, that there should be "neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in the said Territory otherwise than in the punishment of crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted." The existence of these conditions in the Northwestern Territory," as the country was now called, created a mighty stream of emigration to flow down the western slopes of the Allegheny Mountains into the Ohio Valley. The first settlement founded there by Europeans (excepting by Moravian missionaries) was seated by General Rufus Putnam and others, at the mouth of the Muskingum River, which he named Marietta, in honor of Marie Antoinette, then queen of Louis the Sixteenth of France. Other immigrants followed and it has been estimated that during the years 1788 and 1789, full twenty thousand men, women, and children went down the Ohio in boats to settle near its banks. Since then, how wonderful has been the growth of the empire beyond the Alleghany Mountains.

On the 21st of June, 1788, the New Hampshire convention ratified the new Constitution. This completed the sanction of the number of States necessary to make it the organic law of the country. Delaware ratified it on the 7th of December, 1787 Pennsylvania on the 12th, and New Jersey on the 18th of the same month Georgia on the 2nd, and Connecticut on the 9th of January, 1788; Massachusetts on the 6th of February; Maryland on the 28th of April; South Carolina on the 23rd of May, and New Hampshire, as we have observed, on the 21st of June, 1788. On the 26th of the same month, Virginia ratified it; New York on the 26th of July, and North Carolina on the 21st of November. Rhode Island held back until the 29th of May, 1789, after the new government had gone into operation. By these acts of ratification, the inhabitants of our country emphatically declared, in the language of the Preamble to the National Constitution: We, the People of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, 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." In accordance with the provisions of that Constitution, the people of the States wherein it had been ratified chose Presidential electors. These formed the first Electoral College, and on the first Wednesday in February, 1789, they chose George Washington, President, and John Adams, Vice President of the United States. On the 4th of March following, the first Congress under the new order of things began their first session, when the Continental Congress - the representative of the League - officially expired.

The history of the old Continental Congress is a remarkable one. At first it was a spontaneous gathering of patriotic representatives of thirteen colonies that stretched a thousand miles along the western shores of the Atlantic, who met to act for the common good. With unexampled boldness and faith, they snatched the sceptre of rule from their oppressing sovereign, and assuming imperial functions, created armies, issued bills of credit, declared the provinces to be independent States, made treaties with foreign nations, founded an empire, and compelled their king to acknowledge the States which they represented, to be independent of the British crown. The career of that Congress astonished the world with the brilliancy of the events achieved. A mightier and more stable power took the place of this conqueror, and immediately arrested the profound attention of the civilized nations. It was seen that its commerce, diplomacy, and dignity were no longer exposed to neglect by thirteen clashing legislative bodies, but were guarded and controlled by a central power of wonderful energy. Great Britain no longer thought of sending hither consuls, alone, to represent her, but placed a minister plenipotentiary near the republican court. Other European governments sent hither dignified diplomatic agents. We no longer exhibited the weakness of a League of States, but the power of a Nation. The prophecy of Bishop Berkeley was on the eve of fulfillment: "Westward the course of Empire takes its way."

Chapter LXXXVII

The People and the Constitution - Washington Informed of His Election - Visits His Mother - His Journey to New York - Reception at Philadelphia, Trenton, and New York - Inauguration of Washington - Official Etiquette - The Policy of Titles Discussed - Mrs. Washington - The First Work of Congress - A Temporary Revenue System and Its Effects - Executive Departments Established - A National Judiciary - Amendments to the Constitution - Seat of the National Government Considered - Cabinet Officers Chosen.

WHEN the national government of the United States was established under the new Constitution, the total population of the republic, exclusive of the Indians, was 3,929,827. Of this number, 757,365 persons were of African descent, 697,879 being born slaves. The number of Indians then on our domain, is unknown.

The dominant Caucasian race in our land, about three millions and a quarter in number, had, through long years of political discussion and actual war, been trained to the endurance of personal hardships, the assertion of individual rights, and the maintenance of the political and social franchises incident to the exercise of local self-government. They had been educated for free citizenship in a school of independent thinkers, and by constant attrition had formed habits of self-reliance, mental and physical. The judgment of this people was brought to bear upon the new Constitution before and after its ratification; and when a majority had declared it to be the supreme law of the land, the minority patriotically acquiesced in the momentous decision, not however without most decided manifestations of disapproval at first, especially by the more excitable part of the population.

When, early in the summer of 1788, the ratification of the Constitution was assured, its friends, in some places, prepared to mingle demonstrations of joy on that account with the usual methods of celebrating the anniversary of the Declaration of Independence. This was attempted, on the 4th of July, in Providence, R. I., when a thousand men, led by a judge of the supreme court, came in from the country and compelled the citizens to strike from their programme all allusion to the Constitution. In Albany both parties celebrated Independence day" together, but after dinner the friends of the Constitution formed a procession that was escorted by several military companies. The opposite party interfered with them, and a sharp fight ensued, in which stones and clubs, swords and bayonets, were used, and a few persons were seriously wounded. There were also some riotous demonstrations in New York, after the great Federal procession," in which, as in Philadelphia, many industries were practically exhibited as the line moved through the streets - mechanics of all kinds with tools at work and banners flying - followed by a great banquet and illuminations. But there were temporary ebullitions of feeling that suddenly assumed the features of a mob spirit.

When, in the spring of 1789, the new government went into operation in the City of New York, after the inauguration of Washington as the first President of the republic, there was a general readiness manifested by thinking men of all creeds in politics and religion to try the

experiment," as the new order of things was deemed to be, fairly and fully. They saw clearly that it was a momentous experiment to attempt, without a precedent, to adjust the machinery of a government, political and social, that was the embodiment of the ideas of local self-rule and of national union, so as to secure perfect harmony, and to avoid all friction. They saw that it required the highest type of statesmanship to accomplish that delicate and difficult task therefore, in the elections of their executive and legislative representatives, the people put forth their honest efforts to secure the best men for the respective offices. So judicious was their choice, that when Washington stood before their representatives face to face, in the old Federal Hall in New York, to deliver his inaugural address, he was constrained to say that in them he saw the surest pledges that the foundations of the national policy would be laid in the pure and immutable principles of private morality, and the pre-eminence of free government be exemplified by all the attributes which can win the affections of its citizens and command the respect of the world." He continued: I dwell on this prospect with every satisfaction which an ardent love of my country can inspire since there is no truth more thoroughly established than that there exists in the economy and course of nature an indissoluble union between virtue and happiness, between duty and advantage, between the genuine maxims of an honest and magnanimous policy and the solid rewards of public propriety and felicity since we ought to be no less persuaded that the propitious smiles of Heaven can never be expected on a nation that disregards the eternal rules of order and right which Heaven itself has ordained and since the preservation of the sacred fire of liberty and the destiny of the republican model of government are justly considered as deeply, perhaps as finally, staked on the experiment intrusted to the hands of the American people."

Washington was making the usual tour of his fields on the 14th of March, 1789, when Charles Thomson, the Secretary of the Continental Congress, arrived at Mount Vernon with a letter from John Langdon, the pro-tempore president of the United States Senate, announcing the election of the illustrious farmer to the Presidency of the republic. Washington accepted the office, and made immediate preparations for the journey to the seat of government. Toward evening, accompanied by his favorite body-servant, Billy, he left Mount Vernon and rode rapidly toward Fredericksburg, to visit his mother, then past eighty years of age and suffering from an incurable disease. The interview was a touching one. When he was about to leave, the son promised the mother, that so soon as public business would allow, he would hasten to Virginia to see her. You will see me no more," said the aged matron my great age and the disease which is rapidly approaching my vitals, warn me that I shall not be long in this world." The dutiful son stooped and kissed her, as she sat in her arm-chair, when she took his brawny hands in her attenuated ones and said: "Go, George; fulfill the high destinies which Heaven appears to assign to you go, my son, and may that Heaven's and your mother's blessing be with you always." They never met again on the earth. When Washington returned to Virginia, his mother's body was in the grave. She died in August, 1789, at the age of eighty-two years.

On the morning of the 6th of April, Washington left Mount Vernon for New York, accompanied by Mr. Thomson and Colonel Humphreys. He was met at his porter's lodge by a cavalcade of his neighbors and friends, who escorted him to Alexandria, where he partook of a public dinner. Everywhere on his journey he was greeted by demonstrations of the most profound

respect and reverence. At Georgetown he was received with honors, and at Baltimore he was feasted. At Gray's Ferry on the Schuylkill, near Philadelphia, a triumphal arch had been erected and covered with laurel branches. As Washington passed through it, Angelica Peale, a daughter of the artist, Charles Wilson Peale - a child of rare beauty, concealed among the foliage - let down an ornamented civic crown of laurel which rested on the head of the Patriot. This incident drew from the multitude loud huzzahs, and shouts of "Long live George Washington! Long live the Father of his Country!" filled the air. When he crossed the Delaware at Trenton, the scene of one of his earliest victories in the war for independence, he was led through a triumphal arch erected upon a bridge that spanned a small stream over which he had retreated before Cornwallis more than twenty years before. The arch was supported by thirteen pillars trimmed with evergreens and flowers. It had been erected and adorned by the women of New Jersey, and bore the words: The Defender of the Mothers, will be the Protector of the Daughters." Many mothers, with their daughters, appeared on each side of the structure, all dressed in white. As the President-elect passed through, thirteen young girls in white dresses, their heads adorned with flowers, and holding baskets of flowers in their hands, scattered some of them in his way, while they sang an ode of welcome.

At Elizabethtown Point, Washington was met by a committee from each house of Congress, and civil and military officers. They had prepared a magnificent barge for his reception, manned by thirteen pilots in white uniforms. In this the President-elect was conveyed to New York. The shipping in New York harbor was decorated with flags, and the waters swarmed with gaily-dressed small boats filled with ladies and gentlemen. There was an exception to the general display of honors. The Spanish ship-of-war *Galveston*, lying not far from the present Castle Garden, was not decorated, and was silent. This neglect - this seeming churlishness - was so marked, that it called forth severe comments, when suddenly, as the barge came abreast of her, she displayed, as if by magic, the flags of all nations, and fired a salute of thirteen guns. These were answered by guns from the battery on the shore; and in the midst of the roar of artillery and the shouts of a vast multitude of citizens, the Beloved Patriot landed at Whitehall and was conducted to a house prepared for his residence on Franklin Square. Such was the reception of the first President-elect, at the seat of the new national government. There was general joy and good feeling, but satire and caricature appeared like ravens among bebies of white doves. Political parties were already beginning to take distinct shape. The friends of the Constitution, represented by Washington, were called Federalists, and those opposed to it were called Anti-Federalists. On the day after Washington's arrival a caricature appeared - silly enough, but charged with bitter feeling - in which the President was seen mounted on an ass, in the arms of Billy, Colonel David Humphreys leading the Jack and chanting hosannahs and birthday odes. The picture was full of disloyal and profane allusions. The Devil appeared prominent, and from his mouth issued the words: The glorious lime has come to pass. When David shall conduct an ass."

On the 30th of April Washington was inaugurated President of the republic. The ceremony took place in the open gallery of the old City Hall (afterward called Federal Hall), on the site of the present Custom-House, in the presence of a vast multitude. Washington was dressed in a suit of dark brown cloth and white silk stockings, all of American manufacture. His hair was

powdered and dressed in the fashion of the day, clubbed and ribboned. The oath of office was administered by Robert R. Livingston, then chancellor of the State of New York. The open Bible (then and now the property of St. John's Lodge of Freemasons of the City of New York), on which the President laid his hand, was held on a rich crimson velvet cushion by Mr. Otis, Secretary of the Senate. Near them were John Adams, who had been chosen Vice-President; George Clinton, Governor of New York Philip Schuyler, John Jay, General Knox, Ebenezer Hazard, Samuel Osgood and other distinguished men. After taking the oath and kissing the sacred book reverently, Washington closed his eyes and in an attitude of devotion said: "So help me God! The Chancellor exclaimed, It is done! and then turning to the people he shouted, "Long live George Washington, the first President of the United States." That shout was echoed and re-echoed by the multitude, when the President and the members of Congress retired to the Senate Chamber, where Washington pronounced a most impressive inaugural address, At the conclusion, he and the members went in procession to St. Paul's Church (which, with the other churches, had been opened for prayers at nine o'clock that morning), and there they invoked the blessing of Almighty God upon the new government. The first person who grasped Washington's hand in congratulation, after the ceremony, was Richard Henry Lee, his friend from childhood, to whom he had written when they were boys nine years of age - "I am going to get a whip-top soon, and you may see it and whip it." How many human whip-tops had these staunch patriots managed since they wrote their childish epistles

The new government entered upon its duties under the keen scrutiny of a jealous opposition, and an ever-watchful democracy which regarded with alarm every aspect of aristocracy to be found in the new order of things, Even the saluting of Mrs. Washington with cannon-peals on her arrival in New York a month after her husband's inauguration, and the escorting her to the President's house by military, was commented upon as opening monarchical ceremonies," These suspicions were manifested, in a large degree, in the Congress, where the propriety of bestowing dignified titles upon the President and Vice-President was discussed. Warm debates were had. "Will not the people say," exclaimed a member from South Carolina, "that they have been deceived by the Convention that framed the Constitution and that it has been continued with a view to lead them on by degrees to that kind of government which they have thrown off with abhorrence? Does the dignity of a nation consist in the distance between the first magistrate and the citizens! in the exaltation of one man and the humiliation of the rest?" No positive conclusion was arrived at. The House of Representatives had already addressed Washington simply as President of the United States but before long it became common to prefix the words His Excellency," which has been done ever since. It was known that Washington had no special desire for a title but the Vice-President was decidedly in favor of marks of distinction, and had adopted in his equipage and manner a style that offended many of the members of Congress.

Washington was anxious to so regulate his intercourse with the public rat large, that he might secure dignity for the office and order for his own comfort and the public good. Wishing to give his time to public affairs, he resolved at the outset not to return any visits. To prevent being overrun with mere callers, he appointed the hour between three and four o'clock each Tuesday for the reception of gentlemen. He met ladies at the receptions given by Mrs. Washington, who also

had stated times for the ceremony. At receptions by the latter, in which the company consisted only of persons connected with the government and their families, foreign ministers and their families, and persons moving in the best circles of refined society, all were expected to appear in full dress. On these occasions Washington generally stood by the side of his wife, dressed in a plain suit of brown cloth with bright buttons, without hat or dress-sword. At his own levees he wore a suit of black velvet, black silk stockings, silver knee and shoe buckles, and yellow gloves. He held in his hand a cocked-hat with a black cockade. His hat was trimmed with a feather around the edge about one inch deep. He also wore an elegant dress-sword upon his hip in such a manner that only the point of the scabbard might be seen below the skirt of his coat. As visitors came in, they were introduced to him by Colonel Humphreys, who was master of ceremonies, when they were arranged in a circle around the room. At a quarter-past three o'clock the door was closed, when the company for the day was completed. The President then began on the right, and spoke to each visitor, calling him by name, and addressing a few words to him. When he had completed the circuit, he resumed his first position, when the visitors approached him, bowed and retired. By four o'clock this ceremony was over.

This court-life was very distasteful to Mrs. Washington. She wrote to a friend: I live a very dull life here, and know nothing that passes in the town. I never go to any public place - indeed I think I am more like a state-prisoner than anything else. There are certain bounds set for me which I must not depart from and as I cannot do as I like, I am obstinate and stay at home a great deal." She was a careful, bustling, industrious little housewife, more fond of her home than promiscuous society, and a noble exemplar for American women. "Let us repair to the old lady's room," wrote the wife of a revolutionary officer from Mount Vernon, just after Washington retired from the Presidency. It is nicely fixed for all sorts of work. On one side sits the chambermaid, with her knitting on the other, a little colored pet learning to sew. An old, decent woman is there, with her table and shears, cutting out the negroes winter-clothing, while the good old lady directs them all incessantly knitting herself. She points out to me several pair of nice colored stockings and gloves she had just finished, and presents me with a pair, half done, which she begs me to finish and wear for her sake. It is wonderful, after a life spent as these good people have necessarily spent theirs, to see them in retirement assume those domestic habits that prevail in our country."

Even before the inauguration of the President, Congress began in earnest the great work of putting the machinery of the new government into harmonious and vigorous action. The first and most important duties to which they were called were the devising of a revenue system - for the public treasury was empty - and establishing a national judiciary as a co-ordinate branch of the national government. Two days after the votes of the Presidential electors were counted, Mr. Madison, to whom the leadership in the House of Representatives was conceded, brought forward a plan for a temporary system of imports, to be based upon one proposed by the Continental Congress. He was decidedly favorable to free trade but the wants of the public treasury and the impossibility to obtain reciprocal action on the part of other governments, made him consent to and propose a tariff upon spirituous liquors, wines, tea, coffee, sugar, molasses and pepper, as subjects for special duties; also an ad valorem duty upon all other articles imported, and a tonnage

duty upon all vessels, with a discrimination in favor of vessels owned wholly in the United States, and an additional discrimination between foreign vessels, favorable to those belonging to countries having commercial treaties with the United States. The debates that arose on these propositions took a scope so wide and general that nearly every principle of tariff regulations, which have occupied the attention of our national legislature since, was fully discussed. It was finally agreed to lay duties upon certain specified articles that were imported into the United States until the year 1796; also to impose higher duties on foreign than on American bottoms; and goods imported in vessels belonging to citizens of the United States were to pay ten percent less duty than the same goods brought in those owned by foreigners. These discriminating duties were intended to counteract the commercial regulations of foreign nations, and especially those of Great Britain, and encourage American shipping.

These discussions and measures startled the powerful and selfish shipping interest of Great Britain, which had persistently opposed fair commercial relations with the Americans during the existence of the old Confederation. British merchants and British statesmen now perceived that American commerce was no longer regulated by thirteen separate legislatures representing clashing interests, nor subject to the control of the king and council, but that its interests were guarded by a central power of great energy. The British government hastened to secure commercial advantages, and it became a supplicant instead of a haughty master. Soon after the passage of the revenue laws, a committee of Parliament proposed to ask the United States to consent to an arrangement precisely like the one proposed by Mr. Adams in 1785, but then rejected with scorn by the British ministry. The proposition was made to our government, and was met by generous courtesy on the part of the United States; but it was not until 1816, when the second war for independence - the war of 1812-15 - had been some time closed, that reciprocity treaties fairly regulated the commerce between the two countries.

Soon after the inauguration of Washington, the House having made provisions for raising a revenue, turned their attention to a reorganization of the Executive Departments. Those of the old Congress were still in operation, and were filled by the incumbents appointed by that body. The Department of Foreign Affairs, established in 1781, was incorporated with one for Home Affairs, and was called the Department of State, having charge not only of all foreign negotiations, and all papers connected therewith, but also the custody of all papers and documents of the old Congress, and all engrossed acts and resolutions of the new government which had become laws also the issuing of all commissions for civil officers. The Treasury Department was continued substantially on the plan established in 1781. It was the duty of its chief officer to digest and propose plans for the improvement and management of the public revenue; to superintend the collection of the same to execute services connected with the sale of public lands to grant warrants on the treasury for all appropriations made by law; and to report to either House of Congress as to matters referred to him or appertaining to his office. Under him were subordinate officers - a controller, an auditor, a register, and a treasurer. The chief of the Department of State was called Secretary of State, and of the Treasury Department, Secretary of the Treasury.

The Department of War was organized very much upon the plan adopted in 1781, and its head was called Secretary of War. He was also intrusted with the superintendence of naval as well as military affairs, the material of the united service then being very limited. Not a single vessel of the Continental navy remained and the military establishment consisted of only a single regiment of foot, a battalion of artillery, and the militia which the President might call out for the defence of the frontiers. There was a wholesome dread of a standing army. The Post-Office Department was continued on the plan of Dr. Franklin, the first Postmaster-General appointed by the Continental Congress. Franklin had been succeeded by his son-in-law, Richard Bache, and he, in turn, by Ebenezer Hazard, who then held the office. A Secretary of the Navy was not appointed until 1798. The Postmaster-General did not become a cabinet officer until 1829, the first year of President Jackson's administration.

While the House of Representatives were engaged with the subject of revenue and the Executive Departments, the Senate was busy in perfecting a plan for a national judiciary. A bill drawn by Oliver Ellsworth of Connecticut, chairman of a committee appointed for the purpose, was, after considerable discussion and some alteration, passed, and was concurred in by the other House. By its provisions, the judiciary was to consist of a Supreme Court having one Chief Justice and five Associate Justices, who were to hold two sessions annually at the seat of the national government. Circuit and district courts were also established which had jurisdiction over certain specified cases. Each State in the Union was made a district, as were also the Territories of Kentucky and Maine. With the exception of these two, the districts were grouped into three circuits. An appeal from these lower courts to the Supreme Court was allowed, as to points of law, in all civil cases when the matter in dispute amounted to two thousand dollars. The President was authorized to appoint a marshal for each district, having the general powers of a sheriff, who was to attend all courts and was authorized to serve all processes. Provision was also made for a district attorney in each district to act for the United States in all cases in which the national government might be interested. That organization, with slight modifications, is still in force.

The next important business that engaged the attention of Congress during its first session was the consideration of amendments to the national Constitution. The subject was brought forward by Mr. Madison, in conformity to pledges given to his State (Virginia), which was opposed to the Constitution without certain amendments. The number of amendments proposed by the minorities of the several conventions that ratified the Constitution, exceeded one hundred. These were referred to a committee which consisted of one member from each State. That committee finally reported, and after long debate and various alterations, twelve articles were agreed to and submitted to the people of the several States for ratification or rejection. The first two related to the number and pay of the House of Representatives; the other ten, a member said, were of no more value than a pinch of snuff since they went to secure rights never in danger." Only these ten were ratified in the course of the next two years. Two other amendments were afterward made, and these were the only ones adopted until the period of the Civil War.

The national debt was a subject that demanded the earnest attention of Congress; but that body, having put the machinery of government in motion, deferred the consideration of its

operations in detail until their next session. They contented themselves with directing the Secretary of the Treasury to prepare and report a plan for the liquidation of that debt, at the next session. The subject of the public lands was also an important one, but Congress did nothing more than to recognize and confirm the ordinance of 1787 for the establishment of the Northwestern Territory. They fixed the salaries of the several officers of the government at a very low rate of compensation as compared with other nations and toward the close of the session, which ended in September, the question respecting the permanent seat of the national government was called up and produced much excitement in and out of Congress. New York and Philadelphia were the chief aspirants for the honor. Maryland and Virginia resolved to fix the site on the Potomac. After much debate and the passage back and forth of amended bills between the two Houses, the subject was postponed until the next session.

Congress adjourned for three months on the 29th of September. The President, who had been confined to his bed six weeks in the summer with a severe malady which, at one time, put his life in peril, resolved to make a journey into New England during the recess, in search of renewed strength and to become better acquainted with the country and the inhabitants. Before his departure he selected the cabinet ministers who were to be his advisers and made other appointments, all subject to the approval or disapproval of the Senate. He chose Thomas Jefferson for the important post of Secretary of State. Washington knew his worth as a patriot and statesman. He had succeeded Dr. Franklin as minister to the French court, and was about to return home. The President had ample opportunities for knowing the transcendent abilities, practical common sense, and sterling patriotism of Alexander Hamilton, and he chose him to fill the really most important office in the cabinet at that time, that of Secretary of the Treasury. General Henry Knox was then the Secretary of War, and he was continued in the office; for his tried patriotism, steady principles and his public services, had endeared him to Washington, and secured the public confidence. Edmund Randolph of Virginia, who was a distinguished member of the bar, and a leading spirit in the convention that framed the Constitution, was chosen to be attorney-general. Washington regarded the national judiciary as the strong right-arm of the Constitution to enable it to perform its functions with justice, and he selected John Jay of New York for the office of Chief Justice of the United States, as the most fitting man for the place to be found in the country. Consulting alike, in this nomination, the public good and the dignity of the Court, he expressed his own feelings in a letter to Mr. Jay, in this wise: I have a full confidence that the love you bear to our country and a desire to promote the general happiness, will not suffer you to hesitate a moment to bring into action the talents, knowledge, and integrity which are so necessary to be exercised at the head of that department, which must be considered the keystone of our political fabric."

So it was that with great wisdom, prudence and foresight, the sagacious founders of our republic organized and set in motion the machinery of government. The tests of full a hundred years experience have elucidated the practical philosophy evinced by these men, individually and collectively, in the performance of their delicate and very difficult task. At the very outset, the new system of government encountered enormous strains, and the tests amounted almost to positive demonstrations of the unconquerable strength of our republic which it derived from the

sap of free institutions. The wisdom and sagacity of the first President were also manifested in his choice of his aids in the management of the new government. He chose men of tried patriotism, intelligence and virtue, on whom he could rely for judicious counsel and courageous action - two very important qualities at that juncture in our national life.

Chapter LXXXVIII

Thanksgiving Day Appointed - The President's Journey into New England - Official Etiquette - Ceremonies at the Opening of Congress - Hamilton's Report on Finances - Financial Measures Adopted - First Debates in Congress on Slavery - Seat of the National Government Chosen - Patents and Copyrights - Treaty with Southern Indians - A National Currency, Bank, Coinage and Mint Established - Vermont and Kentucky Enter the Union - First Census - Wars with Indians in the Northwest, and Their Final Subjugation.

A FEW days before Congress adjourned in September, that body, by resolution, requested the President to recommend a day of public thanksgiving and prayer to be observed by the people of the whole nation, in acknowledgment of the signal favor of the Almighty in permitting them to establish in peace a free government. Washington issued a proclamation to that effect. It was the first call for a national thanksgiving since the establishment of the new government. On the same day (October 3, 1790) he wrote in his diary Sat for Mr. Rammage [an Irish artist] near two hours to-day, who was drawing a miniature picture of me for Mrs. Washington. Walked in the afternoon, and sat at two o'clock for Madame de Brehan [or Brienne, sister of the French minister Moustier], to complete a miniature profile of me which she had begun from memory, and which she had made exceedingly like the original."

The President appointed Thursday, the 26th of November, as the day for the national thanksgiving, and on the 15th of October, he set out on his journey to New England. Rhode Island, not having yet adopted the new Constitution, was not in the Union, and he did not tread upon its soil, but went to Boston by way of Hartford, Springfield and Worcester, arriving there on Saturday, the 24th. There he had an official tilt with John Hancock, who was then governor of Massachusetts. Hancock had invited Washington to lodge at his house in Boston. The invitation was declined. After the arrival of the President, the governor sent him an invitation to dine with him and his family, informally, that day, at the conclusion of the public reception ceremonies. It was accepted by Washington, with a full persuasion that the governor would call upon him before the dinner hour. But Hancock had conceived the proud notion that the governor of a State within his own domain was officially superior to the President of the United States when he came into it. He had laid his plans for asserting this superiority by having Washington visit him first, and to this end he had sent him the invitations to lodge and dine with him. At near the time for dinner, as Washington did not appear, Hancock evidently felt some misgivings, for he sent his secretary to the President with an excuse that he was too ill to call upon his Excellency in person. The latter divined the nature of the "indisposition," and dined at his own lodgings at "the widow Ingersolls," with a single guest. That evening the governor, feeling uneasy, sent his lieutenant and two of his council to express his regret that his illness had not allowed him to call upon the President. "I informed them explicitly," Washington wrote in his diary, "that I should not see the governor except at my lodgings." This took the conceit entirely out of Hancock, who was well enough the next day (Sunday) to call upon Washington and repeat, in person, the insufficient excuse for his own folly.

The President extended his visit eastward as far as Portsmouth, New Hampshire, where he sat to a persistent portrait painter named Gulligher, who had followed him from Boston. From that point he took a more northerly route back to Hartford, and arrived at New York on the 23th of November.

There, on the 8th of January, 1790, the second session of the first Congress was begun in the old Federal Hall. The proceedings were opened by a message or speech from Washington, which he delivered in person. At eleven o'clock that day he left his house in his coach drawn by four bay horses, preceded by Colonel Humphreys and Major Jackson in military uniform, riding two of his white horses, and followed by his private secretaries, Messrs. Lear and Nelson, in his chariot. His own coach was followed by carriages bearing Chief-Justice Jay and the Secretaries of the Treasury and War, Secretary Jefferson not having arrived at the seat of government. At the outer door of the Hall the President was met by the door-keepers of the Senate and House of Representatives, and conducted by them to the door of the Senate Chamber, from which the President was led through the assembled members of Congress, the Senate on one side and the House on the other, to the chair, where he was seated. The members all rose as the President entered, and the gentlemen who had accompanied him took their stand behind the Senators. In the course of a few minutes the President rose (and with him the members of both houses) and made his speech, after which he handed copies to the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives, and then retired, bowing to the members (who stood) as he passed out. In the same manner as he came, and with the same attendants, he returned to his house. On this occasion," Washington wrote in his diary, "I was dressed in a suit of clothes made at the woolen manufactory at Hartford, as the buttons also were." At an appointed hour on the 14th the members of the houses of Congress proceeded in carriages to the mansion of the President (those of the House of Representatives with the mace, preceded by their Speaker), and there presented their respective addresses in response to his speech. These stately ceremonials at the opening of the sessions of Congress were in vogue until Jefferson took his seat as Chief Magistrate, when they were all omitted and the President sent to the assembled Congress his annual and other messages in writing, by his private secretary, as is now done.

The public credit was a topic that demanded and received the earliest and most earnest attention of Congress at the second session. The report of the Secretary of the Treasury (Mr. Hamilton) had been waited for with great solicitude, not only by the public creditors, but by every thoughtful patriot. It was presented in writing to the House of Representatives on the 15th of January, 1790, and embodied a financial scheme which was generally adopted and remained the line of policy of the national government, with very slight modifications, for more than twenty years. On the recommendation of the Secretary, the national government assumed not only the foreign and domestic debts incurred for carrying on the late war, as its own, but also the debts contracted by the several States during that period, for the general welfare. The foreign debt, amounting with accrued interest to almost \$12,000,000, was due chiefly to France and private lenders in Holland. The domestic debt, including outstanding continental money and interest, amounted to over \$42,000,000, nearly one-third of which was accumulated accrued interest. The State debts assumed amounted to \$21,000,000, distributed as follows: New Hampshire,

\$300,000; Massachusetts, \$4,000,000; Rhode Island (which came into the Union by adopting the Constitution in May, 1790), \$200,000; Connecticut, \$1,600,000; New York, \$1,200,000; New Jersey, \$800,000; Pennsylvania, \$2,200,000; Delaware, \$200,000; Maryland, \$800,000; Virginia, \$3,000,000; North Carolina \$2,400,000; South Carolina, \$4,000,000; Georgia, \$300,000.

The report called forth long, earnest, and able debates in and out of Congress. Concerning the foreign debt, there was but one opinion, and that was it must be paid in full according to the terms on which it was contracted; and the President was authorized to borrow \$12,000,000, if necessary, for its liquidation. With respect to the domestic debt, there was a wide difference of opinion. As the government certificates, continental bills of credit, and other evidences of debt were then held chiefly by speculators who had purchased them at greatly reduced rates, the idea had been put forth by prominent men that it would be proper and expedient to apply a scale of depreciation, as in the case of the paper-money toward the close of the war, in liquidating those claims. Hamilton warmly opposed this proposition as not only dishonest but impolitic, arguing that public credit, which might be blasted by such a proceeding, was essential to the very existence of the new government. He therefore urged that all the debts should be met according to the terms of the contract. He proposed the funding of the public debt in a fair and economical way, by which the public creditors should receive their promised interest of six percent until the government should be able to pay the principal, and for the latter purpose he proposed to devote the proceeds of the General Post-office as a sinking fund. The Secretary assumed that, in five years, by an honorable course in its financial operations, the government would be able to effect loans at five and even at four percent, with which the claims might be met. Hamilton's propositions, in general, were agreed to in March. A new loan was authorized, payable in certificates of the domestic debt, at their par value and in continental bills of credit at the rate of one hundred for one. Congress also authorized an additional loan, payable in certificates of the State debts, to the amount of \$21,000,000. A new board of commissioners was appointed, with full power to settle all claims on general principles of equity. A system of revenue from imports and internal excise, proposed by Hamilton, was also adopted.

While the financial question was under debate, another subject, more exciting, was presented to the House, in the form of a petition or memorial from the Yearly Meetings of the Society of Friends, or Quakers, of Pennsylvania and Delaware, and also of New York, on the subject of slavery and the slave-trade. Slavery then existed in all the States but Massachusetts, whose constitution contained a clause that had silently abolished it. In other States benevolent and patriotic persons had made attempts to have the system of slave-labor abolished and these memorials proposed action of the national Congress on the subject. They were seconded by another from the Pennsylvania Society for the abolition of slavery, signed by Dr. Franklin, its president. This was the last public act of that great and good man, for he died a few weeks afterward.

These were the first debates in the national legislature on the subject of slavery, which, from time to time, afterward shook the foundations of the Union and finally culminated in the Civil War whose fires consumed the institution. They were ended on the occasion here mentioned, in

March, 1790, by the adoption of a report which declared substantially (1) that Congress had no constitutional power to interfere with the African Slave-trade before the year 1808 (2) that they had no power to interfere with slavery in the States wherein it existed (3) that they might restrain citizens of the United States from carrying on the African Slave-trade to supply foreigners with slaves, and (4) that they had power to prohibit foreigners fitting out vessels in our ports for transporting persons from Africa to any foreign port. It was when the debates on the financial scheme and the slavery question were at their height, that Jefferson arrived in New York and took his seat in Washington's cabinet as Secretary of State.

During this session the question of the permanent location of the seat of the national government was discussed, and it was finally decided that it should be at the head of sloop navigation on the Potomac River, within a territory ten miles square lying on each side of the river, ceded by Maryland and Virginia, and named, in honor of the discoverer of America, The District of Columbia. It was to become the seat of government after the lapse of ten years. Acts for the issuing of patents for improvements, and copyrights on books, were also passed and after a laborious and quite an exciting session, Congress adjourned in August to meet again in December.

The third session was a most important one, for measures were then adopted which laid the foundations of public credit and national prosperity deep and abiding. The relations with the Indians on the frontiers of the republic had received the earnest attention of the new government; and by prudent management Washington had induced McGillivray, a half-breed leader of the Creek Indians, near the Gulf of Mexico, to come to New York with a large delegation of Creek chiefs to negotiate a treaty. They were received by the Tammany Society or Columbian Order, then recently established, whose ideal patrons were Columbus and a legendary Indian chief named Tammany who had once been lord of Manhattan Island, and was adopted by them as the patron saint of America. The members, dressed in Indian costume, escorted the deputation into the City of New York, and entertained them at a public dinner. A treaty was concluded by which all the territory south and west of the Oconee River (in portions of which some Georgians had settled) was secured to the Indians, and all east of that stream was relinquished by them to the white people. There was also a mutual agreement of friendship and by a secret article it was stipulated that presents to the amount of \$1,500 were to be annually distributed among the nation. This was calculated to secure the fidelity of the savages. Arrangements with the Indians in the Northwest were not so easily made, as we shall observe presently.

The subject of a national currency had early engaged the attention of Congress. Hamilton, in his masterly report on the finances, proposed the establishment of a national bank. The whole banking capital in the United States was then only \$2,000,000, invested in the Bank of North America, established by Morris, in Philadelphia, in 1781 the Bank of New York, in New York city, and the Bank of Massachusetts, in Boston. A bill for the establishment of such a bank in the City of Philadelphia became a law early in 1791, when a corporation with the title of President, Directors and Company of the Bank of the United States" was created, to be governed by twenty-five directors, to have a capital of \$15,000,000, and to exist for twenty years. This bank

went into operation in February, 1794, with a capital of \$10,000,000, and branches were established at various commercial centres.

A national coinage had occupied the attention of the public mind for some time. So early as 1782, the subject was presented to the Continental Congress in an able report by Governor Morris, written at the request of Robert Morris, the Superintendent of Finance. In 1784, Mr. Jefferson, chairman of the committee appointed for the purpose, submitted a report on the subject, agreeing with Morris in regard to a decimal system, but disagreeing with him as to the details. Morris tried to harmonize the moneys of all the States. Starting with an ascertained fraction as an unit, for a divisor, he proposed the following table of moneys ten units to be equal to one penny ten pence to one bill ten bills one dollar (about seventy-five cents of our currency), and ten dollars one crown. Jefferson proposed to strike four coins - golden piece of the value of ten dollars a dollar, in silver; a tenth of a dollar in silver, and a hundredth of a dollar in copper. In 1788, Congress adopted Mr. Jefferson's recommendation, and made legal provision for the coinage. This was the origin of our cent, dime, dollar, and eagle. The establishment of a mint was delayed, however, and no special action was taken in that direction until 1790, when Mr. Jefferson, then Secretary of State, urged the matter upon the attention of Congress. It was not until April, 1792, when laws were proposed for the establishment of a mint. It was not put into regular operation until 1795. During the three preceding years there were experimental operations, and long debates were had in Congress concerning the device for the new coins. The Senate proposed the head of the President at the time of the coinage the House of Representatives proposed an imaginary head of Liberty, as less imitative of royalty. The latter was adopted. The first mint was established in Philadelphia, then the temporary seat of the national government, and remained the sole coiner until 1835, when branches were authorized in North Carolina, Georgia, and Louisiana. It was at about the time when the law passed authorizing the establishment of a mint (1792), when a postal system, substantially the same as now exists, was put into operation.

Vermont, originally known as the New Hampshire Grants, had a long controversy with New York about territorial jurisdiction, which was not settled when the war for independence broke out. In 1777, the people of the province, in convention, declared it to be an independent State. In 1781, the Congress offered to admit it into the Confederacy then formed, but with a considerable curtailment of its area. The people refused the terms, and it remained an independent State ten years longer. Then New York agreed to relinquish all claim to the territory and political jurisdiction on the payment by Vermont of the sum of \$30,000. This was done; and on the 4th of March, 1791, that State entered our Union as the fourteenth. The same year the first census or enumeration of the inhabitants was completed, with the result mentioned at the beginning of Chap. 87. On the first of June the following year, Kentucky, with the consent of Virginia of which it formed a part, entered the Union as the fifteenth State.

We have seen with what an affluent stream emigration flowed into the Ohio region after the organization of the Northwestern Territory in 1787 General Arthur St. Clair, a worthy officer of the Continental Army, was appointed its governor. He soon found serious trouble brewing there. The British, in violation of the treaty of 1783, still held Detroit and other Western posts, and

British traders were jealous of the hardy settlers who were gathering in communities north of the Ohio. British agents, instigated by Sir John Johnson, the former Indian agent in the Mohawk Valley, and Guy Carleton (then Lord Dorchester), again governor of Canada, were inciting the savages to make war on the settlers. These well-established facts gave reasons for a prevalent belief that the British government yet hoped for an opportunity to bring back the young republic to a state of colonial dependence. The fostered discontents of the Indians were developed into open hostilities, in the spring of 1790, and attempts at pacific arrangements were fruitless.

In September, 1790, General Harmer led more than a thousand troops, regulars and volunteers, from Fort Washington (now Cincinnati) into the Indian country around the headwaters of the Maumee River, to chastise the savages as Sullivan had scourged the Senecas in 1779. Instead of humbling them by spreading desolation over their fair land, Harmer, in two battles near the present village of Fort Wayne, Indiana, was defeated with considerable loss, and abandoned the enterprise. In May the following year, General Scott of Kentucky, with eight hundred men, penetrated the Wabash country almost to the site of the present town of Lafayette, Indiana, and destroyed several villages. At the beginning of August, General Wilkinson, with more than five hundred men, pushed into the same region, and pressing on to the Tippecanoe and the prairies, destroyed some Kickapoo villages, and then made his way to the Falls of the Ohio, near Louisville. But the Indians, instead of being humbled by these scourges, were urged thereby, and the false representations of British emissaries, to fight desperately for their country and lives.

Congress now prepared to plant fortifications in the heart of the Indian country and in September, 1791, two thousand troops were gathered at Fort Washington and marched northward under the immediate command of General Butler, accompanied by General St. Clair as chief. Twenty miles from Fort Washington, they built Fort Hamilton, on the Miami River. Forty-two miles further on they built Fort Jefferson and when they moved from there, late in October, there were evidences that dusky scouts were hovering on their flanks.

At length the little army of invaders halted and encamped on the borders of a tributary of the Upper Wabash, in Darke County, Ohio, near the Indiana line, a hundred miles from Cincinnati. The wearied soldiers went to rest early, unsuspecting of much danger near. All night long the sentinels fired upon prowling Indians and before sunrise on the morning of the 4th of November, 1791, while the army were preparing for breakfast, they were surprised by the horrid yells of a body of savages, who fell upon them with great fury. The troops made a gallant defence, but the slaughter among them was dreadful. General Butler was killed, and most of his officers were slain or wounded. The smitten army fled in confusion. It was with great difficulty that St. Clair, who was tortured with gout, after having three horses killed under him, escaped on a pack-horse. That evening Adjutant-General Winthrop Sargent wrote in his diary: The troops have all been defeated; and though it is impossible, at this time, to ascertain our loss, yet there can be no manner of doubt that more than half the army are either killed or wounded." Among the fugitives were more than a hundred feminine camp-followers, wives of the soldiers. One of them was so fleet of foot that she kept ahead of the flying army. Her long, red hair streaming behind her, was the oriflamme that the soldiers followed in their flight back to Fort Washington.

This defeat spread dismay over the frontiers, and hot indignation throughout the land. Washington was powerfully moved by wrath, for his last words to St. Clair were, "Beware of a surprise." He lost his usual control of his emotions, and for a few minutes he was swayed by a tempest of anger. He paced the room in a rage. "It was awful," wrote Mr. Lear, his private secretary, who was present. More than once he threw his hands up as he hurled imprecations upon St. Clair. O God O God he exclaimed, he is worse than a murderer! How can he answer it to his country? The blood of the slain is upon him the curses of widows and orphans the curse of Heaven His wrath soon subsided. This must not go beyond this room," he said; and in a low tone, as if speaking to himself, he continued - "St. Clair shall have justice. I will hear him without prejudice, he shall have full justice." And when, awhile afterward, the veteran soldier, bowed with infirmities and the burden of public obloquy, sought the presence of his old commander, Washington extended his hand and gave him a gracious reception. "Poor old St. Clair," said Custis, who was present, "hobbled up to his chief seized the offered hand in both of his, and gave vent to his feelings in copious sobs and tears."

Fortunately for the frontier settlers, the Indians did not follow up the advantage they had gained, and hostilities ceased for awhile. Commissioners were appointed to treat with hostile tribes, but through the interference of British officials, the negotiations were fruitless. In the meantime General Anthony Wayne, the bold soldier of the war for independence, had been appointed St. Clair's successor in military command. Apprehending that the failure of the negotiations would be immediately followed by hostilities against the frontier settlements, Wayne marched into the Indian country with a competent force in the autumn of 1793. He spent the winter at Greenville, not far from the place of St. Clair's defeat, where he built a stockade and gave it the significant name of Fort Recovery. The following summer he pushed forward to the Maumee River, and at its junction with the Au Glaize, he built Fort Defiance. On the St. Mary's he had erected Fort Adams as an intermediate post and in August he pushed down the Maumee with about three thousand men, and encamped within a short distance of a British military post at the foot of the Maumee Rapids, called Fort Miami.

With ample force to destroy the save power in spite of their British allies, and to desolate their country, Wayne offered the Indians peace and tranquillity if they would lay down the hatchet and musket. They madly refused, and sought to gain time by craftiness. Stay where you are ten days," they said, and we will treat with you if you advance, we will give you battle." Wayne did advance to the head of the Maumee Rapids; and at a place called The Fallen Timbers, not far above the present Maumee city, he attacked and defeated the savages on the 20th of August, 1794. By the side of almost every dead warrior of the forest, lay a musket and bayonet from British armories. Wayne then laid waste the country, and at the middle of September he moved up the Maumee to the junction of the St. Mary's and St. Joseph's that form that stream, and built a strong fortification there which was named Fort Wayne. The little army went into winter-quarters at Greenville. The next summer the sachems and warriors of the Western tribes, about eleven hundred in all (representing twelve cantons), met (August 3, 1795) commissioners of the United States there, formed a treaty of peace and ceded to our government about twenty-five thousand square miles of territory in the present States of Michigan and Indiana, besides sixteen separate

tracts, including lands and forts. In consideration of these cessions, the Indians received goods from the United States of the value of \$20,000, as presents, and were promised an annual allowance valued at nearly \$10,000, to be equally distributed among all the tribes who were parties to the treaty. These were the Chippewas, Ottawas, Pottawatomies, Wyandots, Delawares, Shawnees, Miamis and Kickapoos, who then occupied the ceded lands.

At the close of the council, on the 20th, Wayne said to the Indians: "Brothers, I now fervently pray to the Great Spirit that the peace now established may be permanent, and that it will hold us together in the bonds of friendship until time shall be no more. I also pray that the Great Spirit above may enlighten your minds, and open your eyes to your true happiness, that your children may learn to cultivate the earth and enjoy the fruits of peace and industry."

By a special treaty made with Great Britain at about that time (which will be noticed presently), the Western military posts were soon afterward evacuated by the British. The security which this action and the treaty with the Indians at Greenville gave, there was very little more trouble with the savages in the Northwest until just before the breaking out of the war of 1812-15 and an immense impetus was given to emigration into that region. The country northwest of the Ohio was now rapidly filled with a hardy population.

Chapter LXXXIX

Formation of Political Parties - Revolution in France - Jefferson's Sympathies with the Revolutionists - His Suspicions - Jefferson and Hamilton at Variance - "Citizen Genet" and the Republicans - Proclamation of Neutrality - The Whisky Insurrection - Jay's Treaty with great Britain - The African Corsairs - Treaty with Algiers - British and French Depredations - Beginning of our National Navy - Washington Retires from the Presidency - His Farewell Address - Struggle for Political Ascendency - Washington Abused.

THE discussions concerning the national Constitution had, as we have observed, engendered party spirit in the new republic which speedily assumed definite forms and titles, first as Federalist and Anti-Federalist, and then as Federalist and Republican. The Federalist party was composed of those who favored much concentration of power in the national government; the Republican or Democratic party favored State sovereignty and the diffusion of power among the people. Mr. Jefferson, the Secretary of State, was the recognized leader of the Republicans, and Mr. Hamilton, the Secretary of the Treasury, was regarded as the head of the Federalists. The lines between these two parties were distinctly drawn, during the second session of the second Congress, and the spirit of each became rampant among the people.

Events then occurring in France had much to do in intensifying party spirit in this country. The British government had sent George Hammond here as full minister, and he had arrived in August, 1791. In December following, our government sent Thomas Pinckney as American ambassador to England; and so a good understanding between the lately belligerent governments was established. With the French government, their ancient ally, the United States held the most friendly relations.

Meanwhile a revolution, violent in its nature and far-reaching in its consequences, had broken out in France. It was the immediate consequence of the teachings of our own revolution. The people of France had long endured almost irresponsible despotism, and were yearning for freedom when the French officers and soldiers, who had served in America during the latter years of our struggle for independence, returned to their country full of republican ideas and aspirations. They began to question the right of a few to oppress the many. The public heart was soon stirred by new ideas, and in the movement that followed, Lafayette was conspicuous for awhile. The rumblings of the pent volcano of passion in the bosom of society were heard on every hand. Legislators assumed to be responsible to the people; and the Parliament of Paris, which for hundreds of years had been a mere court for registering royal edicts, now (1787) refused to do so, and in consequence the new and grievous taxes which the war had rendered necessary, could not be levied. The puzzled king called the States-General together. It was a body which had not met for nearly two hundred years. Like the Long Parliament of England, it soon took all power into its own hands, and very shortly the king was, in effect, a prisoner in his palace, and the representatives of the people proceeded to make society as level as possible. The Bastille, whose history represented royal despotism, was assailed by the citizens of Paris and pulled down. The privileges of the nobility and clergy were abolished, and the church property was seized. The

king's brothers and many of the nobles fled in affright across the frontier, and tried to induce other sovereigns to take up the cause of royalty in France and restore the former order of things. The Emperor of Austria (brother of the French queen), and the King of Prussia, entered into a treaty to that effect, at Pilnitz, in 1791.

When this treaty became known, matters were brought to a crisis in France. War followed. English troops were sent to Flanders to watch the movements on the continent. Robespierre and other self-constituted leaders in Paris, held sway for awhile, and the most frightful massacres of nobles and priests ensued. Eighteen hundred were slain in one night. The weak and unfortunate king, who had in vain accepted constitution after constitution as it was offered to him, was now deposed and a republic was established. Lafayette and other moderate men had disappeared from the arena, which had become an awfully bloody one. The king was tried on a charge of inviting foreigners to invade France, was found guilty and beheaded in Jan., 1793. His beautiful queen soon shared his fate. The English troops sent to Flanders were called to fight the French, for the rulers of France had declared war against Great Britain, Spain, and Holland, in February.

When Mr. Jefferson came into the cabinet of Washington, he had just returned from France, where he had witnessed the uprising of the people against their oppressors. Regarding the movement as kindred to the late uprising of his own countrymen against Great Britain, it enlisted his warmest sympathies, and he expected to find the bosoms of the people of the United States glowing with feelings like his own. He was sadly disappointed. The conservatism of Washington and the tone of society in New York, in which some of the leaven of Toryism yet lingered, chilled him. He became suspicious of all around him, for he regarded the indifference of the people to the struggles of the French, their old allies, as an evil omen. He had scarcely taken his seat in the cabinet before he declared that some of his colleagues held decidedly monarchical views and the belief became fixed in his mind that there was a party in the United States continually at work, secretly and sometimes openly, for the overthrow of republicanism here. This idea became a sort of monomania, and haunted him until his death more than thirty years afterward.

Jefferson soon rallied under his standard a large party of sympathizers with the French revolutionists. Regarding Hamilton as the head and front of the monarchical party, he professed to believe that the financial plans of that statesman were designed to enslave the people, and that the rights and liberties of the States and of individuals were in danger. Hamilton, on the other hand, regarded the national Constitution as inadequate in strength to perform its required functions, and believed weakness to be its greatest defect. With this idea Jefferson took issue. He charged his political opponents, and especially Hamilton, with corrupt and anti-republican designs, selfish motives, and treacherous intention and so was inaugurated that system of personal abuse and vituperation which has ever been a disgrace to the press and political leaders of this country. Bitter partisan quarrels now prevailed, in which Jefferson and Hamilton were the chief actors. The people were greatly excited. The Republicans, who hated the British intensely, called the Federalists the British party," and the Federalists called their opponents the French party." The latter hailed with joy the news of the death of the French king, and applauded the declaration of war against England and Holland, forgetting the substantial sympathy which the latter had shown

for the Americans during their struggle for independence. Only Washington appeared calm in the midst of the uproar that proceeded from antagonists in his cabinet.

In the midst of this excitement Citizen Genet," as he was called, an ambassador sent to our government by the French Republic, arrived at Charleston, South Carolina, where he was cordially received, in April, 1793. Washington had anxiously watched the rising tide of popular sentiment in favor of giving material aid to the French in their warfare on monarchies, and on the 22nd of April he issued a proclamation of neutrality, in which he warned all citizens of the United States not to engage in the kindling war in Europe. This gave great offence to the Republicans, or Democrats, and Washington was abused without stint.

Genet's zeal outran his prudence. Without waiting to present his credentials, or even to visit the seat of our national government, he proceeded to act upon instructions of his own so-called government. He had been furnished with blank naval and military commissions, and was empowered to constitute every French consul in the United States a court of admiralty, authorized to sell prizes. Then he proceeded to fit out privateers to depredate upon the commerce of England, Holland, and Spain. One of them went prowling up our coast, and reached Philadelphia (to which city the national government had been removed) with a prize before Genet arrived there. He was received with enthusiasm on his arrival; and so anxious were his admirers to do homage to their idol, that they invited him to a public dinner before he had presented his credentials.

Genet was deeply impressed with Washington's dignity, but felt uneasy in his calm presence so, after the ceremony of his first presentation was over, he hastened to the dinner to which he was invited, where he might easily have imagined himself to be in a Jacobin Church in Paris - songs, toasts, decorations, were all to his taste. On the table was a roasted pig, to which they gave the name of the lately murdered king. Its head, severed from its body, was carried around the table to each guest, who, after putting the bonnet rouge on his own head, pronounced the word tyrant and proceeded with a knife to mangle that of the animal to be served to so unworthy a company. Strange as it may seem to us, it is nevertheless true, that so infatuated were the partisans of the French, that leading citizens of Philadelphia, with General Mifflin, then governor of Pennsylvania, at their head, participated in the disgraceful orgies at that dinner. A Democratic tavern in Philadelphia had a revolting sign, on which was painted the headless corpse of the murdered queen. Democratic clubs were formed in imitation of the Jacobin clubs of Paris and, encouraged by these and newspapers in their interest, Genet persisted in his defiant course, and tried to excite hostility between our people and their government. His acts finally disgusted Jefferson and all patriotic men. The atrocities of the French revolutionists, when known, produced a revulsion of feeling in the United States, and Washington finally requested and obtained Genet's recall. Fouchet, who succeeded him, was instructed to assure the President that Genet's course was not approved. The latter dared not return to France at that time, for he feared the sanguinary men whom he had represented. He married a daughter of Governor Clinton, settled in this country, and became a useful citizen. Our government had passed through great peril, but the helm of the ship of state was in the hands of a wise and expert pilot. No doubt the firmness and prudence of

Washington, at that time, saved the republic from utter ruin.

The government was now subjected to another severe strain. There was a popular outbreak in Western Pennsylvania known in our history as the Whisky Insurrection, which gave the government much uneasiness in 1794. The rye crop west of the Allegheny Mountains around the forks of the Ohio, was largely converted into whisky by Scotch-Irish distillers. Excise laws which imposed duties on domestic distilled liquors were passed by Congress, but these western distillers despised them. When, in the spring of 1794, after the adjournment of Congress, officers were sent to enforce the laws, they were resisted by the people in arms. The insurrection became general throughout all the Pittsburgh region, and many outrages were committed. The old mob-remedy for a human nuisance was resorted to - tarring and feathering. One officer was stripped of all his clothing, smeared with warm tar, and the contents of a feather bolster was emptied upon him, giving him a most ludicrous appearance. He did not answer the philosopher's definition of a man - "a two-legged animal without feathers." Buildings occupied by friends of the government were burned; mails were robbed, and government officers were everywhere insulted and abused. At one time there were between six and seven thousand insurgents under arms. The local militia formed a part of the mob. The insurgent spirit spread into the border counties of Virginia; and the President and his cabinet, perceiving with alarm this imitation of French politics which had been inculcated by the Democrats, took immediate steps to crush the growing monster. The President first issued two proclamations (August 7 and September 25), but without effect. A convention of insurgents, held at Pittsburgh (of which young Albert Gallatin, afterward Secretary of the Treasury, was secretary), had declared the excise law to be unjust, dangerous to liberty, oppressive to the poor, and particularly oppressive to the Western country, where grain could only be disposed of by distilling it," and had resolved to treat all excisemen with contempt. A committee of correspondence was appointed, and rebellion was fairly organized. The mob violence was, in a manner, personified, under the name of Tom the Tinker, and the perpetrators called these performances mending the still." They were cheered on by "Democratic societies which were secret associations.

It was estimated that the insurgent counties could raise sixteen thousand fighting men and Judge Brackenridge of that region intimated that, should coercion be attempted by the national government, the insurgents might make application to Great Britain for aid, and even march on Philadelphia, then the national capital. Washington was not to be trifled with. He would listen to no temporizing policy proposed by Democratic leaders. After exhausting peaceable means he ordered out a large body of militia of Virginia, Maryland, Pennsylvania and New Jersey, and sent them under the command of General Henry Lee, toward the insurgent district. The leaders of the rebels were alarmed, and hesitated. The argument of force was effectual, and again the wisdom and firmness of Washington averted a great peril to the young nation.

Another cloud of difficulty had gathered, dark and threatening, in the political firmament of our country. For some time a bitter feeling had been growing between the governments of the United States and Great Britain, because of the inexecution of the treaty of 1783. There were mutual accusations of infractions of that treaty. Disputes constantly arising, the bitterness of

resentment, daily increased, was largely fostered by the French party," or Republicans; and in the spring of 1794, war between the two nations seemed probable. The Americans complained that no indemnification had been made for negroes carried away at the close of the Revolution that the British held military posts on their frontiers, contrary to the treaty; that British emissaries had excited the hostility of the Indian tribes, and that, to retaliate on France, the English had captured our neutral vessels, and impressed our seamen into the British service. The British government and people complained that stipulations concerning the property of loyalists, and also in relation to debts contracted in England before the Revolution, had not been complied with. The property of the Tories who had fled from the country was confiscated, and not much of it was regained. The British government finally paid to these sufferers an aggregate sum of more than fifteen million dollars.

Again the wisdom and prudence of Washington averted the national calamity of war. He proposed to send a special envoy to the British court to negotiate for an amicable settlement of existing disputes. Congress approved the measure, and on the 19th of April, 1794, John Jay was appointed to fulfill that delicate mission. He arrived in London in June, and was very courteously received by the British government. On the 19th of November following, a treaty was concluded which provided for the collection of debts here, by British creditors, contracted before the Revolution, but it did not procure indemnity for those who lost slaves. It secured indemnity for unlawful captures on the high seas, and also the evacuation of military posts on the frontiers yet held by the British. In order to secure some important points, Mr. Jay was compelled to yield others. The treaty was defective in some things, and objectionable in others, but it was the best that could be obtained at that time, and it averted war with Great Britain. It created intense hostility to Washington's administration, and to Jay personally, at home. The proposition to send an envoy to treat with Great Britain had been denounced by the Democratic societies and newspapers as pusillanimous. Now these societies and newspapers which had resolved to oppose it whatever might be its provisions, attacked the treaty, the President and Mr. Jay, with vehemence, on the strength of mere rumor as to its character.

The treaty reached the President in March, 1795, but the Senate was not convened until June to consider it. Meanwhile an unfaithful member of the cabinet (Mr. Randolph of Virginia) revealed enough of its character to warrant attacks upon it. A mad, seditious cry went over the land from the Opposition. In several cities mobs threatened personal violence to the supporters of the treaty. Mr. Hamilton was stoned at a public meeting in New York, while speaking in the open air. "These are hard arguments," he said, when a stone grazed his forehead. The British minister at Philadelphia was insulted; and in Charleston the British flag was trailed in the dust of the streets. Jay was denounced as a traitor; and in Virginia, disunion was recommended as a cure for existing political evils. France is our national ally," shouted Democratic societies. She has a government congenial to our own. Citizens, your security depends on France.

Let us unite with France, and stand or fall together," cried factious orators at public meetings held throughout the country; and the Democrats adorned their hats with the French cockade, Jay was burned in effigy in many places, and longings for a guillotine were freely expressed. But the

Senate ratified the treaty on the 24th of June, 1795, and removed the seal of secrecy, at the same time forbade the publication of the treaty for prudential reasons, for there were rumors of an important order having been issued by Great Britain. Thomson Mason, a senator from Virginia, in violation of the rules of the Senate, of official decorum, and of personal honor, sent a copy of it to a Democratic newspaper. A rhymer of the day addressed Mr. Mason on the subject, in the following manner:

"Ah, Thomson Mason! lone thy fame shall rise, With Democratic incense to the skies! Long shall the world admire thy manly soul. Which scorned the naughty Senate's base control; Come boldly forward with thy mighty name And gave the treaty up for public game!"

The ratification of this treaty was followed in October by the conclusion of one with Spain, by which the boundaries between the Spanish Territories of Louisiana and Florida were defined. This treaty also secured to the United States the free navigation of the Mississippi River, and the use of the port of New Orleans for ten years. Louisiana had been ceded to Spain by the French, in 1762.

As soon as one excitement was allayed in our country, another appeared and during the whole of Washington's administration of eight years, when the foreign and domestic policy of our government was fashioned and its machinery put in operation, the greatest wisdom, circumspection and conservative action, on the part of government officers, was continually demanded. Difficulties were constantly appearing on the horizon, sometimes like mere specks of clouds in the far distance, and at others near and in alarming shapes. These were chiefly in relation to trade, especially in foreign lands. American commerce had begun to rapidly expand, and had found its way through the open gate at the Pillars of Hercules, into the Mediterranean Sea. There it was met by Moslem corsairs of the Barbary Powers on the northern coast of Africa, who had long and successfully depredated upon commerce in those waters. They seized our merchandise and held our seamen in captivity in order to obtain ransom-money for them. President Washington had called the attention of Congress to these piracies as early as 1790, and at the same time Secretary Jefferson submitted an able report on the subject, in which he gave many interesting details touching the position of American commerce in the Mediterranean Sea. Little, however, could then be done for the protection of our commerce there, for the Americans were without a navy; and for that protection we were dependent, for some time, on the fleets of Portugal, with which nation Algiers, the chief piratical power, was at war. Even this barrier was broken in 1793, secretly, by the British, for the avowed purpose of damaging France. The agent of that government at Algiers concluded a treaty with the Dey, or ruler, in which was a stipulation that the Portuguese government should not for one year afford protection to the commerce of any nation against Algerian cruisers. So these North African pirates were immediately released from all restraint, and roamed the Mediterranean Sea without interruption, The Americans were indignant, but could do nothing. They had already been compelled to endure insults, without the power of resenting them. When Colonel David Humphreys, who was sent by the United States as a commissioner to the Dey of Algiers, that haughty ruler, seated on a divan covered with rich cushions, and his turbaned officers of state standing near, said:"If I were to make peace with

everybody, what should I do with my corsairs what should I do with my soldiers? They would take off my head for the want of other prizes, not being able to live on their miserable allowance." This argument was unanswerable, and Humphreys wrote to his government: If we mean to have a commerce, we must have a navy to defend it."

These depredations of the pirates and the delicate relations of our rising republic to the monarchies of the Old World caused Washington, in his annual message to Congress in December, 1793, to say: If we desire to avoid insult, we must be able to repel it if we desire to secure peace, one of the most powerful instruments of our prosperity, it must be known that we are at all times ready for war." Acting upon this hint Congress passed an act in the spring of 1794, authorizing the creation of a small navy, and appropriating about \$700,000. There was strong and determined opposition to the measure, and delay was the consequence. Meanwhile the Algerian pirate fleet, released by the British treaty withdrawing Portuguese protection, had left the bounds of the Mediterranean and were out upon the Atlantic. Within a month after that treaty was made, ten American merchant vessels and over a hundred seamen were captured by the Algerian corsairs. Humphreys tried to make terms with the Dey, but the elated ruler refused to listen. The United States paid about a million dollars as a ransom for American captives, and in the autumn of 1795, our government was compelled to agree, by treaty, to pay an annual tribute to the Dey for the relief of captured seamen, according to long usage among European nations. This was humiliating, but nothing better could then be done. Humanity demanded it. Between the years 1785 and 1793, the Algerian pirates captured fifteen American vessels and made one hundred and eighty officers and seamen slaves of the most revolting kind. To redeem the survivors of these captives and others taken more recently, the United States paid the large sum just mentioned.

Congress, by the act of 1794, had authorized the President to cause the construction of six frigates but it was provided that work on them should cease, in the event of peace with Algiers being secured. They also provided for the erection of harbor fortifications and the purchase of cannon and artillery munitions for them. Provision was also made for the establishment of arsenals and armories. Very small sums were appropriated for these purposes. These were the first beginnings of our army, navy, and system of fortifications. Washington immediately ordered the keels of the six frigates to be laid at as many ports, namely: Portsmouth, N. H., Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Norfolk. The work was going on vigorously, when the treaty with the Dey of Algiers put a stop to it, and the mercantile marine of the United States lost all hope of protection in the event of a war with any foreign government.

The folly of not completing the naval vessels was soon made manifest, when British cruisers began the practice of taking seamen from American vessels, without leave, under the pretense that they were British deserters. The French, too, were becoming aggressive on the seas. Their government was offended by Washington's proclamation of neutrality, and especially with Jay's treaty with Great Britain. It wanted the Americans to show an active participation with the French, in their hatred of the English. It was offended with the Americans because of their treaty with Algiers independently of French intervention and the success of our negotiations with Spain

for the free navigation of the Mississippi River, excited the jealousy of the French rulers. In a word, because the United States, having the strength, assumed to stand alone, the French were offended and threatened the grown-up child with personal chastisement. In 1796, cruisers of the French republic began depredations upon American commerce, under the authority of a secret order issued by the French Directory, as the existing government was called. That government had declared the alliance with the Americans at an end. Under the authority of the secret order numerous American vessels were seized in the West Indies. When, in the next year (1797), war with France seemed inevitable, Congress, on the urgent recommendation of the new President (John Adams), caused the frigates Constitution, Constellation, and United States to be completed, equipped, and sent to sea. This was the real beginning of the American navy which, only a few years afterward, though weak in numbers, performed many gallant exploits. From that time the navy became the cherished arm of the national defence and chiefly through its instrumentality, the name and power of the United States began to be properly appreciated in Europe, at the beginning of the 19th century.

The second term of Washington's administration was now drawing to a close. He had been elected for the second time, in the fall of 1792, much against his wishes, for he felt, then, that his health was giving way, and his private affairs needed his attention. He was inaugurated in the presence of the Senate, when he made a short speech; and he served his country four years longer. His career as President was a most trying and important one, and must ever be remembered with gratitude by the American people. During that time the government was put in motion with great sagacity on the part of the President and his cabinet its financial, domestic, and foreign policy was established, and its strength was so fully tested by immoderate strains, that even Hamilton began to think its powers sufficient to perform its required functions. It was the wish of a majority of the people that Washington should serve a third term, but he positively refused; and in the fall of 1796, that majority gave their votes for electors known to be favorable to John Adams for President of the republic. In September of that year Washington issued his admirable Farewell Address to the people of the United States. It was an earnest appeal to them to preserve the Union as the only sure hope for the continuance of their liberties and of the national life and prosperity.

The Presidential election in 1796 was a vehement struggle by the Federalists and Republicans for political ascendancy and the control of the government. The candidates were John Adams and Thomas Jefferson, the latter having left the cabinet at the close of 1793. Every appeal to the passions that party rancor could invent, was employed. Adet, the French minister, who had succeeded Fouchet, imprudently issued an inflammatory address to the American people, in which he charged the administration of Washington with violations of the friendship that had existed between the United States and France and other partisans of Jefferson, in their zeal to injure the Federal party, made gross personal attacks upon Washington. A newspaper writer said: "If ever a nation has been debauched by a man, the American nation has been debauched by Washington. If ever a nation has been deceived by a man, the American nation has been deceived by Washington. Let his conduct, then, be an example to future ages. Let it serve to be a warning that no man may be an idol. Let the history of the Federal government instruct mankind that the mark of patriotism

may be worn to conceal the foulest designs against the liberties of the people." And on the day when Washington retired from office in March, 1797, and was succeeded by John Adams as President, the same Philadelphia newspaper (The Aurora) contained another gross personal attack upon the beloved patriot. After declaring that he was no longer possessed of power to multiply evils upon the United States," the writer said: "When a retrospect is taken of the Washingtonian administration for eight years, it is a subject of the greatest astonishment that a single individual should have cankered the principles of republicanism in an enlightened people just emerged from the gulf of despotism, and should have carried his designs against the public liberty so far as to put in jeopardy its very existence. Such, however, are the facts, and with them staring us in the face, this day ought to be a jubilee in the United States."

The virulence of partisanship in those days was not only as intense, but its methods were as dishonest as they are now. Among other means employed at about the time of Washington's retirement to private life, to injure his character, was the republication of a series of forged letters, purporting to have been written by him to members of his family, in the summer of 1776, and which appeared in print in 1777. These letters, if genuine, ought to have basted Washington's reputation for patriotism, integrity, and honor. It was pretended that they were found in a small portmanteau which was in possession of his favorite body-servant, Billy, when the latter, as was falsely alleged, was captured at Fort Lee. Washington, conscious of his integrity and trustful of his countrymen, paid no attention to the publication at the time. There were ample proofs of their forgery, and they had been forgotten, when, before he left the chair of state in the spring of 1797, they were republished. The object then was the same as that twenty years before, namely to destroy public confidence in the great Leader.

Washington now thought it necessary to notice the forgery. He did so in a letter to the then Secretary of War, written on the 3rd of March, 1797, in which, after giving an account of the original publication of the letters, and his silence concerning them, hitherto, he said: As I cannot know how soon a more serious event may succeed to that which will this day take place, I have thought it a duty that I owe to myself, to my country, and to truth, now to detail the circumstances above recited and to add my solemn declaration that the letters herein described are a base forgery, and that I never saw or heard of them until they appeared in print."

Chapter XC

John Adams, President - Pride of the French Government - Reception of Monroe in France - Refusal to Receive an American Minister - A Savage Decree - Doings of Congress - Affairs in Europe - Treatment of American Envoys by the French Directory - Gerry and Talleyrand - War-Spirit in the United States - Bonaparte in the East - New Envoys to France - A Conspiracy - Bonaparte Made First Consul - Settlement of Difficulties - War on the Ocean - Outrage by a British Naval Commander - American Victories on the Sea - Downfall of the Federal Party - Death of Washington.

JOHN ADAMS took the chair as chief magistrate of the republic, in the spring of 1797, with a powerful, energetic, and disappointed political party in opposition. They lacked only two votes in the electoral college of giving the office to Adams's democratic rival, Thomas Jefferson, who became Vice-President. It was well for Jefferson's peace of mind and his public reputation that he was not elected President at that time, for he could not have satisfied the expectations of the ultra French faction which had gathered around him, and been true to his moral and patriotic convictions of duty to his country.

The French Directory, composed of five persons who had been installed executive rulers of France late in 1795, and who were supported by two legislative chambers known respectively as the Council of Ancients (the Senate) and Council of Five Hundred (the popular Assembly), were then feeling strong and proud, and were treating other governments with great insolence. The victories of the French armies, led by the rising young Napoleon Bonaparte, had given them Northern Italy. They were preparing for an invasion of Ireland with a fair prospect of success (for Irishmen were waiting to join the invaders against the English), and their corsairs were depredating with impunity upon American commerce. In the plenitude of their pride, when they heard that the people of the United States, refusing to bow to their dictation, had probably elected the opponent of their friend, Mr. Jefferson, they declared that until our government had redressed some alleged grievances of which they complained, no minister of our republic should be received by them.

James Monroe, a senator from Virginia, who had been sent to France as minister, in 1794, remained as such after the installation of the Directory. He had been received in a most theatrical manner, as he was properly regarded as the representative of the ultra sympathizers with the French revolutionists, in America. At a public reception in the French National Convention, he read an address written in the style of the missives issued by the American Democratic Societies, to which an enthusiastic member of the Convention replied in a grandiloquent manner, and closed his oration with the following words: "To-day, the sovereign people themselves, by the organ of their faithful representatives, receive you and you see the tenderness, the effusion of soul, that accompanies this simple and touching ceremony; I am impatient to give you the fraternal embrace, which I am ordered to give in the name of the French people. Come and receive it in the name of the American people, and let this spectacle complete the annihilation of an impious coalition of tyrants." Then Monroe, according to precedent, stepped forward and received and returned the

fraternal and national embrace and kiss of the representative of the French people.

Having opposed Jay's treaty at the French republican court, Monroe was recalled by his government in 1796, and Charles Cotesworth Pinckney of South Carolina was appointed to fill his place. On Pinckney's arrival in France late in the year with the letter of recall and his own credentials as minister, the Directory refused to receive him. Not only so, but after treating him with great discourtesy, the Directory peremptorily ordered him to leave France. He withdrew to Holland in February, 1797, and there awaited further orders from home. When Mr. Adams took the Presidential chair, the United States were without a diplomatic agent in France.

Disappointed by the failure of the French party to elect Mr. Jefferson President of our republic, the insolent Directory, after hearing of the result in the electoral colleges, determined to punish a people who dared to thwart their plans. In May, 1797, they issued a decree which was tantamount to a declaration of war against the United States. It not only authorized the capture of American vessels under certain conditions, but declared that any American found on board of a hostile ship, though placed there without his consent, by impressment, should be hanged as a pirate. The poor American seaman was then continually exposed to impressment into the British service, and by this decree, if found there, he would be subjected to a pirate's fate, by the French. Strangely as it seems, Joel Barlow, an American Democrat who had actively sympathized with the French Jacobins, wrote concerning this savage decree to a relative in this country: "The government here is determined to fleece you to a sufficient degree to bring you to your feeling in the only nerve in which your sensibility lies, which is your pecuniary interest." At a Jacobin festival at Hamburg, in 1793, Barlow had presented a song that was sung with great glee, written by Thelwall, an Englishman, to the air of God Save the King, the first stanza of which reads:

"God save the guillotine Till England's king and queen
Her power shall prove Till each anointed knob,
Affords a clipping job, Let no rude halter rob
The guillotine."

Almost simultaneously with the issuing of the French decree, an extraordinary session of Congress, called by President Adams to consider the foreign relations of our government, met at Philadelphia. The conduct of the Directory had produced a great revulsion in public feeling in our country. The reaction strengthened the Executive arm and the administration party, and patriotic Democrats began to talk complacently of war with France, which then seemed inevitable. But a majority of the cabinet favored further attempts at negotiations and the President, with the concurrence of the Senate, appointed John Marshall, a Federalist and afterward Chief Justice of the United States, and Elbridge Gerry, a Democrat and afterward Vice-President of the republic, envoys extraordinary to join Mr. Pinckney and attempt to settle all matters in dispute between the two governments, by diplomacy. After a session of little more than six weeks, Congress adjourned. They had provided for calling out eighty thousand militia, creating a small naval force, and acts for preventing privateering.

In the meantime success had waited on French arms and French diplomacy almost everywhere.

Bonaparte, who was making his victorious marches toward the Danube and the Carpathian Mountains, had compelled Austria to make peace with his government; and England, the most powerful of the enemies of France, seemed to be tottering to its fall, for the suspension of specie payment by the Bank of England had rudely shaken and weakened her financial power. It was at this flood-tide of the military and diplomatic conquests of France in October, 1797, that the American envoys reached that country and sought an audience with the French Directory. Their request was met by a haughty refusal, unless the envoys would agree to the humiliating terms of first paying into the exhausted French treasury a large sum of money in the form of a loan by the purchase of Dutch bonds wrung from that nation by the French, and a bribe to the amount of \$240,000 for the private use of the five members of the French Directory! This proposition came semi-officially from Talleyrand, one of the most expert and unscrupulous political trimmers that ever lived. It was accompanied by a covert threat, that if the proposition was not complied with, the envoys might be ordered to leave France in twenty-four hours, and the coasts of the United States be ravaged by French frigates sent from St. Domingo. The envoys refused compliance, and the occasion gave Pinckney the opportunity to utter in substance the noble words: "Millions for defence, but not one cent for tribute." Finding their mission to be useless, the envoys asked for their passports. They were given to the two Federal envoys under circumstances which amounted to their virtual expulsion from the country, while Gerry was induced to remain. He, too, was soon treated with so much insolence and contempt by Talleyrand and his associates, that he returned home in disgust to meet the indignation of his countrymen for consenting to remain. Gerry had held interviews with Talleyrand without the knowledge of his associates, and it was believed that his representation of the strength of the French party in the United States encouraged that minister to pursue the course he did.

Meanwhile the Directory had issued another decree, which effectually annihilated American commerce in European waters. This act, the indecent treatment of the envoys and the continued depredations of the French cruisers, aroused a vehement war-spirit in the United States. President Adams, in his first annual message to Congress (November 23, 1797), recommended preparations for war. Some of the more radical of the opposition leaders advised the payment of the money demanded, rather than risk a war with France - better to purchase peace by paying tribute than to contend for the right and for national independence! But the great body of the nation acted patriotically. In March, 1798, the President, in a special message, asked Congress to provide means for war. The request was promptly complied with. A provisional army of twenty thousand regular soldiers was voted, and provision was made for the employment of volunteers as well as militia and then were made those provisions for a national navy already alluded to. The office of Secretary of the Navy was created, and Benjamin Stodert of the District of Columbia was the first to enter the cabinet as the head of the Navy Department, which he did at the close of April, 1798. Party-spirit disappeared in the National Legislature to a great degree, and the popular excitement against the opposition leaders in Congress became so intense, that some of the most obnoxious of them from Virginia sought personal safety in flight, under the pretense of needed attention to their private affairs. The younger republicans wore black cockades upon their hats, in imitation of the patriots of the Revolution. The stirring songs Hail Columbia and Adams and Liberty, the former written by Joseph Hopkinson and the latter by Robert Treat Paine, were now first published, and

were sung all over the land with unbounded applause.

Washington approved the war-measures of the government, and in July he was appointed by the President commander-in-chief of all the forces raised and to be raised, with the commission of lieutenant-general. That commission was borne to Mount Vernon by the Secretary of War (Mr. McHenry) in person. When he arrived, Washington was in the fields not far from the mansion where his people were gathering his grain-harvest. The Secretary, without doffing his thin traveling cloak (for the day was cool), went out to meet him and presented the document to Washington in the open field. The Beloved Patriot, then sixty-six years of age, obeyed the call of his countrymen with alacrity. "You may command me without reserve," he wrote to the President, qualifying his remark with an expressed desire that he should not be called into active service until the public need should demand it, and requesting the appointment of his friend Alexander Hamilton, then forty-one years of age, as acting general-in-chief. For this purpose, Hamilton was commissioned the first major-general. Washington held a conference with all the general officers of the army at Philadelphia, in November (1798), when arrangements were made for a complete organization of the regular forces on a war-footing. But from the beginning he believed that the gathering clouds, portending a fearful tempest, would pass away and leave his country unscathed by the lightning and the hail of war.

Events soon justified Washington's faith. Circumstances speedily allayed the fear of England, to whom the Americans looked as a possible friend in the event of a war with France. The victorious Bonaparte, who had threatened England with invasion, had gone off to Egypt with a fleet and army with the avowed object of conquering that country, invading Palestine, taking possession of Jerusalem, restoring the Jews to their ancient heritage, and rebuilding the Temple. This was only a cover to his ambitious designs for accomplishing his personal advancement. But his fleet was utterly vanquished by Nelson in the battle of the Nile; and another French fleet, that hovered off the coast of Ireland to encourage an insurrection there, was scattered by English ships-of-war under Admiral Warren. These and minor victories by the English humbled the pride of the Directory; and when there appeared omens of other disasters to their cause in Europe, and they heard of the prevailing war-spirit in the United States and the appointment of Washington to the command of a provisional army, the Directory paused in their mad career. The wily Talleyrand, ever ready to change his political coat, caused information to reach the United States government that the Directory were ready to receive advances from the former for entering into negotiations.

Without consulting his cabinet or the national dignity, President Adams nominated William Vance Murray, then the representative of the United States at the Hague, as minister plenipotentiary to France. Congress and the people were amazed, and the Senate determined not to confirm the nomination. No direct communication had been received from the Directory, and this advance after unatoned insults, seemed like cowardly cringing before a half-relenting tyrant. The President stoutly persisted for awhile, when he consented to the appointment of three envoys extraordinary, of which Mr. Murray should be one, to settle all disputes between the two governments. For this purpose Oliver Ellsworth and William R. Davie were appointed to join Mr.

Murray, but they were not to proceed to Europe until assurances should be received from France of their courteous reception there. Such assurances came from Talleyrand, and in November, 1799, the two envoys sailed for France.

Fortunately for all parties concerned, a change occurred in the government of France in the month when the envoys departed from our shores. For a long time the quarrels of factions had threatened France with anarchy. The Directory had become unpopular, and the excitable people were ripe for revolution. The brothers of Bonaparte informed him of this state of affairs at home, and he hastened from the East, with a few followers, and suddenly appeared in Paris. His brilliant exploits in the Orient had so fascinated the French, that they hailed him as the good genius of the republic. With his brother Lucien, who was then president of the Council of Five Hundred, and Seyes, one of the Directory and of great influence in the Council of the Ancients, he conspired for the overthrow of the government and the establishment of a new one.

On the morning of the 9th of November (1779), Seyes induced the Council of Ancients to place Bonaparte in command of the military of Paris. Then Seyes and two other members of the Directory resigned, leaving France without an Executive authority, and Bonaparte, with its strong arm - the military - firmly in his grasp. The Councils immediately perceived how they had been deceived by a trick, and assembled at St. Cloud the next morning. Bonaparte appeared at the bar of the Ancients to justify his conduct. Perceiving their enmity, he threatened them with military violence if they should decide against him. Meanwhile Lucien Bonaparte had read to the Council of Five Hundred the letter of resignation of the three Directors amid shouts from the members of "No Cromwell! no Dictator! the Constitution forever!" Bonaparte now entered that Chamber with four grenadiers and attempted to speak, but was interrupted by cries and execrations. The members appeared to be on the point of proceeding to personal violence against him, when a body of soldiers rushed in and bore him off. He was then a small, spare man, of light weight. A motion was made for his outlawry, which Lucien refused to put, but leaving the chair, he went out and made an inflammatory speech to the soldiers. At its close Murat, at the head of a body of grenadiers, entered the hall and commanded the Assembly to disperse. The members replied with shouts and execrations. The drums were ordered to be beaten, the soldiers levelled their muskets, when all but about fifty of the Council escaped by the windows. These, with the Ancients, passed a decree making Seyes, Bonaparte, and Ducos provisional consuls; and in December, Bonaparte was made First Consul or supreme ruler of France for life.

It was at this crisis in the political affairs of France when the American envoys reached Paris. They were cordially received by Talleyrand, by order of the First Consul, and an amicable settlement of all difficulties was soon made. A convention was signed at Paris on the 30th of September, 1800, by the American envoys and Joseph Bonaparte, C. P. E. Fluvien, and Pierre L. Roederer, in behalf of France, which was satisfactory to both parties. The convention also made the important decision, in the face of the contrary doctrine avowed and practiced by the British government, that free ship should make free goods. This affirmed the doctrine of Frederick the Great, enunciated fifty years before, and denied that of England in her famous "Rule" of 1756, revived in 1793. Peace was established, the envoys returned home, and the provisional army of

the United States was disbanded.

While the political events just recorded were in progress, war between the two nations actually began upon the ocean, although neither party had proclaimed hostilities. In July, 1798, the American Congress had declared the treaties between the United States and France at an end, and authorized American vessels-of-war to capture French cruisers. A marine corps was organized, and a total of thirty cruisers were provided for. Under the law for the creation of a navy, several frigates had been put in commission in 1797, but they were not ready for sea in the spring of 1798 but it was not long in the presence of impending war, before the United States, the Constitution (yet afloat), the Constellation and other war-vessels were out upon the ocean under such commanders as Dale, Barry, Decatur the elder, Truxton, Nicholson, and Phillips. Decatur soon captured a French corsair (April, 1798); and the British and French authorities in the West Indies were greatly surprised by the appearance of so many American cruisers in those waters in the summer and autumn of 1798. At the close of the year the American navy consisted of twenty-three vessels, with an aggregate armament of four hundred and forty-six guns.

It was at this time that the first of a series of outrages upon the flag of the republic was committed by a British naval commander, that finally aroused the people of the United States to a vindication of their honor and independence by an appeal to arms. The American cruiser Baltimore, Captain Phillips, in charge of a convoy of merchant vessels from Havana to Charleston, when in sight of Morro Castle fell in with a British squadron. The United States and Great Britain were then at peace, and Phillips did not expect anything from the commander of the squadron but friendship, when, to his surprise, three of the convoy were captured by the British cruisers. Phillips bore up alongside the British flag-ship to ask for an explanation, when he was informed by her commander that every man on board the Baltimore, who could not show a regular American protection paper, should be transferred to the British vessel. Phillips protested against the outrage and when fifty-five of his crew were taken to the British flagship, he, under legal advice, surrendered his vessel with the intention of referring the matter to his government. Only five of the crew were detained by the British commander. These were impressed into the service of the royal navy, and the remainder were sent back. The Baltimore was released, and the British squadron sailed away with the three merchant-vessels as prizes.

This outrage - this practical application of the claims of the British government to the right of searching American vessels without leave and taking seamen from them without redress - lighted a flame of hot indignation throughout our republic. But, at that time, the American government, like that of England, was strongly influenced, if not controlled, by the mercantile interest which had become very potential. The trade between the United States and Great Britain was rapidly increasing, and was very profitable and the American merchants, as a body, were willing to submit to almost any insult from the Mistress of the Seas," rather than to endanger the foundations of their prosperity by provoking hostilities with Great Britain. The American cabinet in their obsequious deference to Great Britain had actually instructed the naval commanders not to molest the cruisers of any nation (the French excepted) on any account - not even to save a vessel of their own nation. The pusillanimity of this policy was now aggravated by an act of flagrant injustice

and cowardice on the part of our government, that made the cheeks of true patriots crimson with sham. Captain Phillips was dismissed from the navy, without trial, because he had surrendered his vessel without making a show of resistance, and no notice was taken of the outrage by the British commander

During the year 1799, the American navy was much strengthened by the launching and putting into commission of several new vessels. In February, the frigate *Constellation*, Commodore Truxton commanding, fell in with and captured the famous French frigate *L'Insurgente*, of 44 guns and 409 men, off the Island of Nevis, in the West Indies. The American and English press teemed with eulogies of Truxton. Many congratulatory addresses were sent to him and the merchants of London gave him a service of silver-plate worth more than three thousand dollars, on which was engraved a picture of the battle. For a long time a popular song called *Truxton's Victory* was sung everywhere at private and public gatherings.

Very little of importance occurred on the ocean during the remainder of that year; but at the beginning of February, 1800, Truxton, in the *Constellation*, gained a victory over the French frigate *La Vengeance*, of 54 guns and 500 men. The battle was fought on the 1st of February, off Guadeloupe. In consequence of the falling of the mainmast of the *Constellation*, the supporting shrouds of which had been cut away, the *Vengeance* escaped. For this exploit Congress gave Truxton a gold medal. *La Vengeance* would have been a rich prize. She had on board a large amount of merchandise and specie, and the governor of Guadeloupe and his family returning to France. The convention at Paris brought peace, and the navy of the United States was soon called into another field of service.

The action of President Adams in the nomination of envoys to France before official intimations from the Directory that negotiations were desirable had been received, caused very serious divisions in the Federal party. Hostile feelings, already existing, were thereby intensified, and the speedy downfall of the Federal party, as a controlling power in the government, was charged to the errors of judgment and temper on the part of Mr. Adams. He had already become unpopular because of his obstinacy and personal strictures. Very vain and egotistical, he was sensitive and jealous. His judgment was often swayed by his vivid imagination. His prejudices were violent and implacable, and his honesty and frankness, which made him almost a stranger to policy and expediency, made him very indiscreet in his expressions of opinions concerning men and measures. These characteristics made him an unfit leader of a great party. Persons who disagreed with him concerning measures of public policy, he regarded as personal enemies, and for this reason his feelings toward Hamilton were as bitter as ever were those of Jefferson. The consequence was that he was at variance with many of the leaders of the Federal party, who, regarding him as a Jonah, laid a plan to defeat his reelection to the Presidency an event which they knew he earnestly desired should take place. The cunning Democrats fanned the flame of separation in the Federal party. Mr. Adams's political partisans succeeded in the scheme for his defeat but they did more. They defeated the Federal party. The Democratic candidate for President, Mr. Jefferson, was elected, with Aaron Burr as Vice-President. The controlling power of that party, in the government, was then lost forever, after a most useful existence of about ten

years. The odium in which Adams's administration was held was in consequence of the passage of the Alien and Sedition Laws which he favored - laws which authorized the President to expel aliens from our country under certain conditions, and by which citizens might be punished by fine and imprisonment who might combine in opposing government measures, or who might resist the government in words, in a "false and scandalous manner." Hamilton deprecated the laws and wrote: "Let us not establish a tyranny. Energy is a very different thing from violence." He saw the danger, and wrote prophetically: "If we push things to the extreme, we shall then give to faction body and solidity." A rhymist of the day wrote exultantly:

"The Federalists are down at last! The Monarchists completely cast! The Aristocrats are stripped of power - Storms o'er the British faction lover. Soon we Republicans shall see Columbia's sons from bondage free. Lord! how the Federalists will stare At Jefferson in Adams's chair."

In the closing month of the 18th century the inhabitants of the young republic were bereaved by the death of Washington. At his grave the hoarser croakings of the ravens of detraction were silenced, and were never heard afterward. He had led his fellow-citizens safely through the perils of war to political independence, and the equal perils of faction to the dignity of a righteous and prosperous nation.

On the 13th of December, 1799, Washington was exposed to a storm of sleet, and took cold. At three o'clock in the morning of the 14th he awoke, and found himself the victim of a severe attack of membranous croup. At daybreak, himself and Mrs. Washington being alarmed, the family physician, Dr. Craik, was sent for. In the course of the day, two other physicians were called and came. All that medical skill and affectionate devotion could do to relieve the sufferer was done, but without effect. The malady increased in intensity, and before midnight the spirit of the Beloved Patriot took its flight.

Toward evening Washington said to his friend and physician: "Doctor, I die hard, but I am not afraid to go. I believed, from my first attack, that I should not survive it. My breath cannot last long." Relatives of the family were sent for, but did not arrive in time to hear his last words. At six o'clock he said to Mr. Lear, his secretary, as the latter raised him up in bed: "I feel myself going; I thank you for your attentions; but I pray you take no more trouble about me. Let me go off quietly. I cannot last long." At about ten o'clock he attempted to speak to Mr. Lear, but failed several times. At length he audibly murmured: "I am just going. Have me decently buried; and don't let my body be put into the vault in less than three days after I am dead." Mr. Lear could not speak, but bowed his assent. Washington whispered "Do you understand?" Mr. Lear replied, "Yes." "'Tis well," said the dying Patriot; and these were the last words that he spoke - "'Tis well!"

About ten minutes before he expired, Mr. Lear afterward wrote (which was between ten and eleven o'clock), his breathing became easier. He lay quietly; he withdrew his hand from mine and felt his own pulse. I saw his countenance change. I spoke to Dr. Craik, who sat by the fire. He

came to the bedside. The General's hand fell from his wrist. I took it in mine and pressed it to my bosom. Dr. Craik put his hand over his eyes, and he expired without a struggle or a sigh. While we were fixed in silent grief, Mrs. Washington, who was sitting at the foot of the bed, asked with a firm and collected voice, Is he gone? hand as a signal that he was no more. I could not speak, hut held up my 'Tis well,' she said, in the same voice; all's now over; I shall soon follow him I have no more trials to pass through.'

So departed the spirit of this great and good man whose body, thirty hours before, was in robust health, and which gave promise of a vigorous and serene old age. His attendants at that solemn hour were his wife, with whom he had lived forty-one years; his secretary, Mr. Lear; the three physicians, and his faithful colored body-servant Christopher, and equally faithful old colored woman, who was the nurse of the family. The style of the room in which he died (an upper chamber) and the bedstead of uncommon width on which rested his dying couch, are both delineated in the accompanying illustration copied from drawings from the originals by the author.

The news of Washington's death reached President Adams at Philadelphia by a special courier, on the morning of the 15th of December. John Marshall announced it to the assembled Congress that day, when a public funeral was decreed; and as the tidings went over the land, bells tolled funeral knells in solemn monotonies. When, forty days afterward, the news reached England, the flags of the great English fleet of sixty vessels lying in Torbay were lowered to half-mast; and Bonaparte, just made First Consul, ordered a funeral oration to be pronounced before himself and the civil and military authorities of France. On an appointed day, Congress went in procession to the Lutheran Church in Philadelphia, where an eloquent funeral oration was delivered by General Henry Lee, a son of the Lowland Beauty," who was the object of Washington's first love in his youth. Congress also decreed the erection of a monument to his memory at the site of the new national capital on the banks of the Potomac, and asked the privilege (which was granted) of depositing his remains at the seat of the national government. That monument has not been erected, and the remains are in a vault at Mount Vernon. A cenotaph, constructed upon a plan unworthy of the subject, the nation, and the principles of taste, has been a-building many years; and Congress at its session in 1875-'76, made an appropriation for the purpose of completing it. It is in the form of a huge obelisk of white marble and the original design called for an unsightly structure to surround its base. The obelisk has been carried up many feet already. It stands near the shore of the Potomac River within the limits of Washington city, and when completed will be conspicuous at a great distance but it is simply a following of the barbarian custom of perpetuating the memory of their patriots and heroes by a pile of stones - an artistic improvement on the ancient cairn. How much more appropriate, artistic and useful, would have been the erection of a building at the National Capital, in the simple Doric style of architecture, into which might be gathered for all time the portraits, by painting or sculpture, of the men and women of the nation whom the whole people delight to honor for their great, and generous, and patriotic deeds. Such portraits, when looked upon by our young citizens, would tend to inspire them to imitate the lives of their great exemplars. Sallust says: "I have often heard that Quintus Maximus, Publius Scipio, and other reverend persons of the Roman Commonwealth, used to say that, whenever they beheld the images of their ancestors, they felt their minds vehemently excited to virtue. It

could not be the wax, nor the marble, that possessed this power but the recollections of their great actions kindled a generous flame in their breasts, which could not be quelled till they also, by virtue, had acquired equal fame and glory."

Chapter XCI

Seat of the national Government - President Jefferson, His Policy and His Cabinet - Condition of the Government - Affairs Abroad - Difficulties with the Barbary Powers - Our Navy - War with the Barbary Powers - Growth of the Republic - Purchase of Louisiana - Expedition to the Pacific Ocean Across the Continent - Burr's Schemes - Blennerhassett - General Jackson - Burr's Trial for Treason - A Powerful Opposition - Unpatriotic Movements - Troubles with Spain Amicably Settled.

IN the summer and autumn of the year 1800, the seat of the national government was transferred from Philadelphia to the embryo city of Washington, on the banks of the Potomac, and at the verge of a Maryland forest. Woods," wrote Mrs. Adams (the wife of the President) in November, are all you see from Baltimore until you reach the city, which is only so in name. Here and there is a small cot, without a glass window, interspersed among the forests, through which you travel miles without seeing a human being." Only the north wing of the capital was then finished, and the President's house was only completed externally. Mrs. Adams wrote of that as being upon a grand and superb scale, requiring about thirty servants to attend and keep the apartments in proper order, and perform the ordinary business of the house and stables." "If they will put me up some bells," she wrote, "- for there is not one hung through the whole house, and promises are all you can obtain - and let me have wood enough to keep fires, I design to be pleased. I could content myself almost anywhere for three months; but, surrounded with forests, can you believe that wood is not to be had, because people cannot be found to cut and cart it! Briesler entered into a contract with a man to supply him with wood; a small part - a few cords only - has he been able to get. Most of that was expended to dry the walls of the house before we came in, and yesterday the man told him it was impossible to procure it to be cut and carted. He has had recourse to coals, but we cannot get grates made and set. We have, indeed, come into a new country."

The City of Washington was laid out on a magnificent scale, in 1791, with broad avenues bearing the names of the several States of the Union radiating from the hill on which the Capitol was built, with streets intersecting them in such a peculiar way, that they have ever been a puzzle to strangers. The corner-stone of the Capitol was laid by Washington, in April, 1793, with masonic ceremonies. Only the two wings were first built, and these were not completed until 1808.

The site for the city was a dreary one. At the time when the government was first seated there, only a path, leading through an alder swamp on the line of the present Pennsylvania Avenue, was the way of communication between the President's house and the Capitol. For awhile the executive and legislative officers of the government were compelled to suffer many privations there. Oliver Wolcott wrote to a friend in the fall of 1800: "There is one good tavern about forty rods from the Capitol, and several houses are built or erecting; but I don't see how the members of Congress can possibly secure lodgings unless they will consent to live like scholars in a college or monks in a monastery, crowded ten or twenty in one house. The only resource for

such as wish to live comfortably will be found in Georgetown, three miles distant, over as bad a road in winter as the clay grounds near Hartford. There are, in fact, but few houses in any one place, and most of them small, miserable huts, which present an awful contrast to the public buildings. The people are poor, and, as far as I can judge, they live like fishes, by eating each other. You may look in any direction over an extent of ground nearly as large as the City of New York, without seeing a fence or any object except brick-kilns and temporary huts for laborers. There is no industry, society, or business.

Mr. Jefferson began his administration on the 4th of March, 1801, under favorable auspices. He was then in the fifty-eighth year of his age - a tall, bony man, with grizzled sandy hair, and rather sloven in dress. He affected republican simplicity in all things, and sometimes carried this notion to extremes. Senator William Plummer, writing in 1802, said "The next day after my arrival I visited the President, accompanied by some Democratic members. In a few moments after our arrival a tall, high-boned man came into the room. He was dressed, or rather undressed, in an old brown coat, red waistcoat, old corduroy small clothes much soiled, woolen hose, and slippers without heels. I thought him a servant, when General Varnum surprised me by announcing it was the President."

Mr. Jefferson indicated his policy, as follows, in a letter to Nathaniel Macon: "1. Levees are done away with. 2. The first communication to the next Congress will be, like all subsequent ones, by message, to which no answer will be expected. 3. The diplomatic establishment in Europe will be reduced to three ministers. 4. The compensation of collectors depends on you [Congress], and not on me. 5. The army is undergoing a chaste reformation. 6. The navy will be reduced to the legal establishment by the last of this month [May, 1801]. 7. Agencies in every department will be revised. 8. We shall push you to the uttermost in economizing. 9. A very early recommendation has been given to the Postmaster-General to employ 110 printer, foreigner, or Revolutionary Tory in any of his offices." Mr. Jefferson appointed James Madison, Secretary of State; Henry Dearborn, Secretary of War; and Levi Lincoln, Attorney-General. He retained Mr. Adams's Secretaries of the Treasury and Navy, until the following autumn, when Albert Gallatin, a naturalized foreigner, was appointed to the first-named office, and Robert Smith, to the second. The President early resolved to reward his political friends, when he came to revise the "agencies in every department." Three days after his inauguration, he wrote to Colonel Monroe "I have firmly refused to follow the counsels of those who have desired the giving of offices to some of the Federalist leaders in order to reconcile. I have given, and will give, only to Republicans, under existing circumstances." The doctrine, ever since acted upon, that to the victor belongs the spoils," was then practically promulgated from the fountain-head of government patronage; and with a Cabinet wholly Democratic when Congress met in December, 1800, and with the minor offices filled with his political friends, Mr. Jefferson began his Presidential career of eight years duration. In his inaugural address, he had said "Every difference of opinion is not a difference of principle. We have called by different names brethren of the same principle. We are all Federalists - we are all Republicans." Vigor and enlightened views marked his course; and even his political opponents were compelled to confess his forecast and sound judgment in regard to the national policy.

The machinery of the government was now adjusted to an easy-working condition. The treasury was never so full nor the revenue so abundant; and Jefferson was enabled to signalize his accession to office by the repeal of the Excise Law and other obnoxious acts. There were omens of peace abroad, and these promised calmness and prosperity at home. Bonaparte had, in the space of about ten years, as First Consul, brought nearly all Europe trembling at his feet. The old thrones shook in his presence, and when he whispered peace, the nations listened eagerly. The geographical lines of dominions, on the map of Europe, had been changed by his conquests. Only England now remained an armed opponent of the Corsican ruler of France, for by treaties and otherwise, he had conciliated the others; and because of her mischievous doctrines, practically enforced, concerning the freedom of neutrals, the Armed Neutrality of 1780 was revived. Bonaparte threatened her island domain with invasion, and the tramp of a conquering army on the soil of her East India possessions; England arose in her might and defied Europe, and her ships continued to be seen "Riding without a rival on the sea."

The insolence of the North African pirates now became unbearable, and the United States resolved to cease paying tribute to the Barbary Powers. Captain Bainbridge had been sent, in 1800, in the frigate *George Washington*, to pay the usual tribute to the Dey of Algiers, and had been treated with cruel insolence by that ruler. After performing the errand courteously, and when he was about to leave, the Dey commanded Bainbridge to carry an Algerian ambassador to the Court of the Sultan at Constantinople. Bainbridge politely refused compliance, when the haughty governor said: "You pay me tribute, by which you become my slave, and therefore I have a right to order you as I think proper." Bainbridge could not sail out of the harbor of Algiers without the permission of the vigilant guns of the castle, and was compelled to yield. He bore the swarthy ambassador to the Golden Horn, when the Sultan saw our starry-flag for the first time. He had never heard of the United States of America. His own flag was garnished with a crescent, and he considered it a favorable omen for a flag bearing the stars of heaven to enter the waters of the seat of the Moslem Empire.

Bainbridge was granted a firman to protect him from further insolence from the Barbary rulers, and he used it efficiently. When he returned to Algiers, he was ordered by the Dey to go on another errand to Constantinople, when the captain peremptorily refused. The African, enraged, sprang from his seat, and threatening Bainbridge with personal injury, ordered his attendants to seize him. Bainbridge quietly produced the firman, when the lion became like a lamb. The Dey obsequiously offered the man whom he had just regarded as his slave, his friendship and service. Bainbridge, assuming the air of a dictator, demanded the instant release of the French consul and fifty or sixty of his own countrymen, whom the Dey had imprisoned, and they were borne away in the *Washington* in triumph. Then he wrote to the Secretary of the Navy: "I hope I shall never again be sent to Algiers with tribute, unless I am authorized to deliver it from the mouth of our cannon."

When news of these proceedings reached the United States, it excited much indignation. The navy, the strong right-arm of the government, which had enabled commerce, under its protection, to sell to foreign nations during the difficulties with France, the surplus products of our republic

to the amount of \$200,000,000, and to import sufficient to yield a revenue to the government of more than \$23,000,000, was then paralyzed by the exercise of unwise economy on the part of the government, which had authorized the sale of all the naval vessels excepting thirteen frigates. Yet these were decreed sufficient to meet the immediate demands for the protection of American commerce in the Mediterranean Sea.

In the spring of 1801, President Jefferson, in anticipation of trouble with the Barbary powers, ordered Commodore Dale to go with a squadron, composed of the frigates President, Philadelphia, Essex and Enterprise, to cruise off the North African coasts. Dale reached Gibraltar on the first of July, and found that Tripoli had lately declared war against the United States, and its corsairs were out upon the sea. His presence effectually restrained the pirates, and made them quite circumspect. The next year a larger squadron, composed of the frigates Chesapeake, Constitution, New York, John Adams, Adams, and Enterprise, commanded by Commodore Richard V. Morris, were sent to the same waters, one after another, from February to September. The harbor of Tripoli was blockaded in May, and not long afterward the Chesapeake, Lieutenant Chauncey acting-captain, had a severe fight with a flotilla of Tripolitan gun-boats. These, as well as some cavalry on shore, were severely handled by this frigate. Finally, in 1803, the whole squadron appeared off the coasts of the Barbary powers, and effectually protected American commerce from the corsairs, for awhile. But Morris's cruise was not regarded as an efficient one. A court of inquiry decided that he had not "discovered due diligence and activity in annoying the enemy," and the President dismissed him from the service, without trial.

In August, 1803, Commodore Preble, in command of a squadron, sailed for the Mediterranean in the frigate Constitution. After settling some difficulties with the Emperor of Morocco, whose corsairs were on the sea, he appeared with his vessels before the harbor of Tripoli, where a serious disaster occurred. The frigate Philadelphia, commanded by Captain Bainbridge, while reconnoitering the harbor, struck a rock and was captured by the Tripolitans. Her officers were made prisoners-of-war, and her crew were made slaves. When the news reached Preble at Malta, a plan was devised for the destruction of the Philadelphia before her captors could make her ready for sea. Lieutenant Decatur, with seventy-four volunteers - ardent and gallant young men like himself - sailed from Syracuse in a small vessel called a "ketch," named the Intrepid. She entered the harbor of Tripoli on the evening of the 3rd of February, 1804, in the disguise of a vessel in distress, and was moored alongside the Philadelphia. Decatur and his men were concealed below, when suddenly they burst from the hatches like a destructive flame, leaped on board the Philadelphia, and after a desperate fight, killed or drove into the sea her turbaned occupants. Then they set her on fire and escaped by the light, under cover of a heavy cannonade from the American squadron, and followed by shots from the castle, vessels at anchor in the harbor, and batteries on shore. Yet not one of Decatur's men was harmed. Before a favoring breeze they sailed to Syracuse, where they were greeted with joy by the American squadron there. The scene of the burning vessel was magnificent. As the guns of the Philadelphia were heated, they were discharged, giving a grand feu de joie for the victory.

This bold act alarmed the Bashaw, and subsequent events made him very discreet. In August

following, Preble, with his squadron, opened a heavy bombardment upon his town, castle, shore-batteries, and flotilla of gun-boats, no less than four times, between the 3rd and the 28th. In one of these engagements Decatur again distinguished himself. In command of a gun-boat, he laid her alongside one of the largest of the Tripolitan vessels, boarded her, and made her a prize. Then he boarded another, when he had a desperate personal encounter with her powerful captain. The struggle was brief but fearful. Decatur killed his antagonist, and the vessel was captured. Finally, on the 28th of August, Preble, with his flag-ship, the Constitution, entered the harbor, when her great guns opened a heavy fire upon the town, the castle, the batteries on shore and the camps of twenty-five thousand land troops, and the flotilla in the harbor. She silenced the Tripolitan guns, sunk a Tunisian vessel-of-war, damaged a Spanish one, severely bruised the enemy's galleys and gun-boats, and then withdrew without a man hurt.

Another attack was made on the 2nd of September. On that night - a very dark one - the Intrepid, which had been converted into a floating mine - an immense torpedo - with one hundred barrels of gunpowder below her deck, and a large quantity of shot, shell, and irregular pieces of iron lying over them, went into the harbor under the general direction of Captain Somers, to scatter destruction among the vessels of the enemy. She was towed in by two boats, with brave crews, in which it was expected all would escape, after firing combustibles on board of her. All hearts in the American squadron followed the Intrepid as she disappeared in the gloom. Suddenly a lurid flame, like that from a volcano, shot up from the bosom of the harbor, and lighted with its horrid glare the town, castle, batteries, ships, camps, and surrounding hills. It was followed by an explosion that shook the earth and sea, and flaming masts and sails and fiery bombs rained upon the waters for a moment, when darkness more profound settled upon the scene. The safety-boats were anxiously watched for until the dawn. They never returned, and no man of that perilous expedition was heard of afterward. Their names are inscribed upon a monument erected to the memory of these brave men, and the event, that stands at the western front of the Capitol at Washington city. Hostilities on the Barbary coast now ceased for the season. Preble was relieved by Commodore Samuel Barron, and early in 1805 he returned home, and received the homage of the nation's gratitude.

While Barron's ships blockaded Tripoli, an important land movement against that province was undertaken, under the general management of William Eaton, American consul at Tunis. The reigning Bashaw of Tripoli was an usurper, who had murdered his father and taken the seat of power from his brother, Hamet Caramalli. The latter had fled to Egypt. A plan was concerted between him and General Eaton for the restoration of his rights. The latter acted under the sanction of his government. Eaton went to Egypt, and at the beginning of March he left Alexandria, accompanied by Hamet and his followers, some Egyptian soldiers, and seventy United States seamen. They made a march of a thousand miles across the borders of the Libyan desert; and at near the close of April, in conjunction with two American vessels, they captured the Tripolitan city of Derne, on the borders of the Mediterranean Sea. They had defeated the Tripolitan forces in two battles, and were about to march on the capital when news came that the American consul-general (Tobias Lear) had made a treaty of peace with the terrified Bashaw. So ended the hopes of Hamet, and also the four years war with Tripoli. But the ruler of Tunis was

yet insolent. He was speedily humbled by Commodore Rodgers, Barron's successor, and the power of the United States was respected and feared by the half-barbarians of the north of Africa. Pope Pius the Seventh declared that the Americans had done more for Christendom against the pirates than all the powers of Europe united.

While these events were occurring on the Mediterranean and its borders, our Republic had been growing rapidly in political and moral strength, and by the expansion of its domain. During Mr. Jefferson's first term, one State (Ohio) and two Territories (Indiana and Illinois) had been formed out of the free Northwestern Territory. Ohio was organized as an independent territory in the year 1800, and in the fall of 1802, it was admitted into the Union as a State. At that time there was great excitement in the country west of the Allegheny Mountains, in consequence of a violation of the treaty made with Spain in 1795, by the governor of Louisiana, in closing the port of New Orleans against the commerce of our Republic. There was a proposition before Congress for taking forcible possession of that region, when it was ascertained that by a secret treaty Spain had retroceded Louisiana to France. Negotiations were immediately begun for the purchase of that domain from France, by the United States. Robert R. Livingston, the American minister at the court of the First Consul, found very little difficulty in making a bargain with Bonaparte, for the latter wanted money and desired to injure England by strengthening her rivals. He sold that magnificent domain, stretching from the Gulf of Mexico northward to the present State of Minnesota, and from the Mississippi westward toward the Pacific Ocean, for the sum of fifteen million dollars. The bargain was made in the spring of 1803, and in the fall the country, which added nine hundred thousand square miles to our territory, was taken possession of by the United States. When the bargain was closed, Bonaparte said, prophetically: This accession of territory strengthens forever the power of the United States and I have just given to England a maritime rival that will sooner or later humble her pride." Out of that domain have been carved some of our most opulent States and Territories.

The same year when Louisiana was bought, President Jefferson, by a confidential message to Congress, proposed the first of those peaceable conquests which have opened, and are still opening, to civilization and human industry, the vast inland regions of our continent, then unknown. He recommended an appropriation to defray the expenses of an exploring expedition across the continent from the Mississippi to the Pacific Ocean. The appropriation was made, and an expedition was afterward organized under the control of Captains Lewis and Clarke, consisting of a little less than thirty persons. They left the western shore of the Mississippi on the 14th of May, 1804, traversed the continent between the great river and the South Sea" of the earlier explorers, and in the course of twenty-seven months, completed their labors, by which the first reliable information was obtained respecting the vast country which they had penetrated and passed through.

The Spaniards did not like the acquisition of Louisiana by the United States. The Spanish minister at Washington protested against the bargain. Questions concerning the true boundaries of the territory were raised. The Spaniards were disposed to hold all the country east of the Mississippi, and so retain New Orleans. This disposition aroused the resentment of the people of

the West against the occupants of the Lower Mississippi Valley, and our government was disposed to assert its rights by force of arms, if necessary. Regular troops under General Wilkinson, and militia from Tennessee, assembled at Natchez as a sort of army of observation. But a peaceful transfer of the domain was made. The boundaries were defined, and the Spaniards were left in possession of the country along the Gulf of Mexico to the Atlantic Ocean, east of a line nearly corresponding with the present boundary between Louisiana and Mississippi, on the Pearl River, and south of the thirty-first degree of latitude. It was known as the Floridas.

The country was agitated by stirring events in the region beyond the Alleghenies in 1805, and for a year or two afterward. The fertile valleys of the Ohio and Mississippi were rapidly filling with adventurers and settlers, and materials for new States, sufficient to make an empire, were rapidly gathering. The stream of navigation was flowing full from the east, down the western slopes of the great hills. Michigan was erected into a Territory that year (1805); and all along the Mississippi, settlements were taking deep root and flourishing. These were generally composed of hardy and venturesome men and women ready for any honorable enterprise that promised gain.

At that time there was a prevailing opinion in our country that the Spanish inhabitants in Louisiana would not quietly submit to the rule of our government. Taking advantage of this belief and the restless spirits of the inhabitants who were forming States in the Great Valley, Aaron Burr, an ardent politician and expert and unscrupulous intriguer, who had been Vice-President of the United States during Jefferson's first term, thought he saw an opportunity to make circumstances subservient to his own ambitious views. In the summer of 1804, he had murdered General Hamilton in a duel, and became an outcast from society. He was tolerated only by his political party, and was not renominated with Mr. Jefferson. Smarting under the stings of neglect and the "good man's contumely," he was ready to attempt the execution of any scheme that promised a retrieval of his fame and fortune. He seems to have contemplated one in which the fortunes of the inhabitants west of the mountains were involved, but what it was exactly will never be made known, for the chief actors are dead and have left no sign." It was thought that he intended to dis sever the Union, and set up an independent republic in the West with himself at the head. Others have believed that his scheme was to organize a strong military force in the West, and with it to invade Mexico, wrest that country from Spain, and set up an independent government there with himself at the head, either as president or monarch. It is certain that General Wilkinson, who was in command of United States troops in the West at that time, was associated with Burr for awhile in his schemes, whatever they may have been.

In the spring of 1805, Burr departed for the West, giving deceptive reasons for his journey. He went down the Ohio River in an open boat, and on a pleasant morning in May he appeared at the charming island home of Herman Blennerhassett, an Irish gentleman possessed of a fine education, scientific tastes, an ample fortune, and a beautiful and accomplished wife. He was seated upon an island in the Ohio River, near the mouth of the Muskingum River, not far from Marietta, where he had a beautiful and happy home, enriched with books, adorned with pictures, enlivened with music from the lips and by the skillful fingers of Mrs. Blennerhassett as she touched the harp and guitar and sang sweet airs, and made attractive to the man of science and

taste by conservatories of rare plants and fine pleasure-grounds. It was the resort of persons of the best minds beyond the mountains.

Into that paradise the wily serpent crept, and repeated the story of the fall. Mrs. Blennerhassett, an ambitious woman with an enthusiastic nature, was tempted by the apple of Burr's seductive promises of wealth, power, and immortal honors, and she persuaded her husband to eat of the fruit. He placed his fortune and reputation at the disposal of that heartless demagogue, and lost both. He was driven by necessity from his lost paradise, and died in comparative poverty.

Burr, at first, gained the confidence of that stern patriot, Andrew Jackson, whom he visited at his log-dwelling at the Hermitage," near Nashville. They corresponded for a time after Burr returned to the East in the fall of 1805, and so active were the schemer and his few partisans in the West in 1806, that a military organization was partly effected. He had overcome General Wilkinson with his wiles; and so strong was the confidence of Jackson in the integrity of Burr, that when the latter again visited the Hermitage early in the autumn of 1806, the former procured for him a public ball at Nashville, at which the tall hero, in military dress, led the little adventurer in his suit of black into the room, and introduced him to the ladies and gentlemen present. Circumstances soon afterward caused Jackson to suspect Burr's fidelity to his country, and he communicated his suspicions to Governor Claiborne at New Orleans. The national government received similar warnings, and took measures to crush the viper in its egg. Burr's arrest was ordered, and this was accomplished in February, 1807, near Fort Stoddart, in Alabama, by Lieutenant (afterward Major-General) E. P. Gaines. Burr was taken to Richmond, in Virginia, and there tried for treason. The evidence seemed to show that his probable design was an invasion of the Mexican provinces and not a dismemberment of the Union, and he was acquitted.

With the acquisition of Louisiana, there grew up a powerful opposition to the administration, on the North and East. The idea was disseminated that the transaction was a scheme to strengthen the South, and with it the Southern Democracy, into whose hands the control of the government had fallen. In past times the prescription of disunion as a remedy for political evils had been a favorite one with that Democracy. The Opposition now approved it, or rather the very radical men of that party did. In the years 1803 and 1804, desires for a dismemberment from the South were freely expressed in the States east and north of the Potomac and Susquehanna. A convention of leading Federalists to consult upon the measure, was called at Boston in 1804, to which Alexander Hamilton was invited but his emphatic condemnation of such an unpatriotic course, only a short time before his death, disconcerted the leaders and dissipated their schemes. In the New York State Senate, in 1809, DeWitt Clinton, alluding to this act of Hamilton, said:"To his honor be it spoken, it was rejected by him with abhorrence and disdain."

At about the time when Burr conceived his schemes, trouble between Spain and the United States had occurred, and, for awhile, threatened to kindle a flame of war between the two governments. The United States had preferred a claim against Spain for indemnity for spoliations committed against the commerce of our country by Spanish cruisers under their own and the

French flags. The liability on the part of those under the Spanish flag was admitted, and by an agreement negotiated in 1802, a commission to adjust the claims was authorized but the acquisition of Louisiana by the United States, and questions growing out of that act, and claims to a portion of Florida, seemed to indicate a determination on the part of our government to take that portion of the Spanish domain by force of arms, if necessary. Spain, highly offended, refused to carry out the agreement concerning indemnity, and, for awhile, the political firmament appeared Yen lowering. But, as we have observed, the boundaries were amicably settled by satisfactory definitions, and the clouds passed away.

We must now look to events in Europe as the beginning of serious difficulties between our country and Great Britain, which finally led to wad between them.

Chapter XCII

Napoleon Emperor - England and France - British Jealousy - The Rule of 1756 - Depredations on American Commerce - Non-Importation - Orders in Council and Decrees - The "Chesapeake" and "Leopard" - Action of the United States Government - Further Orders and Decrees - Destruction of Commerce - Embargo Act - Tribute to Great Britain Demanded - Opposition to the Embargo - A Duel - President Madison - The Americans Deceived - Perfidy of Napoleon - "President" and "Little Belt" - The Two Navies - Trouble with the Indians - Battle of Tippecanoe.

THE First Consul of France had procured his election to a seat on an imperial throne, in the spring of 1804; and on the 2nd of December following, he appeared before the altar of the Church of Notre Dame, in Paris, where he was consecrated "The High and Mighty Napoleon the First, Emperor of the French." In 1806 he was monarch of Italy; and his three brothers were made ruling sovereigns. Then he was upon the full tide of successful domination, and a large part of continental Europe was prostrate at his feet. England had joined the continental powers against him in 1803, in order to crush out the Democratic revolution which had occurred in France, and threatened the peace of the United Kingdom; and the British navy had almost destroyed the French power on the sea. At the same time American shipping enjoyed the privilege of free intercourse between the ports of England and France, and pursued a very profitable Carrying trade which unforeseen circumstances soon destroyed.

The envious shipping-merchants of Great Britain, and her navy officers and privateersmen who could then obtain very few prizes lawfully, represented to their government that the Americans, under the guise of neutrality, were secretly aiding the French. This hint caused that government to revive in full force the rule of 1756 concerning neutrals and orders were secretly issued authorizing British cruisers to seize and British admiralty courts to condemn as prizes American vessels and their cargoes that might be captured by British cruisers.

The depredations by these cruisers upon American commerce were commenced under the most frivolous and absurd pretexts, and the most intense indignation was aroused throughout the United States. Memorials from merchants in all the seaboard towns and cities were resented to Congress, in which the Democrats, with Mr. Jefferson (just reelected) at their head, had an overwhelming majority. This and other grievances inflicted by the British government were discussed. Among them the alleged right of search which the British put forth, was paramount; and on the recommendation of the President, Congress, in the spring of 1806, passed an act prohibiting the importation into the United States of many of the more important manufactures of Great Britain, after the first of November following. In May William Pinckney was sent to London to join Mr. Monroe, the American minister there, in negotiating a treaty with the British government concerning the rights of neutrals, the impressment of seamen, and the right of search. A treaty was finally signed, but as it did not offer security to American vessels against the aggressions of British cruisers in searching for and carrying off seamen, the President would not lay it before the Senate.

A new difficulty now arose. In their anxiety to injure each other, the British and French governments ceased to respect the rights of other nations, and dealt heavy blows at the life of the commerce of the world. In this business Great Britain took the lead. On the 16th of May (1806) that government, by an order in council, declared the whole coast of Europe from the Elbe to Brest to be in a state of blockade. Napoleon retaliated by issuing a decree from Berlin on the 21st of November, in which he declared all the British islands to be in a state of blockade. This was intended as a blow against Britain's maritime supremacy, and was the beginning of the Emperor's "Continental System," designed to ruin Great Britain. The latter, by another order in council issued January, 1807, prohibited all coast trade with France. So these desperate powers played with the world's commerce in their mad efforts to injure each other. American vessels were seized by both English and French cruisers, and American commerce dwindled to a merely coast trade. Our republic lacked a competent navy to protect our commerce on the high seas; and the swarm of gun-boats (small sailing-vessels having each a cannon in the bow and stern), which Congress had authorized from time to time, were insufficient for a coast-guard.

Early in 1807, American commerce was almost swept from the sea by the operations of the "orders" and "decrees." The French had withheld the operation of the decrees for full a year, but the British cruisers had been let loose at once. This produced bitter feelings toward the government of Great Britain on the part of the Americans, and this was intensified by the haughty assertion and offensive practice of the British doctrine of the right of search for suspected deserters from the royal navy, and to carry away the suspected without hindrance. This right was claimed on the ground that a British-born subject could never expatriate himself and that his government might take him, wherever found, and place him in the army or navy, although, by legal process, he may have been made a citizen of another nation. This right of search and seizure had been strenuously denied and its policy strongly condemned, because American seamen might be thus forced into the British service under the false pretext that they were deserters. This had already happened. It had been proven, after thorough investigation, that since the promulgation of the British rule of 1756, many years before, nearly three hundred seamen, a greater portion of them Americans, had been taken from vessels and pressed into the British service.

A crisis now approached. A small British squadron lay in American waters near the mouth of the Chesapeake Bay, watching some French frigates blockaded at Annapolis, in the spring of 1807. Three of the crew of one of the vessels, and one of another had deserted, and enlisted on board the United States frigate Chesapeake, lying at the Washington Navy Yard. The British minister made a formal demand for their surrender. Our government refused compliance, because it was ascertained that two of the men (one colored) were natives of the United States, and there was strong presumptive evidence that a third was, likewise. No more was said, but the commander of the British squadron took the matter into his own hands. The Chesapeake, on going to sea on the morning of the 22nd of June (1807), bearing the broad pennant of Commodore Barron, was intercepted by the British frigate Leopard, whose commander hailed the commodore and informed him that he had a despatch for him. Unsuspicious of unfriendliness, the Chesapeake was laid to, when a British boat bearing a lieutenant came alongside. That officer was politely received by Barron, in his cabin, when the former presented a demand from the

commander of the Leopard to allow the bearer to muster the crew of the Chesapeake, that he might select and carry away the alleged deserters. The demand was authorized by instructions received from Vice-Admiral Berkeley, at Halifax. Barron told the lieutenant that his crew should not be mustered, excepting by his own officers, when the latter withdrew and the Chesapeake moved on.

Barron, suspecting mischief had caused his vessel to be prepared for action as far as possible. The Leopard followed, and her commander called out to the commodore through his trumpet: "Commodore Barron must be aware that the vice-admiral's commands must be obeyed." This was repeated. The Chesapeake kept on her way, when the Leopard sent two shots athwart her bows. These were followed by the remainder of the broadside that poured shot into the hull of the Chesapeake. The latter was unable to return the fire, for her guns had no priming-powder. Not a shot could be returned; and after being severely bruised by repeated broadsides, she was surrendered to the assailant. Her crew was mustered by British officers the deserters were carried away, and the Chesapeake was left to pursue her voyage or return. The vice-admiral's command had been obeyed. One of the deserters, who was a British subject, was hanged at Halifax, and the three Americans were spared from the gallows only on the condition that they should re-enter the British service.

The indignation of the American people was hot because of this outrage. The President issued a proclamation at the beginning of July, ordering all British armed vessels to leave the waters of the United States, and forbidding any to enter them until ample satisfaction should be given. A demand for redress was made upon the British government, when an envoy extraordinary was sent to Washington city to settle the difficulty. He was instructed to do nothing until the President's proclamation should be withdrawn. So the matter stood for more than four years, when, in 1811, the British government disavowed the act. Meanwhile Commodore Barron had been tried on a charge of neglect of duty in not being prepared for action, found guilty, and suspended from service for five years without pay or emolument.

During the year 1807, American genius and enterprise achieved a great triumph in science and art, by the successful and permanent establishment of navigation by the power of steam. This was accomplished by Robert Fulton and Chancellor Livingston. At the beginning of September, 1807, the Clermont, the first steamboat built by these gentlemen, made a voyage from New York to Albany, one hundred and sixty miles, in thirty-six hours, against wind and tide; and from that time until now navigation by steam, for travel and commerce, has been steadily increasing in volume and perfection, until such vessels may now be seen on every ocean and in almost every harbor of the globe, even among the ice-pack of polar seas. This was the second of the great and beneficent achievements which have distinguished American inventors during the last century. The cotton-gin, invented by Eli Whitney, was the first; an implement that can do the work of a thousand persons in cleaning cotton-wool of the seeds. That machine has been one of the most important aids in the accumulation of our national wealth.

Another heavy blow was struck at American commerce late in 1807. A British order in

council issued on the 11th of November, forbade all neutral nations to trade with France or her allies, except upon the payment of a tribute to Great Britain. Napoleon retaliated by issuing a decree at Milan, in Italy, on the 17th of December, forbidding all trade with England and her colonies; and authorizing the confiscation of any vessel found in his ports which had submitted to English search, or paid the tribute exacted. These edicts almost stopped the commercial operations of the civilized world. American foreign commerce was annihilated. The President had called Congress together at an earlier day (October 25) than usual, to consider the critical state of public affairs and in a confidential message, he recommended that body to pass an act levying a commercial embargo. Such an act was passed on the 22nd of December, 1807, by which all American and foreign vessels in our ports were detained and all American vessels abroad were ordered home immediately, that the seamen might be trained for the impending war in defence of sacred rights.

This act caused widespread distress in commercial communities, and the firmness of the government and the patriotism of the people were severely tried for more than a year, under aggravated insults by the British government which exacted tribute in a form more odious than that of the North African robbers. In the spring of 1808, the British Parliament, with an air of condescension, passed an act permitting Americans to trade with France and her dependencies, on the condition that vessels engaged in such trade should first enter some British port, pay a transit duty, and take out a license. In other words, Great Britain said to the United States, with as much insolence as the Dey of Algiers, "Pay me tribute, and my cruisers (or corsairs) will be instructed not to plunder you."

The embargo was denounced by the opposition with great vehemence as an unwise provocative of war. Josiah Quincy, the leader of the Federalists in Congress, said in debate: Let us once declare to the world that, before our embargo policy be abandoned, the French decrees and the British orders in council must be revoked, and we league against us whatever spirit of honor and pride exists in both those nations. . . . No nation will be easily brought to acknowledge such a dependence on another as to be made to abandon, by a withholding of intercourse, a settled line of policy." It drew from William Cullen Bryant the poet, then a lad only thirteen years of age, a sharp, satirical poem. It was called a Terrapin policy" - the policy that would shut up the nation in its own shell - and it was caricatured as such by the pencil of Jarvis and the burin of Dr. Anderson. The wise words of Quincy were justified when he said "A nation mistakes its relative importance and consequence in thinking that its countenance, or its intercourse, or its existence, is all important to the rest of mankind." The embargo failed to obtain from France or Great Britain the slightest acknowledgment of American rights, and it was repealed on the first day of March, 1809 - three days before Mr. Jefferson left the Presidential chair to make room for James Madison, who had been elected to succeed him as chief magistrate of the republic. On the same day Congress passed an act forbidding all commercial intercourse with France and Great Britain until the "orders in council" and the decrees should be repealed.

In the debates on the embargo, the most violent attacks upon the administration and its supporters were sometimes indulged in, upon the floor of Congress. In this course, Barent

Gardiner, of New York, was most conspicuous, making sweeping charges of corruption. His violence and abuse was such that severe personal allusion to Gardiner was elicited from Campbell of Tennessee. Gardiner challenged him to mortal combat. They met at Bladensburg, when Gardiner was severely wounded in the side, and was borne, fainting, from the field. He soon recovered; and when he reappeared in the House, he was as violent as ever.

It was at this troublous period in our history that Mr. Madison of Virginia began his administration of eight years as President of the republic, with George Clinton of New York as Vice-President. The general aspect of national affairs then was fairly drawn (though somewhat highly-colored) in a report of a committee of the Massachusetts legislature in January, 1809, which said: "Our agriculture is discouraged; the fisheries abandoned; navigation forbidden our commerce at home restrained, if not annihilated our commerce abroad cut off; our navy sold, dismantled, or degraded to the service of cutters or gun-boats; the revenue extinguished the course of justice interrupted and the nation weakened by internal animosities and divisions, at the moment when it is unnecessarily and improvidently exposed to war with Great Britain, France, and Spain." It was believed that the new President would perpetuate the policy of Jefferson; but when, dressed in a suit of plain black cloth, he modestly pronounced his inaugural address before a multitude of eager spectators, on the 4th of March, 1809, the tone and temper of that speech fell like oil upon troubled waters. His most placable political enemies who heard him, and those who read the address, could not refrain from uttering words of approbation; and the whole nation entertained hopes that his measures might change the gloomy aspect of public affairs. He had able constitutional advisers in Robert Smith as Secretary of State Albert Gallatin, Secretary of the Treasury; William Eustis, Secretary of War; Paul Hamilton, Secretary of the Navy, and Caesar Rodney, Attorney-General. There was a powerful party in the nation hostile to his political creed and opposed to war with Great Britain, which then seemed to be an event in the near future.

At the beginning of his administration, Madison was assured by the British minister at Washington (Mr. Erskine) that such portions of the orders in council as affected the United States would be repealed by the 10th of June; and that a special envoy would be sent by his government to adjust all matters in dispute. Regarding these assurances as official, the event seemed like a ray of sunlight among the tempestuous clouds, The President issued a proclamation on the 19th of April (1809) permitting a renewal of commercial intercourse with Great Britain from that day but the British government disavowed Erskine's act, and in August the President, by proclamation, renewed the restrictions. This event produced intense excitement throughout our country; and had the President then proclaimed war against Great Britain, it would undoubtedly have been a popular measure.

In the spring of 1810 (March 23) Bonaparte issued a decree at Rambouillet more destructive in its consequences to American commerce than any measure yet employed. It declared forfeit every American vessel which had entered French ports since March 1, or that might thereafter enter; and authorized the sale of the same together with their cargoes, and the proceeds to be placed in the French treasury. Under this decree many American vessels were lost, for which even partial remuneration was not obtained until almost thirty years afterward. It was justified by

Bonaparte by the plea that it was made in retaliation for the American decree of non-intercourse. In May following, Congress offered to resume commercial intercourse with either France or England, or both, on condition that they should repeal their obnoxious orders and decrees before the 3rd of March, 1811. Napoleon, a man of expediency and not of principle, feigned compliance. He assured our government that the repeal of the decrees should take effect in November following. On this assurance the President proclaimed a resumption of commercial intercourse with France. The monarch intended to break the solemn promise at any moment when policy should so dictate. American vessels were seized by French cruisers and confiscated as freely as ever. In March, 1811, Napoleon declared the decrees of Berlin and Milan to be a part of the fundamental laws of the empire and a new envoy sent from France gave official notice to our government, that no remuneration would be allowed for property seized and confiscated.

Great Britain not only continued her hostile orders, but sent ships-of-war to cruise off the principal ports of the United States to intercept American merchant-vessels and send them to England as lawful prizes. In this business the *Little Belt*, Captain Bingham, a British sloop-of-war, was engaged in the spring of 1811 off the coast of Virginia, where she was met on the 16th of April by the American frigate *President*, Captain Ludlow, bearing the broad pennant of Commodore Rodgers. The latter hailed the commander of the sloop, asking - "What ship is that?" and received a cannon-shot in reply. "Equally determined," said Rodgers in his report, "not to be the aggressor, or suffer the flag of my country to be insulted with impunity, I gave a general order to fire." After a very brief action. Captain Bingham, having eleven men killed and twenty-one wounded, gave a satin factory answer. The vessels parted company, the *Little Belt* sailing for Halifax.

The conduct of both officers, in this affair, was approved by then respective governments. That of the United States and the people regarded the conduct of Captain Bingham as an outrage without palliation; and the Americans were willing to take up arms in defence of what they regarded as right, justice, and honor. They knew the strength of the British navy and the weakness of their own, yet they were willing to accept war as an alternative for submission, and to measure strength on the ocean. At that time the British navy consisted of almost nine hundred vessels, with an aggregate of one hundred and forty-four thousand men. The American vessels-of-war, of large size, numbered only twelve, with about three hundred guns. There was a large number of gun-boats, but these, as we have observed, were scarcely sufficient for a coast-guard. For a navy so weak to defy a navy so strong, seemed like madness. We must remember, however, that the royal navy was much scattered, for that government had interests to protect in various parts of the world. It was the boast of Britons that the sun never set on the dominions of their monarch.

The administration was now sustained by a larger majority of the American people than that of Jefferson had ever been, and the Federalists, or the Opposition, were in a hopeless minority. The continued acts of aggression by the British were increasing the Democratic strength every day; and in 1811, circumstances seemed to make war with Great Britain an imperative necessity for the vindication of the honor, rights, and independence of the United States.

Circumstances had made the Indian tribes on the northwestern frontiers of the United States very uneasy, and the machinations of British traders and government emissaries had stimulated the growth of that discontent into a decided hostile feeling toward the nation of Republicans, then pressing upon the dominion of the savages. The suspension of the world's commerce had diminished the amount of their traffic in furs, and the rapid extension of American settlements northward of the Ohio was narrowing their hunting- grounds and producing a rapid diminution of game. The introduction of intoxicating liquors among them by the white people had spread demoralization widely, with consequent disease and death. These savages were made to believe that all these evils had been brought upon them by the encroachments of the Americans and in the spring of 1811, it became evident that a league was forming among the tribes for the extermination of the frontier settlers. Tecumtha, a Shawnees chief crafty, intrepid, unscrupulous and cruel, and who possessed the qualities of a great leader, endeavored to emulate Pontiac, the great Ottawa chief in the formation of an Indian confederacy in the Northwest, for making war upon the United States. He had a shrewd twin-brother, called The Prophet, whose mysterious incantations and predictions, and pretended visions and spiritual intercourse, had inspired the savage mind with great veneration for him, as a wonderful "medicine-man." He and Tecumtha possessed almost unbounded influence over the Delawares, Shawnees, Wyandots, Miamis, Kickapoos, Winnebagoes, and Chippewas.

So hostile had the Indians appeared in the spring of 1810, under the influence of these leaders, that General W. H. Harrison, then governor of the Territory of Indiana, invited the brothers to a council at Vincennes, in August. Tecumtha appeared with four hundred full-armed followers. The inhabitants were greatly alarmed by this demonstration of savage military power. Harrison was cool and cautious. The bearing of the chief was bold and haughty. He refused to enter the place wherein the council was to be held, saying: Houses were built for you to hold councils in Indians hold theirs in the open air." He then took a position under some trees in front of the house, and, unabashed by the large concourse of white people before him, he opened the business with a speech marked by great dignity and native eloquence. When he had concluded, one of the governor's aids said to him through an interpreter, as he pointed to a chair"Your father [General Harrison] requests you to take a seat by his side." The chief drew his blanket around him, and, standing erect, said, with scornful tone: My father! The sun is my father, and the earth is my mother; on her bosom I will recline;" and then seated himself upon the ground.

The chief had declared it to be his intention to form a confederacy for the purpose of preventing any further cession of lands to the white people, and to recover what had been ceded. "Return those lands," he said, "and Tecumtha will be the friend of the Americans. He likes not the English, who are continually setting the Indians on the Americans." The governor, in reply, told him plainly that the lands had been received from other tribes, and that the Shawnees, his people, had no business to interfere. Tecumtha sprang to his feet, cast off his blanket, and, with violent gestures, pronounced the governor's words false. He accused the United States of cheating and imposing upon the Indians; and then giving a sign to his warriors near him, they sprang to their feet, seized their war-clubs, and brandished their tomahawks. The governor started from his chair and drew his sword, while the citizens seized any weapon or missile they could find. It was a

moment of great peril to the white people. A military guard of twelve men, under some trees a short distance off were ordered up. A friendly Indian cocked his pistol which he had loaded secretly while Tecumtha was speaking, and would have shot the chief dead. The guard were about to fire, when Harrison, perfectly cool, restrained them, and a bloody encounter was prevented. The interpreter, whom the Indians all respected, told Tecumtha that he was a bad man. The council was broken up. Tecumtha expressed his regret because of the violence into which his anger had betrayed him but Harrison perceived that war with the followers of the chief and his brother was probable, and took precautions accordingly.

In the spring of 1811 the hostile savages began to roam over the Wabash region, in small parties, plundering the white settlers and friendly Indians. Harrison sent word to Tecumtha and The Prophet that these outrages must cease, and that he was fully prepared to defend the settlers against any number of warriors which they might assemble. Tecumtha, alarmed, went to Vincennes, where he saw seven hundred well-armed militia. He made solemn assurances of friendly feelings and intentions and then went to the tribes of the Choctaws, Chickasaws and Creeks, in the South, and tried to get them to join him in a league against the white people. Meanwhile Governor Harrison, exercising discretion given him by his government, gathered a large force from Kentucky and elsewhere, at Vincennes, and late in September (1811) marched up the Wabash Valley toward the town of The Prophet near the junction of Tippecanoe Creek and the Wabash River. On the way he built a fort near the present town of Terre Haute, which was called Fort Harrison.

At the beginning of November, the governor and his troops encamped upon a dry oak elevation, that rises about ten feet above a surrounding wet prairie, near the junction of the Tippecanoe and Wabash, and there he was visited by The Prophet, who proposed a conference. Harrison suspected treachery, and arranged his camp with care on the afternoon of the 6th of November, to meet any sudden emergency. He ordered that each corps forming the extreme line of the camp should hold its ground, in case of an attack, until relieved. In the event of a night attack, the cavalry were to parade, dismounted, with their pistols in their belts, and act as a reserve corps. Two captains' guards of forty-two men each were detailed to defend the camp. So prepared, the whole camp excepting the sentinels and guards, were soundly sleeping at an early hour. At the same time there had been preparations made by The Prophet for treachery and murder, when the camp of the white people should be filled with sleepers. Surrounded by his dupes, The Prophet brought out his Magic Bowl. In one hand he held a torch, in the other a string of holy beans which his followers were required to touch in token of an oath, and so be made invulnerable in battle. Then he went through a long series of incantations and mystical movements, his solitary eye (for he had lost one) rolling wildly. These ended, he turned to his seven hundred warriors, told them that the time for attacking the white man had come, and holding up the string of beans reminded them of their oath which the touch of them implied. "The white men are in your power," he said. "They sleep now, and will never wake. The Great Spirit will give light to us, and darkness to the white men. Their bullets shall not harm us; your weapons shall be always fatal." Then followed war-songs and dances, until the savages, wrought up to a perfect frenzy, rushed out to attack Harrison's camp.

At four o'clock in the morning of the 7th, Harrison was just pulling on his boots, when a single gun was fired by a sentinel. This was followed by horrid yells. The whole camp was soon aroused, to receive a murderous fire from the savages, who had crept up stealthily to the verge of the camp before they were discovered. A very sharp battle ensued, which lasted until daylight, when the Indians were driven away at the point of the bayonet and pursued into the wet prairie. In that battle of Tippecanoe, Harrison lost, in killed and wounded, one hundred and eighty-eight men.

Tecumtha, who was really a great man, while his brother was a demagogue and a cheat, was absent in the South, at that time. On his return, he found all his plans frustrated by the folly of The Prophet. Vexed and mortified, he was compelled to abandon his schemes for a confederacy, but became a firm and active friend of the British in the war that speedily ensued. His brother, The Prophet, lost caste with his people. Upon a gentle hill toward the Wabash, this demagogue stood on that dark and gloomy November morning, at a safe distance from danger, singing a war-song and performing some protracted religious mummeries. When he was told that his followers were falling before the bullets of the white men, he said, Fight on; it will soon be as I told you." When at last the warriors of many tribes - Shawnees, Wyandots, Kickapoos, Ottawas, Chippewas, Pottawatomies, Winnebagoes, Sacs, and a few Miamis - fugitives from the battle-field, lost their faith and covered The Prophet with reproaches, he cunningly devised a lying excuse for his failure. He told them that his predictions had failed of fulfillment because, during his incantations, his wife touched the sacred vessels and broke the charm! His followers, though superstitious in the extreme, would not accept this explanation as an excuse, and they deserted him in such large numbers, that he was compelled to take refuge with a small band of Wyandots, his town having been set on fire. The foe scattered in all directions, and hid themselves where the white man could not easily follow. A poet of the time wrote:

"Sound, sound the charge! spur, spur the steed, And swift the fugitives pursue 'Tis vain; rein in - your utmost speed Could not o'ertake the recreant crew. In lowland marsh, in dell or cave, Each Indian sought his life to save; Whence, peering forth, with fear and ire, He saw his Prophet's town on fire."

These events, so evidently the work of British interference, aroused the spirit of the nation, and out of New England there was a general desire for war with Great Britain. The administration, impressed with the great responsibility of such a measure, and having the entire body of the New England people in opposition, hesitated.

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Overview of Our Country: Volume 5

A history of the United States from the discovery of America to the present time (1905). Volume 5 of 8 covers the War of 1812 and the Madison presidency through the conquest of New Mexico and California and Beauregard's Proclamation.

Chapter XCIII

Action of Committee on Foreign Relations - Preparations for War - War Declared - Appointment of General Officers - Provisions for War - A Factious Peace-Party - A Fatal Mistake - British Force on the American Station - Affairs in the Northwest - Military Movements in Canada - Canadian Militia and Indians - Mackinaw Captured - Americans Evacuate Canada - Surrender of Detroit - Events at Chicago.

THE events in the northwest aroused a war-spirit among the people of our country that could not be repressed, and only in New England did counsels for peace prevail. That the Indians were incited to make war on our frontier settlers by British emissaries was fully proven, and admitted by Tecumtha and others. The British orders in council continued to be vigorously enforced.

"Insult after insult was offered to the American flag by British cruisers and the press of Great Britain insolently declared that the Americans could not be kicked into a war."

Forbearance became no longer a virtue. It seemed like cowardice. The timid President Madison, finding himself the standard-bearer of his party, and like a cautious sachem surrounded by irrepressible young warriors eager for fight, felt compelled to sound a war-trumpet, though a feeble one, in his annual message at the beginning of November, 1811. The young and ardent members of the House of Representatives, who had elected Henry Clay, then thirty-four years of age, Speaker, determined that indecision should no longer mark the councils of the nation. The Committee on Foreign Relations, of which Peter B. Porter was chairman, intensified that feeling by an energetic report submitted on the 29th of November, in which, in glowing sentences, the British government was arraigned on charges of injustice, cruelty, and wrong. They said "To sum up, in a word, the great cause of complaint against Great Britain, your committee need only say, that the United States, as a sovereign and independent power, claims the right to use the ocean, which is the common and acknowledged highway of nations, for the purposes of transporting, in their own vessels, the products of their own soils and the acquisitions of their own industry to a

market in the ports of friendly nations, and to bring home, in return, such articles as their necessities or convenience may require, always regarding the rights of belligerents as defined by the established laws of nations. Great Britain, in defiance of this incontestable right, captures every American vessel bound to or returning from a port where her commerce is not favored; enslaves our seamen, and, in spite of our remonstrances, perseveres in these aggressions. To wrongs so daring in character and disgraceful in their execution, it is impossible that the people of the United States should remain indifferent. We must now tamely and quietly submit, or we must resist by those means which God has placed within our reach. . . . The sovereignty and independence of these States, purchased and sanctified by the blood of our fathers, from whom we received them, not for ourselves only, but as the inheritance of our posterity are deliberately and systematically violated. And the period has arrived when, in the opinion of your committee, it is the sacred duty of Congress to call forth the patriotism and the resources of the country. By the aid of these, and with the blessing of God, we confidently trust we shall be able to procure that redress which has been sought for by justice, by remonstrance and forbearance, in vain."

The report went over the island as rapidly as the mails of that day, in the absence of railroads, could then carry it, and made a profound impression upon the public mind. Resolutions, drawn in accordance with the spirit of the report, were appended to it, and these elicited earnest debates. In these debates, John C. Calhoun, then less than thirty years of age, warmly engaged. It was the beginning of his long and remarkable public career. He made his maiden speech in favor of war, and charmed his listeners. John Randolph, always happy when in opposition to everybody, spoke vehemently against them. The Federalists, whose policy had always been to be prepared for war, said very little, for the resolutions recommended only such preparation. They were adopted, and bills were speedily prepared and passed for augmenting the military force of the country. Additional regulars, to the number of twenty-five thousand men, were authorized; also two major-generals and five brigadier-generals, in addition to those then in office. A million of dollars were appropriated for the purchase of arms, ammunition and stores for the army, and four hundred thousand dollars for powder, cannon, and small-arms for the navy. There was also provision made for volunteers the whole number of the latter, with the regulars, swelling the army, in prospective, from about three thousand men of the peace establishment, to more than seventy thousand. The President was authorized to call upon the governors of States to furnish each his respective quota of one hundred thousand militia, to be held in readiness for instant service when called upon. The navy was neglected, and very little was done to increase its efficiency. It, however, weak and scorned as it was, proved to be the strong right-arm of the nation, in winning the greatest glory in the conflict that ensued.

The State legislatures generally spoke in favor of war; but the timid President, influenced by his own convictions and the opinions of his cabinet, still hesitated. Finally a committee of Democratic members waited on Mr. Madison and told him plainly, in substance, that the supporters of his administration had determined upon a war with Great Britain; that the people were impatient of delay; and that unless a declaration of war should soon be made, his renomination and reelection to the Presidency would probably not be accomplished. The President consented to yield his own convictions to the will of his political friends. Accordingly,

on the first of April, 1812, he sent a confidential message to Congress, proposing as a measure preliminary to a declaration of war, the passage of a law laying an embargo upon all commerce with the United States for the space of sixty days. This was done on the 4th of April. Four days afterward, Louisiana was admitted into the Union as a State.

At the end of sixty days the President sent a message to Congress in which he reviewed the difficulties with Great Britain, portrayed the aggressions of that power, and intimated the necessity of war for the maintenance of the honor and dignity of the republic. It was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations, when a majority of them - John C. Calhoun of South Carolina, Felix Grundy of Tennessee, John Smillie of Pennsylvania, John A. Harper of New Hampshire, Joseph Desha of Kentucky, and Ebenezer Seaver of Massachusetts - reported (June 3) a manifesto as the basis of a declaration of war. On the next day, a bill to that effect, drawn by Attorney-General Pinckney, in the following form, was adopted and presented by Mr. Calhoun:

"That war be, and the same is hereby, declared to exist between the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and the dependencies thereof and the United States of America and their Territories and that the President of the United States is hereby authorized to use the whole land and naval force of the United States to carry the same into effect, and to issue to private armed vessels of the United States, commissions or letters of marque and general reprisal, in such form as he shall think proper, and under the seal of the United States, against the vessels, goods, and effects of the government of the said United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and the subjects thereof."

During these proceedings Congress sat with closed doors. The bill passed the House of Representatives by a vote of 79 to 49, and the Senate by 19 to 13. It immediately became a law by receiving the signature of the President. Two days afterward - the 19th of June, 1812 - Mr. Madison issued a proclamation in which he formally declared war against the offending government and people. The conflict that ensued is known in history as the War of 1812, and may properly be regarded as our Second War for Independence, for until the end of that contest the United States were only nominally free. The people, blessed with prosperity and happy in the pursuit of the arts of peace, dreaded war, and submitted to many acts of oppression and insult from Great Britain and France, rather than appeal to the arbitrament of the sword. Commercially, and in a great degree socially, the people of the United States were dependent upon Europe, and especially upon England and the latter was, at that time, rapidly acquiring a dangerous political interest here. The war began in 1775, was really only the first great step toward independence; the war begun in 1812, first thoroughly accomplished it. The chief causes for declaring war were the impressment of American seamen by the British; the blockade of French ports without adequate force to sustain the act the orders in councils, and the incitement of the savages to hostilities.

Congress took measures immediately to sustain the declaration of war. They authorized the President to enlist 25,000 men for the regular army; accept 50,000 volunteers, and call out 100,000 militia for the defence of the sea-coasts. They also appropriated about \$3,000,000 for

the navy. But at the very outset the government encountered open and secret, manly and cowardly, opposition. The Federalists in Congress, who had opposed the war-scheme of the administration from the beginning, published an address to their constituents in which they set forth the state of the country at that time, the course of the administration and its supporters in Congress, and the reasons of the minority for opposing the war. This was fair and honorable. But outside of Congress there was a party of politicians, composed of Federalists and disaffected Democrats, organized under the name of the Party, whose object was to cast obstructions in the way of the prosecution of the war, and to compel the government, by weakening its resources and embarrassing its operations, to make peace. They tried to derange the public finances, discredit the faith of the government, prevent enlistments, and in every way to cripple the administration and bring it into discredit with the people. It was an unpatriotic and mischievous faction and the leaders of the Federalists, like Mr. Quincy and Mr. Emott, who, when the war began, lent their aid to the government in its extremity, frowned upon these real enemies of their country. But the machinations of the Peace Party continued until the close of the war, and did infinite mischief unmingled with any good.

At that time there were very few men in our country thoroughly trained in the art of war; for the Military Academy at West Point, as it now exists, was then in its infancy. A school to be established there had been authorized only ten years before. The elder leading officers of the Continental Army were in their graves, and the younger ones were far advanced in life; yet to the latter, alone, the government felt compelled to look for its military leaders. Henry Dearborn, who had been a meritorious New Hampshire colonel in the Continental Army, was commissioned major-general and commander-in-chief. His principal brigadiers were James Wilkinson, who was on the staff of General Gates in the conflicts near Saratoga; Wade Hampton, who had done good partisan service with Marion, Sumter, and others in South Carolina; William Hull, who had served as colonel in the old war for independence; and Joseph Bloomfield, who had been a captain in the New Jersey line.

Hull was, at that time, governor of the Territory of Michigan. The administration party, satisfied that our navy could not cope with that of the British on the ocean, based their hopes for success largely upon the supposed dissatisfaction with imperial rule, of the inhabitants of the Canadas and other British colonial possessions on our borders, who, they believed, would flock to the American standard when it should appear upon their soil. This was the fatal mistake made in 1775. Our people had not profited by the bad experience of the campaign into Canada that year and our government resolved to begin the war by an invasion of the western portion of the Upper Province by American troops. Canada was then divided into Upper and Lower Provinces, the former extending westward from Montreal along the shores of the St. Lawrence and Lake Ontario, to Lake Huron and the Detroit River. It included about one hundred thousand inhabitants, who were principally of the families of American Loyalists who had been compelled to abandon their homes in the States at the close of the war for independence, and had experienced the fostering care and kindness of the British government. Their loyalty was stimulated by the recollections of that kindness and by lingering resentments; and they were the last people to count upon as allies of those whom they had been taught, many of them by great

suffering, to regard as enemies. This fact does not seem to have been taken into account by the administration.

When war was declared, George, Prince of Wales, was really monarch of Great Britain, for the court physicians had pronounced his father, George the Third, to be hopelessly insane. Great Britain was then waging a tremendous war against the Emperor Napoleon. Wellington was in command of the British forces on the Spanish peninsula, and Great Britain had just formed an alliance with Russia against the ambitious Corsican. Her naval armament on the American station - Halifax, Newfoundland, Jamaica, and the Leeward Islands - then consisted of five ships-of-the-line, nineteen frigates, forty-one brigs and sixteen schooners, and some armed vessels on Lakes Ontario and Erie, with several others a-building. The British land force in Upper Canada did not exceed fifteen hundred men; the aggregate in the two provinces and the British domain on the east was about six thousand. The number of the militia of all the British-American provinces was estimated at forty thousand. They had an assailable frontier of full seventeen hundred miles.

Governor Hull, while in Washington city in the winter of 1812, heard proposals for the invasion of Western Canada. He told the President that success in such a movement might be hoped for, only by having armed vessels on Lake Erie and a competent military force in the northwest as a protection against the hostile savages over whom the British had almost unbounded control. These were showing promises of active warfare in the spring, and Governor Meigs, of Ohio, had summoned the militia of that State to rendezvous at Dayton, to meet the impending danger. Hull accepted the commission of brigadier, that he might lead the troops in defence of the people on the frontiers; and late in May he arrived at Dayton and took command of them. Surrounded by his staff and Colonels Duncan McArthur, James Findlay, and Lewis Cass, in the presence of Governor Meigs and his council, Hull made a stirring speech to the troops, and then marched with them for Detroit, through the almost trackless wilderness. While on his march with about two thousand men, he was informed of the declaration of war, not, however, before the news had reached the British posts in Canada, and his little army was placed in imminent peril. The government then gave him discretionary power for invading Canada.

General Sir Isaac Brock was then acting lieutenant-governor of Upper Canada, and commander-in-chief of the military forces of the provinces. He was a vigilant and energetic leader, and by his activity saved the province from disastrous invasion. Early in July, Hull felt strong enough to invade Canada, and on the 12th he crossed the Detroit River with his whole force, and encamped at Sandwich, preparatory to an attack on Fort Malden, near present Amherstburg. A British force, who were erecting a fort at Sandwich that would command that at Detroit, had, through misapprehension, withdrawn on the night of the 11th to defend Fort Malden, and the armies landed without opposition. Hull issued a stirring proclamation to the inhabitants of Canada, threatening death to all who should be found fighting by the side of Indians (then gathering under Tecumtha at Malden), and offering security to the property and persons of those who should remain at home. This proclamation and the invasion produced great despondency throughout the province, but Brock's energetic measures soon created hope and

courage in the public mind and heart. He sent General Proctor to take command at Fort Malden, and establishing his own headquarters at Fort George, near the mouth of the Niagara River, he summoned the militia of the peninsula between Lakes Ontario and Erie to his standard Eight hundred responded with alacrity and John Brant, a son of the great Mohawk chief came with one hundred Indian warriors from the Grand River, and offered their services to Brock. Young Brant was a splendid specimen of a man, as he appeared before the British commander on that occasion. He was dressed in the white man's costume, with a large silver medal suspended upon his breast, and his head crowned with an enormous pile of white ostrich plumes.

Hull was exceedingly cautious, for he had no reliable information concerning the strength of the garrison at Fort Maiden, or the movements of the British and Indians at the northward. He hesitated to move forward. His young officers, such as McArthur, Cass and others, became very impatient, and showed a mutinous spirit. By this delay in going forward, the opportunity to capture that post Malden was lost, for it was strongly reinforced by British and Indians. Meanwhile positive information came of a startling character, from the mysterious region of the upper lakes. Upon the Island of Mackinaw, a limestone rock in the bosom of the clear waters of the strait between Lakes Huron and Michigan, the Americans had a small fort, garrisoned by fifty-seven men under Lieutenant Hancks. The British had a fort some distance off commanded by Captain Roberts, who, informed of the declaration of war, left his post with a flotilla of boats, bateaux and Indian canoes, freighted with about three hundred regulars and Canadian militia and over seven hundred savages, and appeared before the fort on Mackinaw, on the morning of the 17th of July. Captain Roberts demanded the instant surrender of the fort, and Lieutenant Hancks, yielding to superior force, gave up the important post to the British.

With news of this disaster came information that Fort Dearborn, at Chicago, on the western shore of Lake Michigan, was invested by Indians. This was followed by news that British and barbarians were making their way from the head of Lake Ontario toward Detroit. The prospect presented to Hull, who knew the condition of affairs around him better than any one else, was truly appalling; and when, on the 5th of August, Major Van Horne, who had been sent down the west side of the Detroit River to escort a party approaching from Ohio with supplies for the army, was attacked by British and Indians, and after a sharp fight was defeated, the cautious commander gave orders for the invading army to recross the river and take post behind Fort Detroit. This order surprised and disappointed the army, and drew from some of the young officers very harsh remarks concerning the imbecility and even treachery of General Hull. Sullenly that army crossed the river, and on the morning of the 8th of August it was encamped under the shelter of Fort Detroit. On the same day Colonel Miller and several hundred men were sent to accomplish what Van Horne had failed to do. They met and defeated Indians (under Tecumtha) and a small British force, near the scene of Van Home's disaster, and were about to press forward to meet the supply party and escort them to camp, when the commander-in-chief recalled them.

General Brock had joined Proctor at Maiden, where he held a conference with Tecumtha and his thousand followers on the morning of the 14th of August. His troops took possession of Sandwich, and constructed a battery there that commanded Fort Detroit and the town. At a little

past noon on the 15th he sent a note to Hull demanding the instant surrender of the post. It conveyed a covert threat that in case of refusal and its ultimate capture, the blood-thirsty savages would be let loose upon the inhabitants and the garrison. Hull was perplexed. The fort was thronged with trembling women and children, and decrepit old men who had fled to it for protection from the savages. For full two hours he kept the flag waiting while considering what he should do. His whole effective force there did not exceed a thousand men - too few to withstand the enemy in open battle, but sufficient, his officers thought, to endure a long siege, for there was an ample store of provisions. They urged him to stand firm. His pride of character and his patriotism bade him fight; his prudence and humanity bade him surrender. His officers clamored for an opportunity to show their prowess and skill, and he sent the flag back with a refusal to surrender.

At four o'clock in the afternoon the battery of five guns at Sandwich opened a cannonade and bombardment upon the fort and town, which was kept up until near midnight, and in the morning twilight of the 16th - a calm and beautiful Sabbath morning - a large body of the British and Indians crossed the river below Detroit, and soon afterward marched upon the town and fort. Soldiers outside of the fort waited impatiently for orders to fire upon the approaching foe, confident that they could repulse the invaders. They received, instead, orders to retreat into the fort. It was obeyed with reluctance; and the place was crowded to excess with exasperated men, who gave vent to their feelings in loud expressions of indignation and distrust of their commander. Some of them were mutinous at first, but were restrained by more prudent officers.

In the midst of this excitement, a cannon-ball came bounding over the wall of the fort from the Canada shore, spreading death in its path. A group standing by the door of the officers' quarters were almost annihilated. Many women and children were in the house where the officers were slain; among them General Hull's daughter and her little children. Some of the women, made senseless by fright, were carried to the bomb-proof vault for safety. The general saw the effects of the ball from a distance, and did not know but his own child was among the slain. He paced the parade backward and forward with great agitation of mind, until informed that the enemy were preparing to storm the fort; then he directed his son, Captain Hull, to hoist a white flag over the wall in token of surrender. The firing ceased, terms of capitulation were soon agreed upon and at noon the same day, the surrender was completed.

In less than two months after the declaration of war, a strong military post, a spirited army of about two thousand men, and a magnificent territory with all its inhabitants, were given up to the British. Hull had not asked the advice of a single man concerning a surrender, but took the whole responsibility upon his own shoulders, and bore the heavy load nearly all his life afterward. His young officers made serious charges against him. He was accused of treason, cowardice, and neglect of duty. A court-martial sentenced him to be shot, but the President of the Republic pardoned him. Truth and justice have since vindicated his character. To the neglect and inefficiency of his superiors - the Secretary of War and the commander-in-chief - was due chiefly the great disaster. The blundering administration - blundering in ignorance made him a scapegoat to hear away the sins of others - a conductor to avert from their own heads the lightning of the

people's wrath. The verdict of impartial history to-day acquits General Hull of all wrong in the surrender of Detroit, unless it be wrong to allow humanity to overhear expediency.

We have observed that Fort Dearborn, at Chicago, was invested by savages at the time of the trouble at Detroit. On the site of that marvelous inland city of over three hundred thousand inhabitants were then only the fort, the dwelling of Mr. Kinzie, a trader, and the huts of a few settlers. The garrison was commanded by Captain N. Heald, assisted by Lieutenant Helm; and the young wives of both officers were inmates of the fort. The garrison and the family of Mr. Kinzie, the trader, were on friendly terms with the surrounding Indians until the spring of 1812, when the hostile feelings created by British emissaries were first made slightly manifest. One day a chief, at the fort, seeing the two young women playing at battledore, said to the interpreter: The white chiefs' wives are amusing themselves very much; it will not be long before they will be living in our cornfields." The terrible significance of these mysterious words was made apparent a few weeks afterward.

Early in April a scalping party of Winnebagoes made a raid upon a settlement near Chicago. The inhabitants near Fort Dearborn took refuge with its garrison, and saw with anxiety the continual gathering of the Indians in the neighborhood during the summer. Finally, on the 7th of August, a friendly Pottawatomie chief arrived with a letter for Captain Heald from General Hull, telling the former of the declaration of war and the fall of Mackinaw, and ordering him, if possible, to evacuate Fort Dearborn and distribute all the United States property there among the Indians, to conciliate them. Heald was advised by the friendly Indian and by Kinzie, who knew the savage character well, not to let them know his intention to evacuate the fort by making the distribution. Leave the fort," said the chief, "and let them distribute the property themselves; while they are doing this, you and the white people may reach Fort Wayne in safety."

Heald, contrary to the advice of everybody, resolved to obey his orders strictly. He called a council of the Indians on the 12th, and told them to come the next day and receive the property. He had such confidence in the sincerity of their professions of friendship, notwithstanding repeated warnings to beware of treachery, that he accepted their offer to escort the white people through the wilderness to Fort Wayne. That very night Black Partridge, a friendly chief, delivered to Heald a medal which had been given him by the Americans, saying he could not restrain his young men who were resolved to imbrue their hands in the blood of the white people, and he would no longer wear that token of friendship. The warning was unheeded. The goods were distributed the next day; and that evening the Black Partridge said to the interpreter: "Linden birds have been singing in my ears to-day; be careful on the march you are going to take." This warning, too, was unheeded.

On the morning of the 15th, the evacuation of the fort took place. There here positive indications that the savages intended to massacre the white people. When the gate of the fort was thrown open and the procession moved, it was like a funeral march. The band struck up the Dead March in Saul. The wives of Heald and Helm rode by the side of their husbands. Mrs. Heald, who was a good shot, was well armed with a rifle. They had not gone far when the savage escort, five

hundred strong, fell upon them. A sharp and bloody conflict ensued. Rebecca Heald deported herself bravely. She received several wounds, but, though bleeding and faint, she kept her saddle. A savage raised his tomahawk to slay her, when she said, in a sweet voice in his own language, and with a half smile, "Surely you will not kill a squaw!" The appeal was effectual, and she lived until the year 1860. A stalwart young savage attempted to tomahawk Mrs. Helm, who was dismounted. She sprang to one side, received the blow on her shoulder, and at the same instant seized the savage around his neck, and endeavored to get hold of his scalping-knife. While thus struggling, she was dragged from her antagonist by another Indian, who bore her to the shore of the lake and plunged her in, at the same time preserving her from drowning. The friendly hand that saved her, was that of the good Black Partridge. There were other cases of the grand heroism of women displayed on that bloody field. Meanwhile Heald had made terms for surrender, and the contest ended. The prisoners were distributed among their captors, and were finally reunited or restored to their friends or families. In this affair, twelve children, all the masculine civilians excepting Mr. Kinzie and his sons, and twenty-six private soldiers, were murdered. The fort was burned the next morning by the Indians.

On the spot where only several generations ago this fearful tragedy was enacted, there now stands a mighty city, whose growth and expansion are one of the marvels of our national progress and activity. From this great heart of life more than a hundred arteries spread themselves over the wide country, carrying tokens of her power and resource to every corner of our continent. The railroads which connect there represent 162,000 miles of track, and its wealth is boundless. Standing, as it does, between the eastern half of our nation and the great west beyond, it unites the two, and, in becoming the great half-way house, has made itself necessary to the country stretching from the Atlantic and to the broad territory extending eastward from the Pacific shore. Fifty years ago a traveller returning to Vincennes, Ill., described Chicago as a beautiful and quiet village. To-day it is the home of two million human beings.

It is the most extensive grain market in the Western hemisphere. Its annual shipments are more than three hundred and twenty million of bushels, and yearly its commerce has reached in value to \$907,000,000.

Chapter XCIV

Unfortunate Movements - New England and Great Britain - Important Resolutions and Their Effects - Patriotism of the People - A New Invasion of Canada Contemplated - Gathering of the New York Militia - The British on the Alert - Control of the Lakes Sought - An Armistice and Its Effects - Troops on the Niagara Frontier - Battle at Queenstown - Bravery of Wool and Death of Brock - Influence of Scott - Cowardice of the Militia - Surrender of the Americans - The Military Situation - American Naval Victories Achieved by Hull, Porter, Decatur, and Bainbridge - Public Honors Awarded the Victors.

THE disasters on the northwestern frontier at the very beginning of the war and the evident intention of the British to make the savages of the forest their allies in the prosecution of it, caused widespread alarm and indignation while the opponents of the administration unpatriotically took advantage of the confusion in the public mind to cast obstacles in the way of the government in carrying on the war. The governor of Massachusetts (Caleb Strong), of New Hampshire (William Plumer), and of Connecticut (Roger Griswold), refused to allow the militia of their respective States to march to the northern frontier on the requisition of the President of the United States. They justified their course with the plea that such a requisition was unconstitutional and that the war was unnecessary. The British, meanwhile, had declared the whole American coast in a state of blockade, excepting that of the New England States.

These events justified a suspicion that prevailed for awhile that the New England States were ready and willing to leave the Union, and become a part of the British empire - a suspicion that had been created by revelations made to the President several months before, by an Irishman named John Henry, who had lived in Canada for several years. Late on a stormy night in February, 1812, Henry went to the mansion of President Madison, bearing a letter of introduction from Elbridge Gerry, then Democratic governor of Massachusetts. He said he had some secrets to divulge that were of very great importance to the people of the United States. An interview was arranged for the next evening, when Henry declared that for full two years efforts had been in progress on the part of the British authorities in Canada, sanctioned by the home government, to effect a separation of the Eastern States from the Union, and to attach them to Great Britain. He said that he had been employed by Sir James Craig, governor-general of Canada, in 1800, as a British spy, to visit Boston and ascertain the temper of the people of New England, who, at that time, seemed to be in a state of incipient rebellion because of the passage of the embargo act. He said that at first he was satisfied the New Englanders were ripe for revolt and separation.

Henry's performances in the matter so pleased Sir James, that he promised to give the spy lucrative employment in the Colonial government; but after waiting some time for the fulfillment of that promise, Sir James died, and Henry went to England in 1811 to seek remuneration for his services from the home government. He was petted by the cabinet for a while, and introduced into the highest circles of society. He demanded 30,000 pounds for his great services, but offered to accept of a lucrative office in Canada. At length, wearied with his importunities, and satisfied that the disaffection in New England toward the government of the United States was not more

serious than a local partisan feeling, the ministry dismissed Henry politely by referring him to Sir George Prevost, Sir James Craig's successor. The exasperated spy sailed for Boston instead of Quebec, with a determination to divulge the whole secret of British perfidy to the government of the United States, for a money consideration. He laid before the President the strong documentary evidence which clearly proved that Great Britain, while indulging in the most friendly expressions toward the United States, and negotiating treaties, was secretly engaged in efforts to destroy the young republic of the West, by fomenting disaffection toward it among a portion of the people, and intriguing with disaffected politicians with an expectation, with the aid of British arms, to be able to separate New England from the Union and reannex that territory to the British dominions. Madison was so well satisfied of the importance of Henry's disclosures, at the time when he was about to declare war against Great Britain, that he gave the spy \$50,000 out of the secret service fund at his disposal, for his documents, which consisted chiefly of the correspondence of the parties to the affair in this country and in England.

These disclosures, when made public, intensified the indignation of the Americans against Great Britain. The inhabitants of New England were annoyed by the implied disparagement of the patriotism of their section of the Union. Both parties tried to make political capital out of the affair. The Democrats vehemently reiterated the charge that the Federalists were a "British party" and "disunionists," while the Opposition declared that it was only a political trick of the administration to damage their party, insure the reelection of Madison in the autumn of 1812, and to offer an excuse for the war. The acrimony caused by these partisan feelings was at its height when the New England governors refused to send their militia to the frontier; and the British government, in declaring the blockade of the American coast, discriminated in favor of that section. That the British, mistaking partisan feeling for unpatriotic disaffection, hoped to carry out their plan for disunion, there is no doubt but the suspicion that the New England people contemplated disunion and annexation to the British crown, had no foundation in fact.

While New England was halting in its support of the war, the people of the other portions of the Union, especially in the region beyond the Alleghany mountains, were alive with enthusiasm in favor of prosecuting it with sharp and decisive vigor. They had suffered much from the Indians under British control, and the massacre at Chicago had kindled a flame of indignation not easily to be controlled by prudence.

The government resolved to retrieve the disaster at Detroit by an invasion of Canada on the Niagara frontier. For this purpose a requisition was made upon Governor Tompkins, of New York, for the militia of that State. He was decidedly in favor of the war. Stephen Van Rensselaer, the last of the Patroons and a patriotic Federalist retired from public life, was commissioned a major-general and placed in chief command of the militia. A desire to wipe out the disgrace of Hull's surrender, burned in the hearts of the people. The New York regiments were speedily filled, and a considerable force was soon concentrated at Lewiston, on the Niagara River; also at Plattsburgh, on Lake Champlain, to confront a possible counter-invasion from Canada. Another force was gathered at Greenbush, opposite Albany, where General Dearborn, the commander-in-chief, was stationed. Anticipating an invasion across the Niagara River, the British

had gathered a considerable military force on that frontier and at mid-autumn, before the Americans were prepared to cross the river, some of them occupied a strong position on Queenstown Heights, opposite Lewiston.

At midsummer, hostile demonstrations had been made on Lake Ontario and on the St. Lawrence frontier. Both parties were earnestly seeking the control of those waters, and the preparation of armed vessels on them was vigorously begun. General Bloomfield was in command of the militia in northern New York, and everything betokened warm work on the frontiers soon. At that juncture, General Dearborn concluded an armistice with the British commander in Canada, for a cessation of hostilities along the entire frontier, which he kept in force, contrary to commands from his government, until the close of August. By this armistice, Brock was enabled to concentrate a force on the Detroit River sufficient to compel Hull to surrender. To this fact and his neglect to inform Hull of his intentions are justly chargeable the chief cause of that general's disaster. It did more it enabled Brock to bring his troops and prisoners to the Niagara frontier without molestation and it so delayed preparations for war in New York, that on the first of September (1812) Van Rensselaer had at Lewiston only seven hundred men instead of five thousand, as he had been promised, though charged with the double duty of defending the frontier and invading Canada. At length regulars and militia arrived on the Niagara, and toward the middle of October, Van Rensselaer found himself in command of six thousand men, scattered along the river between Lewiston and Buffalo. He then resolved to invade Canada from Lewiston.

The night of the 12th of October was intensely dark. A heavy storm was just ending. In the gloom at three o'clock the next morning, Colonel Solomon Van Rensselaer, in command of six hundred men, was on the shore of the river at Lewiston, prepared to cross the swift-running stream and storm the British works on Queenstown Heights. But only thirteen boats were there to take the troops over, and in these he passed with less than one-half his force. The enemy were on the alert, and had discovered the movements of the Americans; and when Van Rensselaer landed, they assailed his little force with musketry and a small field-piece. This assault was responded to by a battery on Lewiston Heights, when the British turned and fled toward Queenstown. They were followed by regulars, under Captain John E. Wool (the senior in command in the absence of Lieutenant Colonel Chrystie, who was in a boat that had lost its way in the darkness and did not arrive until between eight and nine o'clock), who pushed gallantly up the hill, pressed the British back to the plateau on which Queens town stands, fought them there, and finally gained possession of Queenstown Heights. Van Rensselaer had followed with the militia, and was so severely wounded that he was compelled to relinquish the command and recross the river. A bullet had passed through the fleshy part of both of Wool's thighs, but, mindful of his wounds, that gallant soldier would neither leave the field nor relinquish the command until the arrival of Lieutenant-Colonel Chrystie between eight and nine o'clock.

General Brock was at Fort George, seven miles below Queenstown, when the firing began. He hastened to the scene of action, and with his staff pressed up the Heights to a redan battery, where they dismounted. They were suddenly startled by the crack of musketry. Wool and his

followers were close upon them. Brock and his aides had not time to remount, but fled down the hill, leading their horses at full gallop and followed by the dozen men who manned the battery. In a few minutes the American flag was waving over that little work. Brock at once placed himself at the head of some troops to drive Wool from the Heights, and at first the Americans were pressed back by overwhelming numbers, to the verge of the precipice that rises from the deep chasm of the river two hundred feet below. That little band were in great peril, when Captain Ogilvie, seeing men falling around him and the danger of being hurled into the flood below, raised a white handkerchief on the point of a bayonet in token of surrender. Wool sprang forward, snatched the token of submission, addressed a few stirring words to his men, begging them to fight as long as they had a weapon, and then waving his sword, so inspirited his comrades to a renewal of the fight that they soon made the British veterans break, and flee down the hill in confusion. These were rallied by General Brock, and were about to reascend the Heights, when their commander was mortally wounded at the foot of the declivity. After a short struggle, the British retreated a mile below Queenstown. The young commander (Wool was only twenty-four years of age), after three distinct battles, was left master of the Heights with two hundred and forty men. Not long afterward, Brigadier-General Wadsworth, of the New York militia, took the chief command.

General Sheaffe, who succeeded General Brock in command of the British, rallied the troops. Lieutenant-Colonel (afterward Major-General) Winfield Scott, had arrived at Lewiston, and crossing the river joined the troops as a volunteer. At the request of General Wadsworth, he took active command. Early in the afternoon a cloud of dusky warriors, led by John Brandt, painted and plumed, and with gleaming tomahawks, fell upon the pickets on the American left with great fury, uttering the horrid war-whoop. The militia were about to flee, when the towering form and trumpet-toned voice of Scott, commanded their attention. He inspired the troops, now about six hundred strong, militia and regulars, to fall upon the savage assailants with a shout. The Indians turned and fled to the woods in terror. Meanwhile General Sheaffe had pressed forward, when General Van Rensselaer, who stood by the side of Scott, hastened across the river to send over reinforcements of militia. - About a thousand had gone over in the morning, but few had engaged in the fight. Others now refused to go, pleading, in the language of the opponents of the war, that they were not compelled to leave the soil of their country and invade that of another. The poltroons stood idly at Lewiston, while their comrades were mown down like grass at Queenstown. Overwhelming numbers compelled the Americans to surrender, when all the prisoners were marched to Newark. There Scott had an encounter with two Indian chiefs. He met them in a hall, and was unarmed. They demanded how many bullets had passed through his clothes, as they had both fired at him repeatedly. One of the Indians attempted to turn him round rudely, when Scott thrust him away, exclaiming: Hands off! you shot like a squaw! Both Indians drew their knives and tomahawks, and were about to spring upon Scott, when he snatched a sword standing at the end of the hall, drew the blade from the scabbard as quick as lightning, and was about to slay his assailants, when a British officer interfered and saved them.

On that memorable day, the 13th of October, 1812, the Americans lost, in killed, wounded and prisoners, about eleven hundred men. General Van Rensselaer, disgusted with the inefficiency

everywhere displayed, left the service, and was succeeded by General Alexander Smythe, of Virginia, who accomplished nothing of importance during the remainder of the season. The military situation of the Americans at the close of 1812, was this: The Army of the North, as it had been named, first under Hull and then under General Harrison, was occupying a defensive position among the snows of the wilderness on the banks of the Maumee River; the Army of the Centre, under General Smythe, was resting on the defensive on the Niagara frontier; and the Army of the North, under General Bloomfield, was also resting on the defensive at Plattsburgh.

While military failures gave the opponents of the administration reasons for complaints and denunciations, the little American navy, so weak compared with that of the British, was winning honor for itself and the nation. Unmindful of this disparity, the Americans went boldly out upon the ocean in national and privately-armed vessels, and won victory after victory. When war was declared, Commodore Rodgers was off Sandy Hook, near New York, with a small squadron consisting of the frigates *President*, *Congress*, and *United States*, and the sloop-of-war *Hornet*. He put to sea two days after that declaration, in pursuit of a British squadron convoying the West India fleet of merchantmen to England. The *President* (Rodgers' flagship) overtook the British off Nantucket Shoals, on the 23rd of June, and after a slight engagement with the *Belvidera*, and a chase of several hours, the pursuit was abandoned. The news of this affair, carried into Halifax by the *Belvidera*, produced a profound sensation there, and Rear-Admiral Sawyer sent out a squadron of war-vessels, under Captain Broke, to search for Rodgers and his frigate. Broke's flag-ship was the *Shannon*, 38. This squadron appeared near New York early in July, and captured the United States brig *Nautilus*, 14. This was the first vessel-of-war taken on either side in this contest.

The frigate *Constitution* (yet afloat), of 44-guns, commanded by Captain Isaac Hull, had just returned from foreign service when war was declared, and on the 12th of July she sailed from Annapolis on a cruise to the north-ward. On the 17th she fell in with Broke's squadron, when one of the most remarkable naval retreats and pursuits on record occurred. The *Constitution* was not strong enough to fight the squadron, with a hope of winning; and her safety depended upon her celerity in flight. There was almost a dead calm, and her sails flapped lazily in a zephyr-like breeze, as she floated almost independently of the helm on the slowly undulating bosom of the sea. Down went her boats with sweeps and manned by strong oarsmen. A long 18-pounder was rigged as a stern-chaser, and another of the same calibre was pointed off the fore-castle. Out of her cabin-windows, where saws had made them large enough, two 24-pounders were run, and all the light cannon that would draw was set. She was just getting under headway with a gentle northwest breeze that sprung up, when the cannon assailed her with shot at long range without effect. Calm and breeze succeeded each other, and sweeps and sails alternately kept the good ship moving in a manner that puzzled the pursuers.

At length the British discovered the secret power that bore the *Constitution* before them, and instantly beats with sweeps and strong men were urging onward the *Shannon*, which then slowly gained on her intended victim. The *Guerriere*, 38, Captain Dacres, another of the squadron, had joined in the chase. All day and all night the pursuit continued; and at dawn of the second day of

the chase the whole British squadron were in sight, bent on capturing the American frigate. The five vessels were clouded with canvas, while expert seamanship caused the Constitution to make the space between her and her pursuers so wide that not a gun was fired. That afternoon she was four miles ahead of the Belvidera, the nearest vessel of the squadron and at sunset a heavy squall burst in fury on the Constitution, but she was prepared for it. Wind, lightning, and rain made a terrible commotion on the sea, for a short time but the gallant ship outrode the tempest, and at twilight she was flying before her pursuers at the rate of eleven knots an hour. At midnight the British fired two guns, and at dawn they gave up the chase, which had lasted sixty-four hours. The country rang with praises of Hull and the Constitution; and a bard of the day, singing of their exploits, said:

"Neath Hull's command, with a tough hand, And naught beside to back her, Upon a day, as log-books say, A Beet bore down to whack her." "A fleet, you know, is odds, or so, Against a single ship, sirs; So 'cross the tide her legs she tried, And gave the rogues the slip, sirs."

Just after Rodgers left Sandy Hook, the Essex, 32, Captain David Porter, sailed from New York with a flag at her masthead bearing the significant words: Free Trade and Sailors' Rights. Soon after leaving Sandy Hook, while sailing southward, the Essex captured several British merchant-vessels, and made trophy bonfires of them; and on the 13th of August (1812) she captured the British brig Alert, 18. This was the first British national vessel captured in the war. She encountered some others, when, believing himself cut off from Boston and New York by a British squadron, Porter ran the Essex into the Delaware.

The Constitution did not long remain idle after her remarkable escape. She sailed from Boston (where she was built) on the 2nd of August, and cruised eastward in search of British vessels. Hull was anxious to meet the Guerriere, whose commander had boastfully enjoined the Americans to remember that she was not the Little Belt. Hull sailed as far as the Bay of Fundy and then cruised eastward of Nova Scotia, where he captured some British merchant-vessels making their way to the St. Lawrence. On the afternoon of the 19th of August, he fell in with the Guerriere, in latitude 41° 46', and longitude 48'. Some firing began at long range but at six o'clock. Hull, observing a willingness of his antagonist to have a fair yard-arm and yard-arm fight, pressed all sail on the Constitution to get alongside of the Guerriere. He walked the quarter-deck, watching the movements of the enemy with keen interest. He was fat, and wore very tight white breeches. When the Guerriere began to pour shot into the Constitution, Lieutenant Morris, Hull's second in command, asked, "Shall I open fire?" The commander replied quietly, "Not yet." As the shots began to tell seriously on the Constitution, the question was repeated. "Not yet," Hull quietly answered. When the two vessels were very near each other, Hull, filled with intense excitement, bent himself twice to the deck and then shouted, "Now boys, pour it into them!" The command was instantly obeyed. When the smoke of the first broadside cleared away, it was discovered that the commander, in his energetic movements, had split his breeches from waistband to knee; but he did not stop to change them during the action.

The guns of the Constitution were double-shotted with round and grape, and their execution

was terrible. The vessels were within pistol-shot of each other. Fifteen minutes after the contest commenced, the mainmast of the *Guerriere* was shot away, her mainyard was in slings, and her hull, spars, sails, and rigging were torn in pieces. Very soon, by a skillful movement, the *Constitution* fell foul of her foe, her bowsprit running into the larboard quarter of her antagonist. In that situation the cabin of the *Constitution* was set on fire by the explosion of the forward guns of the *Guerriere*, but the flames were soon extinguished. Both parties now attempted to board, while the roar of the great guns was terrific. There were fierce volleys of musketry; but the heavy sea would not allow a safe passage from one vessel to the other. At length the *Constitution* became disengaged from the *Guerriere* and shot ahead, when the mainmast of the latter, shattered into weakness, fell into the sea. The hapless vessel, shivered and shorn, rolled like a log in the trough of the waves, entirely at the mercy of the billows. A jack that had been kept flying on the stump of the mizzenmast of the *Guerriere* was now lowered; and the late Commodore George C. Read, then third lieutenant, was sent on board of her. Captain Hull's compliments," said Read to Captain Dacres, "and wishes to know if you have struck your flag?" Dacres, who was a "jolly tar," looking up and down, coolly and dryly said: "Well, I don't know; our mizzenmast is gone, our mainmast is gone, and, upon the whole, you may say we have struck our flag." The *Guerriere* was too much damaged to be saved. So, after removing her people and their effects to the *Constitution*, she was set on fire and soon blew up. So ended the career of the vessel that was "not the Little Belt." A rhymer at the time wrote:

Isaac did so maul and rake her,
That the decks of Captain Dacre
Were in such a woeful pickle
As if death, with scythe and sickle,
With his sling or with his shaft,
Had cut his harvest fore and aft.

Thus in thirty minutes ended Mischief that could not be mended;
Masts and yards, and ship descend
All to David Jones' locker -
Such a ship in such a pucker.

The *Constitution* bore the news of her own victory into Boston. There was a burst of joy over the land. The name of Hull was soon upon every lip. The people of Boston gave him and his officers a sumptuous public banquet, at which six hundred citizens sat. The authorities of New York voted him the freedom of that city in a gold box. The citizens of Philadelphia presented to him an elegant piece of plate; and Congress awarded him a gold medal, and appropriated \$50,000 to be distributed as prize money among the officers and crew of the *Constitution*. We cannot now appreciate the feeling which the victory created on both sides of the Atlantic. The British public were amazed. Their faith in the impregnability of the "wooden walls of Old England" began to waver. Its momentous bearing on the future of the war was incalculable. The Americans, no longer impressed with the idea of the omnipotence of the British navy, were stimulated to the performance of great achievements. The *London Times* regarded the victory as a serious blow at the British supremacy on the sea. It is not merely that one English frigate has been taken," said that journal, "but that it has been taken by a new enemy, an enemy unaccustomed to such triumphs, and likely to be rendered insolent and confident by them."

The victory of the *Constitution* was followed by others. On the 18th of October the American sloop-of-war *Wasp*, Captain Jones, captured the British brig *Frolic*, Captain Whinyates, after a

severe engagement of forty-five minutes, off the coast of North Carolina. The slaughter on board the Frolic was fearful. Only three officers and one seaman remained unhurt. Ninety were killed and wounded, while only ten were slain or disabled on board the Wasp. But she enjoyed her victory a very short time; for that very afternoon, the British 74-gun ship Poicters, Captain Beresford, appeared, and two hours after the gallant Jones had gained his triumph, he was compelled to surrender his prize and his own ship to another of superior force. Jones was honored for his bravery, by public entertainments, and Congress gave him a gold medal. They also voted \$25,000 as prize-money for himself and his followers. Lieutenant Biddle, his second in command, was also honored with gifts and promotion.

A week after Jones' contest, the frigate United States, 44, Captain Stephen Decatur, of the squadron of Commodore Rodgers, gained an important naval victory after a conflict of about two hours on the ocean westward of the Canary Islands. The vessel captured by the United States was the British frigate Macedonian, 38, Captain Carden. After a cannonade at a distance for about half an hour, they engaged in close contest. The United States displayed splendid gunnery. Very soon her balls cut the mizzenmast of her antagonist, and it fell overboard. Soon afterward the mainyard of the Macedonian was seen hanging in two pieces, her main and fore top-masts were gone, her fore-mast was tottering, and her mainmast and bowsprit were severely bruised. All this while the United States remained almost unhurt. Seeing the hopelessly crippled condition of his vessel, Carden surrendered her. She had received one hundred round shot in her hull, many of them between wind and water. Rigging her as a bark, with a prize-crew on board, Decatur sailed with his own ship and her captive for American waters; and on the first day of January, 1813, the Macedonian was anchored in the harbor of New York, where she was greeted with joy as a New Year's Gift." "She comes with the compliments of the season from Old Neptune," said one of the newspapers of that city. Only three days before a public banquet had been given to Hull, Jones, and Decatur, by the corporation and citizens of New York. Decatur afterward received honors similar to those bestowed upon his brother victors, by banquets, gifts, and a gold medal from Congress.

Before the close of the year (1812) another naval victory was won that cheered the spirits of the Americans. Captain Hull had generously retired from the command of the Constitution after his victory, to give some brother officer a chance to win renown with her. Captain William Bainbridge was appointed his successor, and a small squadron, consisting of the Constitution, 44; Essex, 32 and Hornet, 18, were placed in his charge. The Constitution and Hornet were then in Boston harbor, and the Essex was in the Delaware. Orders were sent to the latter to cruise in the track of the English West Indiamen, and at a specified time to rendezvous at certain ports, where, if she did not fall in with the flag-ship, she would be at liberty to make an independent cruise. Not long afterward Porter was on a long cruise in the South Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, which will be considered hereafter.

Bainbridge sailed with the two vessels from Boston, late in October. touched at the designated ports, and at the middle of December was off Bahia, Brazil. There the Hornet blockaded the English sloop-of-war Bonne Citoyenne, 18, Captain Green, which was about to sail for England

with a very large amount of specie. Meanwhile the Constitution went on a cruise down the coast of Brazil, and on the 29th of December, when about thirty miles from land, she fell in with the British frigate Java, 38, Captain Lambert, one of the finest vessels of her class in the royal navy. At about two o'clock in the afternoon, they engaged in combat, which continued between two and three hours. A part of the time was consumed by efforts of each to gain an advantage of position. The Java tried to run down on the Constitution's quarter to engage in close action, but received much damage without gaining any advantage. As she turned, the Constitution poured a raking broadside into the stern of her enemy. This was followed by another that sent balls crashing through the Java with fearful effect, carrying away her jib-boom and part of her bowsprit. Very soon the two vessels lay broadside to broadside, engaged in deadly conflict, yard-arm to yard-arm. The mizzenmast of the Java soon went by the board, and nothing was left standing but her mainmast with its yard carried away. Her firing ceased, and between five and six o'clock, Captain Lambert, who was mortally wounded, ordered his colors to be hauled down. The Java was a wreck. She was manned by four hundred and forty-six men and boys, and had more than one hundred passengers. After her people were all transferred to the Constitution, with their baggage, she was set on fire, and blew up on the 31st of December. At Bahia, Bainbridge landed and paroled his prisoners, and then sailed for the United States, where he was honored in the manner accorded to the naval heroes whose victories had lately won much glory for themselves and their country. This was the fourth brilliant victory over the British, won by the American navy in the space of five months. Praises were lavished on Bainbridge without stint. New York and Albany each gave him the freedom of the city in a gold box. The citizens of Philadelphia presented him with an elegant service of plate, and Congress voted him a gold medal, and also \$50,000 as prize-money for himself and companions. These sums were given when the prizes captured were lost at sea.

The conflict between the Constitution and Java was the closing naval engagement in the year 1812. These justified the views of the Federalists who were always in favor of a navy, and the opposition to it by the Democrats ceased. The whole American people, excepting the Peace Faction, were made jubilant and the gloom caused by the failures of the land forces was dispelled. The British people were astounded, and their newspaper raved. A leading London journal petulantly and vulgarly gave vent to its sentiments by expressing its apprehensions that England might be stripped of her maritime supremacy by a piece of striped bunting flying at the masthead of a few fir-built frigates, manned by a handful of bastards and outlaws.

The naval triumphs of the Americans were not confined to the national vessels. Privateers swarmed on the sea in the summer and autumn of 1812, and were making prizes in every direction. Accounts of their exploits filled the newspapers, and helped to swell the tide of joy throughout the Union. It is estimated that during the year 1812 more than fifty armed British vessels and two hundred and fifty merchantmen, with an aggregate of over three thousand prisoners, and a vast amount of booty, were captured by the Americans.

Chapter XCV

The Northern Frontier - Skirmish at Sackett's Harbor - Naval Fight on the St. Lawrence - Chauncey on Lake Ontario - Events on the St. Lawrence and Niagara Frontiers - A Conspicuous Military Failure - General Harrison in the West - Enthusiasm of the People there - Massacre at the River Raisin - Fort Meigs Built and Beseiged - Bravery of Captain Combs - Dudley's Defeat - Civil Affairs Considered - Mediation of Russia Offered - Seige of Fort Stephenson - The British Repulsed - The Effects.

BUT small preparations for war had been made on the northern frontier of New York when it was declared. Brigadier-General Jacob Brown was charged with the defence of that frontier from Oswego to Lake St. Francis (an expansion of the River St. Lawrence), a distance of about two hundred miles. There was only one American war vessel (the Oneida) launched in 1809, on Lake Ontario, commanded by Lieutenant Melancthon Woolsey while the British, in anticipation of difficulties, had built at Kingston, at the foot of the lake, a small squadron of light vessels-of-war. Brown and Woolsey were authorized to defend the frontier from invasion, but not to act on the offensive except in certain emergencies.

On the 29th of July, 1812,- the little British squadron, composed of the Royal George, 24; Prince Regent, 22 Earl of Moira, 20; Simcoe, 12 and Seneca, 4, appeared off Sackett's harbor at the eastern end of Lake Ontario. The Oneida was in the harbor, and a considerable body of militia under Colonel Bellinger were there. The Oneida was laid so as to give a broadside to the approaching enemy, while an old 32-pound iron cannon, dragged up from the shore, was placed in battery on a rocky bluff in charge of Captain Vaughan, a sailing-master in the navy. A cannonade between the Royal George and the big guns on shore was kept up for about two hours with very little effect, when a 32-pound ball from the former came over the bluff and ploughed a furrow near where some soldiers were standing. A sergeant caught up the ball and running with it to Captain Vaughan, said, "I've been playing ball with the red-coats, and I have caught them out" Vaughan put it in his gun. It fitted better than his own balls, and he sent it crashing through the Royal George from stern to stem, sending splinters as high as her mizzen top-sail yard, killing fourteen men and wounding eighteen. The squadron, alarmed, immediately sailed out of the harbor.

The command of the lakes was now an important consideration for both parties, and the Americans prepared to create a navy to cope with that of the British. The quickest way to do so was to convert merchant-schooners into vessels-of-war. Eight of these had been caught at Ogdensburg, when the declaration of war was made, and were unable to escape to the lake. Two had been burned, and six remained there. These the British determined to attempt to capture or destroy, and for this purpose two of their armed vessels went down the St. Lawrence immediately after the affair at Sackett's Harbor. They were followed by the American armed schooner Julia, with sixty volunteers from the Oneida, and a rifle company in a Durham boat. They overtook the British vessels among the Thousand Islands, on the 31st of July, fought them 'for three hours, and in the shadows of an intensely dark night, relieved occasionally by flashes of lightning, reached

Ogdensburg in safety before morning. The armistice already mentioned, that followed, allowed the Julia and her consort and the six schooners to make their way to the lake, where the latter were converted into vessels-of-war.

At the close of August, Isaac Chauncey, one of the best practical seamen of his time, was commissioned commander-in-chief of the navy on Lakes Ontario and Erie; and the eminent ship-builder, Henry Eckford, with a competent number of men, hastened to Sackett's Harbor to prepare a squadron for Lake Ontario. On the 8th of November, Chauncey appeared in those waters with a little fleet consisting of the armed schooners Conquest, Growler, Pert, Scourge, Governor Tompkins, and Hamilton. With these he made a cruise toward Kingston, skirmished with the enemy, and blockaded the British squadron in Kingston harbor. In this short cruise of a few days Chauncey disabled the British flag-ship Royal George, destroyed one armed schooner, captured three merchant-vessels, and took several prisoners. On the 12th of November, leaving vessels to blockade Kingston harbor until the ice should effectually do so, he sailed toward the western end of Lake Ontario, at the same time writing to Governor Tompkins: I am in great hopes that I shall fall in with the Prince Regent, or some of the royal family which are cruising about York. Had we been one moment sooner, we could have taken every town on this lake in three weeks but the season is now so tempestuous that I am apprehensive that we cannot do much more this winter." He returned to Sackett's Harbor, and early in December the navigation of the lake was closed by frost. Chauncey's entire squadron of eight vessels (exclusive of the Madison, 24, whose keel was laid before his arrival) mounted only forty guns, and were manned by four hundred and thirty men, including marines. The British squadron had double the power of that of the Americans, in weight of metal and number of men.

The land forces on the St. Lawrence frontier were not idle. Captain Benjamin Forsyth was there with a company of regular riflemen, and after performing some exploits in the vicinity of the Thousand Islands, he took post at Ogdensburg. General Brown arrived there on the 1st of October (1812), and on the same day a large flotilla of British bateaux, escorted by a gun-boat, appeared at Prescott, on the opposite side of the river. This flotilla conveyed armed men, who, on the 4th of October, attempted to cross the river and attack Ogdensburg. They were repulsed by the Americans, who, with the regulars and militia, were about fifteen hundred strong. Eighteen days afterwards, Major G. D. Young, in command of a detachment of militia (chiefly from Troy, New York, about two hundred in number and stationed at French Mills,) captured the larger portion of a British detachment at St. Regis, an Indian village, lying on the boundary line between the United States and the British dominion. The late William L. Marcy, governor of the State of New York, then a lieutenant, captured the British flag with his own hand - the first trophy of that kind taken on land in the war.

Meanwhile some stirring events had occurred on the Niagara frontier. Commodore Chauncey had sent Lieutenant Jesse D. Elliott to superintend the construction of vessels on Lake Erie. Black Rock, near Buffalo, was chosen as the place for a navy-yard. A few days before the affair at Queenstown, two British vessels anchored under shelter of the guns of Fort Erie, opposite. Elliott determined to attempt their seizure, and at midnight on the 8th of October, he crossed the

river in boats with one hundred and twenty-four armed men - landmen and seamen - and surprised and captured them both, with all their people. The expedition was now at Buffalo and Black Rock and when the first pistol was fired, lanterns and torches sent gleams of light across the waters from the American shore, and shouts from scores of people rang out on the night air. These noises aroused every British soldier on the Canada shore, and heavy guns were brought to bear upon the assailants. There was a fierce struggle for the possession of the two captured vessels. The Caledonia was secured by the Americans, and afterward did good service in Perry's fleet on Lake Erie. Her consort the Detroit was burned.

More than a month later, British cannon were opened from five detached batteries on the Canada shore upon Fort Niagara at the mouth of the Niagara River. From dawn until the early twilight on the 21st of November, the cannonade and bombardment were kept up, and two thousand red-hot balls, with a tempest of bombshells, were hurled upon the American works. These missiles were answered in kind. The village of Newark was set on fire several times, and the garrison at Fort George were greatly disquieted. Night ended the artillery duel. This attack aroused the pompous General Smythe, at Buffalo, to action. He made ready for invading Canada from that point, and by flaming proclamations he so advertised his intentions, that the enemy were fully prepared to meet him when he was ready to cross the river. An abortive attempt was made before daylight on the 21st of November, and another attempt was ordered to take place two days afterward. Smythe, in an order issued the day before, said "Neither rain, snow nor frost will prevent the embarkation. . . . Yankee Doodle will be the signal to get under way. The landing will be effected in despite of cannon. . . . Hearts of War! to-morrow will be memorable in the annals of the United States! To-morrow came, but it was memorable there only by the failure of the cowardly commander to carry out his orders. He was evidently afraid of Lieutenant-Colonel Bisshopp, who commanded a small force on the other side of the river, and the campaign ended without anything being done in the way of invasion. Smythe was dismissed from the army. In a petition to Congress to reinstate him, he asked to be permitted to die for his country." This phrase excited much ridicule. At a public celebration of Washington's birthday at Georgetown, D. C., the following sentiment was proposed: "General Smythe's petition to Congress to 'die for his country' - May it be ordered that the prayer of said petition be granted." A wag wrote on a panel of one of the doors of the House of Representatives:

"All hail, great chief! who quailed before A Bisshopp, on Niagara's shore; But looks on Death with dauntless eye, And begs for leave to bleed and die. Oh my!"

During the fall of 1812, the whole western country, incensed by Hull's surrender and the atrocities of the savage allies of the British, seemed to be filled with men animated by a zeal like that of the old Crusaders. It was there determined that Michigan must be recovered and Indian tribes be made quiet by severe chastisement. In every settlement volunteers had gathered under local leaders. Companies were formed and equipped in a single day, and were ready to march the next. For several weeks these volunteers found employment in driving the hostile Indians from post to post in Ohio, Indiana and Illinois, on the borders of the extreme western settlements. They desolated their villages and plantations after the manner of Sullivan in the Seneca country in

1779, and thereby the fiercest indignation against the white people was excited among the savages. This feeling, stimulated by the British allies of the Indians, led to some terrible results. So eager were the people of the West for conflict with the British, that the snows of winter lying in the wilderness between them and Detroit did not keep them from the field, and the campaign of 1813 opened with the year. General William Henry Harrison had succeeded General Hull in the command of the Army of the West, and General Sir George Prevost was the military successor of Brock, in Canada. Harrison worked intensely in preparations for a winter campaign in the northwest, which the feelings of the people demanded. To do this he must march a crude and undisciplined army through a savage wilderness, in dark forests and across tangled swamps, wherein lurked wily enemies; and, at the same time, he had to defend a frontier several hundred miles in extent against the tomahawk and scalping-knife, at all hazards. Block-houses had to be built and garrisoned on the way, and magazines of provisions created and defended. But the good soldiers cheerfully undertook the difficult task. Brave and experienced leaders had rallied to his standard. Kentucky sent swarms of young men from every social rank, led by the veteran Isaac Shelby, whose exploits at King's Mountain in the Revolution were remembered with gratitude. The yeomanry of Ohio and its neighborhood had hastened to the field; and so numerous were the volunteers, that Harrison was compelled to issue orders against further enlistments. He made the vicinity of the Maumee Valley, near the western end of Lake Erie, the place of general rendezvous, whence he intended to fall upon Malden and Detroit and he designated the brigades from Virginia and Pennsylvania, and one from Ohio, under General Simon Perkins, as the right wing of the army, and the Kentuckians under General Winchester, as the left wing. So arranged, the army pressed forward.

Winchester, with eight hundred young Kentuckians, reached the Maumee Rapids in January, 1813, where he learned that a party of British and Indians were occupying Frenchtown (now Monroe, Michigan), on the River Raisin, twenty miles south of Detroit. He sent a detachment, under Colonels Allen and Lewis, to protect the inhabitants in that region, who drove the enemy out of the hamlet of about thirty families, and held it until the arrival of Winchester, on the 20th, with about three hundred men. At that time General Proctor was at Malden, eighteen miles distant, with a considerable body of British and Indians; and with fifteen hundred of these, he crossed the river and marched stealthily at night to attack the Americans.

Late in the evening of the 21st, intelligence reached Winchester that a foe was approaching. He did not believe it. At midnight the camp was as reposed as if under absolute security from heaven. The sentinels were posted but the weather being intensely cold, pickets were not sent out upon roads leading to the town. Just as the drummer-boy was beating the reveille in the gray of dawn on the 22nd, the sharp crack of a rifle, followed by musketry, awoke the sleepers. Bombshells and canister-shot immediately succeeded in a shower upon the camp. The Americans seized their arms, and opposed force to force. Very soon the soldiers fled to the woods for shelter, where the savages, who swarmed there, hewed them down with gleaming hatchets. The allies made it a war of extermination on that morning.

Winchester was made a prisoner, and he concluded an agreement with Proctor to surrender his

troops to that officer on condition that ample protection should be given to them against the fury of the savages. The promise was given and immediately violated. Proctor', knowing Harrison to be near, hastened toward Malden, leaving the sick and wounded Americans behind, without a guard. The Indians followed him awhile, when they turned back, murdered and scalped those who were unable to travel as captives, set fire to houses, and took many prisoners to Detroit to procure exorbitant prices for ransom. The indifference of Proctor and his troops on that occasion, and the dreadful suspicion that they encouraged the savages in their butchery of the defenceless, was keenly felt in all the West, and particularly in Kentucky, for most of the victims were of the flower of society in that State. After that the war-cry of Kentuckians - "Remember the River Raisin" - was often heard.

Harrison had advanced to the Maumee Rapids when he heard of the disaster at Frenchtown, and hearing that Proctor was marching toward Malden, he established a fortified camp there at the beginning of February, and named it Fort Meigs. It was near the site of the present village of Perrysburg, and opposite Maumee City. There Harrison was besieged many weeks afterward by Proctor and Tecumtha, with full two thousand of their allied followers. They came down from Malden and appeared at the British Fort Miami, near Fort Meigs, at the close of April. Although the latter fort was strong, having bastions and many cannon planted, Harrison felt that its garrison was in peril, and he sent a courier to General Greene Clay, who was on his march northward with Kentuckians, urging him to press forward.

Clay was near the Maumee Valley when the courier reached him. He resolved to send Harrison word of the near approach of succor, for Clay was at the head of twelve hundred men. Captain Leslie Combs, a young man then nineteen years of age (yet living), volunteered to be the messenger. With four men of his company and a young Indian, he went down the Maumee in a canoe, and as they approached the Rapids, they heard the roar of artillery at Fort Meigs. It was the first of May, and Proctor had begun the siege. How shall I enter an invested fort was a question that perplexed the gallant captain. But he pushed on, and having passed the Rapids in safety, he rounded a point into view of the fort, over which waved the Stars and Stripes. Suddenly some Indians appeared in the woods on shore. Combs attempted to shoot by them in the canoe on the swift current, but a volley from their guns killed one of his men and badly wounded another. They turned the prow of the canoe toward the opposite shore and escaped.

Clay pressed forward, and on the morning of the 5th of May, was near the fort. A large part of his troops, under Colonel Dudley, were landed near the site of Maumee City, and pressed forward to attack the British battery there. Captain Combs and his riflemen were in the advance. The battery was taken, most of its great guns were spiked, and the British flag was hauled down and trailed on the earth, while huzzahs rang out from the ramparts of Fort Meigs. The troops were signaled to fall back and cross the river; but at that moment some ambushed Indians fell upon Combs and his men and made them prisoners. These savages were attacked by Dudley's troops. The Indians were reinforced, and Dudley was defeated and slain. Of the eight hundred men who followed him from the boats, only one hundred and seventy escaped to Fort Meigs.

Meanwhile Colonel Boswell, with the remainder of Clay's army, had fought his way toward the fort. Meeting a sallying party sent out by Harrison, they all turned upon their assailants and drove them into the woods. Another sortie was made against the besiegers at another point, and more than eight hundred of the motley foe were driven from their batteries and dispersed. The siege of Fort Meigs was then abandoned, and the assailants went back to Malden. Combs and his companions were stripped and taken to old Fort Miami, where, almost naked, they were compelled to run the gauntlet between two rows of savages, armed with war-clubs, tomahawks, scalping-knives, and pistols. Many of the victims were killed or badly maimed by blows from the Indians. When the survivors were all inside the fort, they would have been massacred but for the humanity of Tecumtha, which was greater than that of Proctor, who did not attempt to stay the fury of the Indians. Active military operations in the West were suspended for several weeks after the siege of Fort Meigs was raised.

Let us here take a brief retrospective glance at civil affairs. Congress assembled on the 2nd of November, 1812. Its counsels were divided by fierce party-spirit that boded evil to the public interests. The Democrats had a decided majority in both houses, and the measures of the administration were sustained. Madison was reelected President of the republic. There had been some changes in the cabinet, John Armstrong having taken the place of William Eustis as Secretary of War, in January, 1813, and William Jones that of Paul Hamilton as Secretary of the Navy, at the same time. Mr. Monroe remained Secretary of State, and William Pinckney, Attorney-General. The British government had shown some desire for reconciliation, by a repeal of the Orders in Council, but there were other obstacles which kept the doors of amicable adjustment fast closed. The report of the Committee on Foreign Relations to the House of Representatives, by Mr. Calhoun, their chairman, had taken high ground, which the British government did not approve. "The impressment of our seamen," said that report, being deservedly considered a principal cause of the war, the war ought to be prosecuted until that cause be removed. To appeal to arms in defence of a right, and to lay them down without securing it, or a satisfactory evidence of a good disposition in the opposite party to secure it, would be considered in no other light than a relinquishment of it. War having been declared, and the case of impressment being necessarily included as one of the most important causes, it is evident it must be provided for in the pacification. The omission of it, in a treaty of peace, would not leave it on its former ground it would, in effect, be an absolute relinquishment - an idea at which the feelings of every American must revolt."

Almost simultaneously with the presentation of this report (January, 1813), which recommended negotiations for peace, the Prince Regent (the actual sovereign of Great Britain) issued a manifesto concerning the causes of the war and the subject of blockade and impressment, in which he declared that the war was not the consequence of any fault of Great Britain, but that it had been brought on by the partial conduct of the American government in overlooking the aggressions of the French in their negotiations with them. He alleged that a quarrel with Great Britain had been sought because she had adopted measures solely retaliative as toward France, and that as those measures had been abandoned by a repeal of the Orders in Council, the war was now continued on the question of impressment and search. On this point the Prince Regent took

such a decisive position, that the door for negotiation seemed 'to be irrevocably shut. His Royal Highness," said the manifesto, can never admit that the exercise of undoubted and hitherto undisputed right of searching merchant-vessels in time of war, and the impressment of British seamen when found therein, can be deemed any violation of a neutral flag; neither can he admit, the taking of such seamen from on board such vessels can be considered by any neutral state as a hostile measure or a justifiable cause of war." This assertion was not correct, for the right of Great Britain to search and impress had been disputed by all the maritime nations of Europe for many years.

After reaffirming the old English doctrine respecting self-expatriation of a British subject, the manifesto continued But if to the practice of the United States to harbor British seamen, be added their assumed right to transfer the allegiance of British subjects, and thus to cancel the jurisdiction of their legitimate sovereign by acts of naturalization and certificates of citizenship, which they pretend to be as valid out of their own country as within it, it is obvious that to abandon this ancient right of Great Britain and to admit these novel pretensions of the United States, would be to expose the very foundation of our maritime strength." The manifesto charged our government with systematic efforts to inflame the people against Great Britain, and that a hostile temper toward that government, and complete subserviency to the ruler of France," was evident in the official correspondence between the American and French governments. While contending against France in defence not only of the liberties of Great Britain, but also of the world," said the manifesto, His Royal Highness was entitled to look for a far different result. From their common origin - their common interest - from their professed principles of freedom and independence, the United States was the last power in which Great Britain could have expected to find a willing instrument and abettor of French tyranny." The Prince Regent also declared most solemnly, in that manifesto, that the charge of exciting the Indians to offensive measures against the United States, is equally void of foundation." This denial was iterated and reiterated by British statesmen and publicists then, and have been ever since. It is very natural for a civilized and Christian people to repel the charge of complicity with savage pagans in the practice of merciless and barbarous warfare but the fact has been too clearly proved by documentary and other evidence to be doubted.

At this juncture, when reconciliation seemed impossible, a ray of hope came from northern Europe. When the declaration of war reached St. Petersburg, the Russian emperor, Alexander, expressed his regret to the American minister, John Quincy Adams, and suggested the expediency of tendering his mediation for the purpose of effecting a reconciliation. Mr. Adams favored it; but the victorious march of Napoleon toward Moscow, the heart of the Russian empire, delayed the measure for a while. The mediation was finally tendered through the Russian minister at Washington early in March, 1813, a few days after Mr. Madison, in his second inaugural address, had endeavored to excite the feelings of the people in favor of a vigorous prosecution of the war. The offer was accepted by the President, who nominated Albert Gallatin, the Secretary of the Treasury, and James A. Bayard, a member of the Senate, to act jointly with Mr. Adams, as commissioners to negotiate a treaty of peace with Great Britain, at St. Petersburg. The British government refused to accept the mediation of the emperor, and the war went on.

We left General Harrison and his little army at Fort Meigs. When he was assured that Proctor and his allies had returned to Fort Malden, he left General Clay in command of Fort Meigs, and proceeded to Lower Sandusky (now Fremont, on the west bank of Sandusky River,) and the interior, to make preparations for the defence of the Erie frontier against the foiled and exasperated foe. He met Governor Meigs at Lower Sandusky, with a considerable body of Ohio militia, pressing forward to his relief; and he found the Ohio settlements so full of enthusiasm, that he felt sure of aid whenever he might call for it. Meanwhile Tecumtha had been urging Proctor to renew the siege of Fort Meigs. That timid General hesitated a long time but finally, late in July, he appeared before Fort Meigs with his Indian allies - his own and Tecumtha's followers numbering about four thousand. The tribes of the northwest were fully represented. Satisfied that he could not capture the fort, Proctor and his white troops embarked with their stores, on the 28th of July, for Sandusky Bay, with the intention of attacking Fort Stephenson, at Lower Sandusky, a regular earthwork, with a ditch, circumvallating pickets, bastions, and block-houses. It was garrisoned by one hundred and sixty men under the command of Major George Croghan of the regular army, and then only twenty-one years of age.

Proctor's dusky allies marched across the country to assist in the siege; and when, on the afternoon of the 31st, the British in transports and gunboats appeared at a turn in the river a mile from the fort, it was perceived that the woods near by were swarming with Indians. Tecumtha had concealed about two thousand of them in the forest, to watch the roads along which reinforcements might attempt to reach Fort Stephenson. Proctor at once made a demand for the surrender of the fort, accompanied by the usual couched threat of massacre by the Indians in case of refusal. The demand was met by a defiant refusal. This was immediately followed by a cannonade from the gun-boats and howitzers which the British had landed. All night long the great guns played upon the fort without serious effect, and answered occasionally by the solitary cannon possessed by the garrison, which was shifted from one block-house to another to give the impression that the works were armed with several great guns.

During the night the British dragged three 6-pound cannon to a point higher than the fort, and early in the morning these opened fire on the works. This continued many hours with very little effect, the garrison remaining silent. Proctor became impatient and his savage allies were becoming uneasy, for there were rumors of reinforcements on their way for the men in the fort so he resolved to storm the work. At five o'clock in the afternoon of that hot August day, while the bellowing of distant thunder was heard from an angry tempest-cloud in the western sky, the British marched in two columns to assail the fort. At the same time some

British grenadiers made a wide circuit through the woods to make a feigned attack at another point. As the two columns advanced, the artillery played incessantly upon the fort, and under cover of the smoke they had reached a position within fifteen or twenty paces of the strong pickets, before they were discovered. The garrison consisted of Kentucky sharpshooters, whose rifles now opened a deadly fire upon the foe. The British columns wavered, but soon rallied; and the first, pushing over the glacis, leaped into the ditch to assail the palisades. Cut away the pickets, my brave boys, and show the damned Yankees no quarter! shouted Lieutenant-Colonel

Short, their leader. His voice was soon silenced. In a block-house that commanded the ditch in a raking position, the only cannon of the fort was masked. When that ditch was crowded with men, the port flew open and a terrible storm of slugs and grape-shot swept along the living wall with awful effect. The second column, led by Lieutenant Gordon, leaped into the ditch, and met a similar reception, to which was added a volley of rifle balls. Short and Gordon, and many of their followers, were slain in the ditch. A precipitate and confused retreat followed, the British having lost, in killed and wounded, one hundred and twenty men, while only one man of the garrison was killed and several were wounded. The cowardly Indians, always afraid of cannon, had not joined in the fight, but were swift in the flight.

This gallant defence of Fort Stephenson commanded the greatest admiration, and Major Croghan received many honors. Congratulatory letters were sent to him. The ladies of Chillicothe, Ohio, bought and presented to him an elegant sword, and Congress voted him the thanks of the nation. Twenty-two years afterward, that body awarded him a gold medal for his bravery and skill on that occasion. This defence, so unexpected and successful, had a powerful effect upon the Indians. Tecumtha no longer believed in British invincibility, of which Proctor had boasted, and the British abandoned all hope of capturing these western American posts until they should become masters of Lake Erie.

Chapter XCVI

Command of Lake Erie Coveted - Captain Perry Superintends the Creation of a Fleet in that Lake - The American and British Squadrons - Perry Reports to Harrison - Naval Battle on Lake Erie - Harrison Pursues the British from Malden - Battle on the Thames - Defeat of the British - Michigan Recovered - Events on the St. Lawrence Frontier - Capture of York and Fort George - Battle at Stony Creek - British Repulsed at Sackett's Harbor - Another Invasion of Canada Planned - Disagreement of General Officers.

WHO shall be masters of Lake Erie? was a question which the belligerents tried to solve in the summer and early autumn of 1813. Our government had not listened to the proposition of General Hull early in 1812, to construct a naval force on that lake, but its wisdom was made manifest before the close of that year.

Captain Oliver Hazard Perry, a zealous young naval officer of Rhode Island, who was in command of a flotilla of gun-boats on the Newport station, offered his services for the lakes, and early in February, 1813, a letter to him from Commodore Chauncey, said: "You are the very person I want for a particular service, in which you may gain reputation for yourself and honor for your country." That service was the command of a naval force on Lake Erie; and on the 17th of February, Perry received orders from the Secretary of the Navy to report to Chauncey with all possible dispatch, and to take with him to Sackett's Harbor all of the best men of the flotilla at Newport. He sent them forward at once in companies of fifty under sailing-masters Almy, Champlin and Taylor, and followed them in a sleigh. He met Chauncey at Albany, and they journeyed together in a sleigh through the dark wilderness to Sackett's Harbor. A fortnight afterward (March, 1813,) Perry went to Presque Isle (now Erie, Pa.,) to hasten the construction and equipment of a little navy there, to cooperate with General Harrison for the recovery of Michigan.

Four vessels were speedily built at Erie, and five others were taken to that sheltered harbor from Black Rock, below Buffalo, where Henry Eckford had fashioned merchant-vessels into warriors. The little fleet of nine vessels were all ready at Erie early in July, and the flag-ship was named the Lawrence, in compliment to the gallant commander of the Chesapeake, who had just given his life to his country. But men and supplies were wanting, and Perry had to wait weeks, in great impatience, before he could get out on the lake to meet a British squadron that was cruising there under Commodore Barclay. That squadron seriously menaced the fleet at Presque Isle, while Perry chafed under compulsory idleness. Late in July he wrote to Chauncey: For God's sake, and yours and mine, send me men and officers, and I will have them all (the British vessels) in a day or two. . . . Our sails are bent, provisions on board, and in fact everything is ready. Barclay has been bearding me for several days; I long to be at him. Think of my situation; the enemy in sight, the vessels under my command more than sufficient and ready to make sail, and yet obliged to bite my fingers with vexation for want of men."

Meanwhile the tardy government and the stay-at-home citizens were calling loudly upon Perry

and Harrison to "do something," and the former, fretted by these implied complaints, having been reinforced by about one hundred men under Captain Elliott, went out upon the lake with his little fleet early in August, before he was fairly prepared for vigorous combat. He determined to report to Harrison that he was ready for cooperation with him, and on the 17th day of August, when off Sandusky Bay, he fired signal guns according to agreement. Late on the evening of the 10th, Harrison and his suite arrived in boats and went on board the Lawrence, where arrangements were made for the fall campaign in that quarter. Harrison had then about eight thousand militia, regulars and Indians, at camp Seneca, a little more than twenty miles from the lake. While he was waiting for Harrison to prepare his army for transportation to Malden, Perry cruised about the lake. Then he lay quietly at anchor in Put-in-Bay for a few days. On a bright and beautiful morning, the 10th of September, the sentinel watching in the maintop of the Lawrence, cried Sail ho It announced the appearance of the British fleet, clearly seen in the northwestern horizon.

Six barques trained for battle the red flag displaying, By Barclay commanded, their wings wide outspread, Forsook their stronghold, on broad Erie essaying, To meet with that foe they so lately did dread.

The sentinel's cry was followed by signals from the Lawrence to the rest of the fleet: Enemy in sight. Get under way;" and the shout of the boatswains, All hands up anchor, ahoy Perry's nine vessels were the brigs Lawrence, 20; Niagara, 20; Caledonia, 3. Schooners Ariel, 4; Scorpion, 2, and two swivels Tigris, 1 Porcupine, 1 and sloop Trippe, 1 in all fifty-four carriage-guns and two swivels. Barclay's fleet consisted of the flag-ship Detroit, the Queen Charlotte, Lady Prevost, Hunter, Little Belt, and Chippewa, carrying 64 carriage-guns, 2 swivels, and 4 howitzers. At the masthead of the Lawrence, Perry displayed a blue banner, with the reported last words of Captain Lawrence, "Don't give up the ship!" displayed upon it in large white letters.

The two squadrons slowly approached each other, and at noon the battle began at long range - the Scorpion, commanded by young Champlin, then less than twenty-four years of age, firing the first shot on the American side. Nearer and nearer the vessels approached each other; hotter and hotter waxed the fight. For two hours the Lawrence bore the brunt of battle, with twice her force, until, like the Guerriere, she lay upon the waters an almost total wreck. Her rigging was all shot away; her sails were cut into shreds, her spars were battered into splinters, and her guns were dismantled. One mast remained, and from it the Stars and Stripes were streaming. A less hopeful man than Perry would have pulled them down and surrendered, for his deck was a scene of dreadful carnage. Meanwhile most of the other vessels had been fighting gallantly, excepting the stanch Niagara, Captain Elliot, which kept outside and was unhurt. As this lagging brig drew near, Perry determined to fly to her, and renewing the fight, gain a victory. In token of his faith he put on the uniform of his rank as if conscious he should receive Barclay as a prisoner. Then taking down his broad pennant and the banner with the stirring words, he entered his boat with his little brother, fourteen years of age, and four stout seamen for the oars, and started on his perilous voyage, anxiously watched by Lieutenant Yarnell and a few others, who had been left in charge of the battered Lawrence. Perry stood upright in his boat with the pennant and banner partly wrapped around him, a conspicuous mark for the guns of the enemy. Barclay, who was badly

wounded, knew that if Perry, who had fought the Lawrence so gallantly, should tread the decks of the stanch Niagara as commander, the British would be in danger of defeat; so he ordered big and little guns to be brought to bear upon the boat that bore the young hero. The voyage lasted fifteen minutes. The oars were splintered, bullets traversed the little vessel, and round and grape-shot falling in the water near, covered his oarsmen with spray. But he reached the Niagara in safety. Hoisting his pennant over that vessel, he dashed through the British line, and eight minutes afterward the colors of the enemy's flag-ship were struck, and all but two of the fleet surrendered. These attempted to escape. They were pursued and brought back by the brave young Champlain in the Scorpion late in the evening. He had fired the first gun at the opening of the battle, and now he had fired the last one in securing the conquered vessels. The victory was complete. Assured of triumph, Perry sat down, and resting his naval cap on his knee, wrote with a lead-pencil, on the back of a letter, this famous despatch to General Harrison: We have met the enemy, and they are ours; two ships, two brigs, one schooner, and one sloop. "Yours, with great respect, O.H. PERRY"

The news of this victory carried joy to the hearts of the Americans. The lakes had echoed the triumphs of the ocean. The name of Perry was made immortal. His government, in the name of the people, thanked him, and gave him and Elliott each a gold medal. States and cities honored him. The legislature of Pennsylvania voted him thanks and a gold medal; and they gave the thanks of the Commonwealth and a silver medal to each man who was engaged in the battle. The loss of the Americans in the conflict on Lake Erie, considering the small number engaged, was very severe - twenty-seven killed and ninety-six wounded. The British lost about two hundred in killed and wounded, and six hundred made prisoners. Perry's humane conduct toward the captives was such that Barclay declared it was sufficient to immortalize him.

This victory was followed by energetic action on the part of Harrison. The veteran Governor Shelby, the hero of King's Mountain, had joined him with four thousand Kentucky volunteers. The command of Lake Erie was secured, and he proceeded to attack Fort Malden and attempt the recovery of Detroit. The fleet took a part of his troops across the lake and landed them below Fort Malden, but no enemy was there. The cowardly Proctor, taking counsel of his fears, and in spite of the indignant remonstrances of Tecumtha, had fled with his motley host into the interior of Canada, setting fire to Fort Malden and the many buildings and store-houses at Amherstberg when he left. As the Americans approached the smoking ruins, they were met by a troop of modest, well-dressed women, who came to implore mercy and protection. Harrison calmed their fears and took possession of the fort while the bands played Yankee Doodle. Proctor's rear-guard had been gone only about an hour when the Americans arrived.

The American flotilla that bore the troops across the lake reached Detroit on the 29th of September. On the same day Colonel Richard M. Johnson of Kentucky, with a troop of cavalry, arrived at Detroit, and Harrison encamped with his army at Sandwich. Informed that Proctor and Tecumtha were flying eastward toward the Moravian town on the Thames, or La Tranelle, as the French called the stream, eighty miles from Detroit, Harrison began a pursuit on the morning of the 2nd of October, with about thirty-five hundred troops. Jolinson and his mounted men led the

van, and Shelby's Kentuckians composed the bulk of the pursuers. They overtook the fugitives on the 5th, a short distance from the Moravian town, and there, in an open wood, with the Thames on one flank and a deep swamp on the other, a severe battle was fought. Tecumtha was slain, and his amazed followers, who had fought desperately, broke and fled to the shelter of the swamp. The whole British force, about eight hundred strong, were speedily vanquished, and most of them were made prisoners. Proctor escaped in his carriage, with his personal staff, a few dragoons and mounted Indians, hotly pursued by Johnson and his horsemen. He made his way 'to the western end of Lake Ontario, and there his military career was ended. Proctor was rewarded by the censure of his superiors, the rebuke of his sovereign, and the scorn of all honorable men, for his career in America had been marked by cowardice and cruelty.

Harrison's Victory was complete. His praises were sounded from the St. Croix to the delta of the Mississippi and Congress gave him and Shelby the thanks of the nation and each a gold medal. At that battle six brass field-pieces taken from Hull at Detroit were recaptured, on two of which were engraved the words "Surrendered by Burgoyne at Saratoga." They may now be seen at West Point, on the Hudson. The Moravian town, near the battle-ground, is a village in the township of Oxford, and was a settlement of Indian Moravian converts who had fled from the Muskingum, Ohio, in 1792.

This victory was an important one. All that Hull had lost was recovered. The Indian Confederacy in the Northwest was broken up, and the war on the northwestern border of the Union was ended. The achievement was fully appreciated, and a member of the House of Representatives said in his place "Such a victory would have secured to a Roman general, in the best days of the Republic, the honours of a triumph." The frontier being now secured, Harrison dismissed a greater portion of the volunteers and leaving Colonel Lewis Cass with a garrison of a thousand regulars, as military governor at Detroit on the 23rd of October (1813), he proceeded to Niagara with the remainder of the troops, to join the army of the centre. For some unexplained reason, General Armstrong, the Secretary of War, treated Harrison so badly that the latter resigned, and his country was deprived of his valuable services at a most critical time.

During the winter of 1813, there were some stirring events on the St. Lawrence frontier. The repulse of the British at Ogdensburg has been noticed. After that, under the pretense of looking for deserters, British soldiers crossed the river and captured some Americans and committed robberies. Major Forsythe, in command of riflemen at Ogdensburg, retaliated by crossing to Elizabethtown (now Brockville) and releasing all the prisoners in jail there. This was resented by the British, who, on the morning of the 22nd of February, 1813, about eight hundred strong, crossed the St. Lawrence River on the ice and entered Ogdensburg. The inhabitants fled into the country. A conflict of an hour ensued in the streets between the invaders and Forsythe's little force, and the enemy became masters of the village. Then they plundered every house in the town except three, burned the barracks near the river and two gunboats and two armed schooners frozen in the ice, and returned to Canada with their plunder. These events accelerated the gathering of militia on the northern frontier especially at Sackett's Harbor but these troops, undisciplined, were of little immediate service.

A second invasion of Canada was a capital feature in the general plan of the campaign of 1814. General Dearborn, who was in immediate command of the northern army, had about six thousand troops under his control. These were to defend the frontier from Buffalo to St. Regis, and to them was also given the task of capturing Montreal and the province of Upper Canada. Chauncey had gained such a mastery on Lake Ontario, that it was believed he might easily confine the British squadron to Kingston Harbor, where it was ice-bound during the winter. The plan of the campaign sent from the War Department reached General Dearborn at Plattsburg at near the middle of February, and he immediately made preparations for the invasion by concentrating troops at Sackett's Harbor and Buffalo. When Dearborn arrived at the former post, at about the first of March, rumors were current there that Sir George Prevost was in command of six or eight thousand men, and was actively engaged in preparations for offensive operations. Dearborn found only about three thousand troops at the Harbor. General Brown was ordered to summon several hundred of the militia to the field and Colonel Pike was directed to hasten to the Harbor from Plattsburg with four hundred of his best men. Henry Eckford arrived soon after Dearborn, with instructions to build six war-schooners at Sackett's Harbor and orders were given to Chauncey for the purchase of as many more as the exigencies of the service might require.

At the middle of April, Dearborn and Chauncey matured a plan of invasion with a combined land and naval force. It was to cross over the lake and capture York (now Toronto), and then to assail Fort George, near the mouth of the Niagara River. At the same time troops were to cross in the vicinity of Buffalo and capture Forts Erie and Chippewa, join the victors at Fort George, and all proceed to capture Kingston. With seventeen hundred troops under the immediate command of Pike, who had lately been commissioned a brigadier-general, Dearborn sailed in Chauncey's fleet from Sackett's Harbor on the 25th of April, and on the morning of the 27th, the armament appeared before York. The land forces disembarked about two miles westward of the British fortifications there, in the face of a galling fire from regulars and Indians under General Sheaffe. These were soon driven back to their works, and the Americans, led by the brave Pike, pressed forward and captured two redoubts. At the same time Chauncey was hurling upon the foe deadly volleys of grape-shot from his naval cannon.

Sheaffe and his little army, deserted by the Indians who had fled before the roar of artillery, now took post with the garrison near the governor's house and opened a heavy fire of round and grape-shot upon the invaders. This battery was soon silenced by Pike's heavy guns, and it was expected that a white flag, in token of surrender, would soon appear, when a sudden and awful catastrophe occurred. General Pike was sitting on the stump of a tree talking with a captive British officer, when a tremor of the earth was felt and was immediately followed by a tremendous explosion near by. The British, unable to hold the fort, had fired a magazine of gunpowder on the edge of the lake. The effect was terrible. Fragments of the timber and huge stones, of which the magazine walls were built, were scattered in every direction over a space of several hundred feet and more. When the smoke floated away, the scene was appalling. Fifty-two Americans lay dead, and one hundred and eighty others were wounded. Forty of the British were also slain. General Pike, two of his aides, and the captive officer, were mortally hurt. The dying general was taken to one of Chauncey's vessels. His benumbed ears heard the shout of victory

when the British ensign was pulled down at York. Just before he died, the captured British flag was brought to him. He smiled, and made a sign for it to be placed under his head. It was done, and he expired. The civil authorities of York and the militia officers formally surrendered the place, while Sheaffe and a larger part of his force, after destroying some vessels and store-houses, escaped to Kingston. The Americans lost in killed and wounded two hundred and eighty-six men the loss of the British (besides prisoners), in killed and wounded, was one hundred and forty men.

The victors left York early in May, and proceeded to attack Fort George. The British force in that vicinity, under General Vincent, numbered about eighteen hundred men. Besides Fort George, they had several smaller works along the Niagara River. The American troops had landed and encamped five miles east of Fort Niagara, and their arrangements were made for the attack on the British works on the morning of the 27th of May. The troops were conveyed by Chauncey's squadron, and under cover of his guns, landed a little westward of the mouth of the Niagara. The advance was led by Colonel Winfield Scott, accompanied by Commodore Perry, who had charge of the boats. He and Scott both leaped into the water at the head of the first division of men, and in the face of a galling fire and of bristling bayonets ascended the bank. The other troops followed, and after a severe conflict on the plain, the British fell back discomfited. General Vincent, satisfied that he must retreat, and knowing Fort George to be untenable, ordered the garrison to spike the guns, destroy the ammunition and abandon it. This was done, and the whole British force retreated westward to a strong position among the hills, at a place called the Beaver Dams, about eighteen miles from the Niagara River. There Vincent had a deposit of stores and provisions. Forts Chippewa and Erie were abandoned, and the Niagara frontier of Canada passed into the possession of the Americans.

Chauncey sailed for Sackett's Harbor, and on the first of June, Dearborn sent General Winder, with a considerable force, in pursuit of General Vincent, who was making his way toward Burlington Heights, at the western end of Lake Ontario. Winder took the lake-shore road, and marched rapidly. On the 5th he was joined by General Chandler, with some troops, who, being senior officer, took the chief command. Meanwhile Vincent had gained his destination and the Americans encamped at Stony Creek, seven miles eastward of him. There, on the night of the 6th, the Americans were surprised and fiercely attacked by Vincent. The night was intensely dark, and a severe battle was fought in the gloom. The British were repulsed, but in the darkness and confusion both of the American commanders were captured. The Americans, fearing a renewal of the attack, made a hasty retreat toward the Niagara. They were met by a relief party. On their way they were threatened by a British fleet on the left, and hostile savages on the mountain on the right; but they drove the former away with hot and cold shot, defied the latter and the local militia that hovered on their flanks, and reached Fort George in safety.

When the British at Kingston heard of the weakening of Sackett's Harbor by the withdrawal of a portion of the land and naval forces there, to attack York, they resolved to attempt its capture, for it was a place of great importance. It was the chief depot for the military and naval stores of the Americans on that frontier, and its possession would give to the holders the command of the lake. The affair at York made the enemy circumspect; but when it was known that Chauncey and

Dearborn had gone to the Niagara, they proceeded to assail Sackett's Harbor.

On the evening of the 27th of May, word came to the Harbor, that a British squadron, under Sir James Yeo, had sailed from Kingston. Colonel Backus was in command of the troops at Sackett's Harbor. General Jacob Brown was at his home, a few miles from Watertown, and he had promised Backus to take the chief command in case of an invasion. The news from Kingston was sent to him, and before the dawn of the 28th, he was in the camp at the Harbor. He sent expresses in all directions to summon the militia to the field and fired alarm-guns to arouse the inhabitants. As fast as the militia came in they were armed and sent to Horse Island, where the light-house now stands, the place where it was expected the invaders would first attempt to land.

At noon on the 28th, six British armed vessels and forty bateaux appeared on Sackett's Harbor, bearing over a thousand land troops, the whole armament under the command of Sir George Prevost. The troops were embarked in the bateaux, but were soon ordered back, when the whole squadron put to sea. Sir George had been alarmed by the appearance of a flotilla of American gun-boats approaching from the westward conveying a part of a regiment from Oswego to join the garrison at Sackett's Harbor. As soon as their real weakness was perceived, the prows of the squadron were again turned toward the Harbor, and on the morning of the 29th a considerable force, with cannon and muskets, landed on Horse Island. The militia had been withdrawn from the island, and placed behind a gravel ridge on the main. These fled almost at the first fire of the enemy. This disgraceful conduct astonished General Brown, and he attempted to rally the fugitives. Colonel Backus, with his regulars and Albany volunteers, were disputing the advance of the enemy inch by inch, and a heavy gun from Fort Tompkins played upon the British. At that moment a dense smoke arose in the rear of the Americans. The store-houses, in which was gathered an immense amount of materials, and the ship on the stocks, had been fired by the officer in charge, under the impression, when the militia fled, that the post would be captured. The sight was disheartening; but when Brown was assured that the incendiary was a friend, he felt a relief and redoubled his exertions to rally the militia. He succeeded, and so turned the fortunes of the day in favor of his country. Sir George Prevost, mounting a high stump and sweeping the horizon with his fieldglass saw the rallying militia on his flank and rear, and supposing these to be reinforcements of regulars in large numbers, sounded a retreat. That movement became a disorderly flight. The British troops reached the squadron in safety, leaving their dead and wounded behind. At noon the whole armament sailed away, and Sackett's Harbor was saved. So also was the ship on the stocks but a half million dollars worth of stores were destroyed. Sackett's Harbor was never afterward attacked, and it remained the chief place of deposit for supplies for the northern frontier during the war.

We left the Americans on the Niagara frontier, at Fort George. The British advance post was then at the Beaver Dams, and General Dearborn sent Lieutenant-Colonel Boerstler, with about six hundred men and two field-pieces, to capture the garrison and a large amount of stores collected there. It proved to be a most unfortunate undertaking. Mrs. Laura Secord, a light and delicate woman living at Queenstown, became acquainted with Dearborn's plan, and on a hot summer day on the 23rd of June, she made a circuitous journey of nineteen miles on foot to the quarters of

Lieutenant Fitzgibbon, who was at the Beaver Dams with some regulars, and informed him of his danger. When, on the following day, Boerstler penetrated that region, he was assailed by Indians under John Brant and others, and by an exaggerated statement of the strength of the British in that neighborhood, was induced to surrender his whole command. The British then advanced to Queenstown, and very soon invested Fort George with a strong force. Dearborn, whose career as commander-in-chief of the army had been singularly unsuccessful, was now succeeded by General James Wilkinson. The change was of no value to the American cause. Dearborn withdrew from the service before the arrival of Wilkinson, leaving the command of the Americans at Fort George with General John Boyd, the senior officer on that frontier.

Thus far all attempts to conquer Canada had failed. The invasions were unsuccessful, yet the government did not seem to have gained wisdom by experience. The Secretary of War, General Armstrong, was as much infatuated with this idea as his predecessors had been, and he now conceived a plan for making an invasion of that province by the united forces of the armies of the centre and of the north; and on the arrival of Wilkinson from the command of the Gulf regions, he was ordered to Sackett's Harbor to make arrangements for the future. He differed with Armstrong about the plan of the new invasion, and bitter enmity between them was soon aroused. The fiery spirit of Armstrong could not brook contradiction. There was another fiery spirit then in the field - General Wade Hampton of South Carolina, one of Marion's companions in arms, who had succeeded Bloomfield in command of the Northern Department. He was a thorough-going aristocrat, whose landed possessions in his native State and in Louisiana were almost princely in extent, and he counted his slaves by thousands. He hated Wilkinson intensely; and when that officer, on his arrival at Albany, sent his first order to Hampton, the anger of the veteran was fiercely kindled. He wrote to the Secretary of War, insisting that his was a separate command, and tendering his resignation in the event of his being ordered to act under Wilkinson. The latter, at the same time, was as jealous of Armstrong, whom he feared might trample upon his prerogatives; and on the 24th of August (1813), he wrote to the Secretary: I trust you will not interfere with my arrangements, or give orders within the district of my command, but to myself, because it would impair my authority and distract the public service. Two heads on the same shoulder make a monster."

The jealousies and bickerings, and the manifestations of undesirable personal traits afterward exhibited by these old officers of the Continental army, were highly detrimental to the public service. Armstrong was haughty, fiery, and opinionated. He was a son of an officer in the French and Indian War, and had, himself, been an officer in the Continental Army as aide-de-camp, first to General Mercer and afterward to General Gates. After the war he was active in public life in his native State (Pennsylvania) and having married a sister of Chancellor Livingston, he became a citizen of the State of New York. In 1804 he succeeded his brother-in-law as minister to France, and President Madison unwisely called him to his cabinet as Secretary of War, for he was not well fitted for that office and made serious mistakes. Wilkinson was no better fitted for the office he was called to fill. He, also, was an officer in the Continental Army, and was aide-de-camp to General Gates. His peculiar temperament and personal habits made his selection as commander on the frontier an unfortunate one. As a rule, the younger officers in the army, in the War of

1812-15, were the most efficient and successful.

Chapter XCVII

Events on the Niagara Frontier - Colonel Scott and Regulars March Eastward - Events on Lake Champlain - Events on Lake Ontario - Expedition Against Montreal - Military Movements in Northern New York - Battle of Chrysler's Field - The American Troops in Winter-Quarters - Cruelties on the Niagara Frontier - Destruction of Buffalo - Events in the Gulf Region - War on the Creek Indians - Jackson Subdues Them - Naval Events on the Ocean - Cruise of the "Essex" - The "Hornet" and "Peacock" - The "Chesapeake" and "Shannon" - Loss of the "Argus" - Victory of the "Enterprise".

THE British, made bold by their success at the Beaver Dams, as we have observed, not only closely invested Fort George, but made incursions upon the soil of New York. On the night of the 4th of July, 1813, a party of Canadian militia and Indians, under Lieutenant Colonel Clark, crossed over to Schlosser and captured a guard, with arms, ammunition and stores, and returned in triumph to Canada. On the 11th of the same month, Lieutenant-Colonel Bisshopp, with a motley party of regulars, Canadians and Indians, about four hundred in number, landed a little below Black Rock, near Buffalo, before daylight. His object was to surprise and capture the little garrison there, and seize or destroy the large quantity of stores collected by the Americans, together with the ship-yard. They were defended by only about two hundred militia, and a dozen men in a block-house. These, with some infantry and dragoon recruits from the south and a few Indians, - a little more than one hundred in all, of the latter - were at Buffalo, under the command of General Peter B. Porter.

Bisshopp surprised the post at Black Rock. The militia fled toward Buffalo, and General Porter barely escaped capture in his own house, near by. He hastened toward Buffalo, rallied a part of the militia, and with fifty volunteer-citizens proceeded to attack the invaders. At the same moment forty Indians crossed from an ambush in a ravine, and with the fearful warwhoop rushed toward the foe. The frightened British, after brief resistance, fled in confusion to their boats, and, with Bisshopp, hastily departed, followed by volleys from American muskets. In this flight Bisshopp was mortally wounded, and died five days afterward.

At almost the same time, a small party of Canadians, covered by a large body of western Indians under Blackbird (the chief who conducted the massacre at Chicago the year before), encamped a short distance from Fort George, had a skirmish with the American pickets. Lieutenant Eldridge, a dashing young officer, went out from the fort, with forty followers, to the relief of the pickets. They fell into an Indian ambush, and only five escaped. Those who were captured were butchered and scalped by the Indians, with horrible attendant circumstances. After that, no military movement of much importance occurred on the Niagara frontier, until late in the autumn of 1813.

While Wilkinson was concentrating forces at the western end of Lake Ontario preparatory to another invasion of Canada, or to the striking of a deadly blow somewhere, orders came from the Secretary of War to strengthen Fort George, and garrison it with at least six hundred regulars.

Wilkinson left eight hundred regulars at the fort, with some militia under Colonel Scott, and, with the remainder of the army on the Niagara frontier, sailed eastward on the 2nd of October. He instructed Scott, in the event of the British leaving that frontier, to put Fort George in charge of General McClure of the New York militia, and with the regulars to join the expedition destined to go down the St. Lawrence. This contingency soon occurred. When General Vincent heard of the defeat of Proctor on the Thames, he called the British troops from the Niagara to Burlington Heights. Then Scott crossed the river, and marching eastward as far as Utica, he there met the Secretary of War who had come from Washington to reconcile the difference between Wilkinson and Hampton, and to assume the conduct of the invading expedition. The Secretary permitted Scott to leave his troops and to press northward to join Wilkinson. Armstrong established the seat of the War Department at Sackett's Harbor.

Meanwhile there had been stirring events on Lakes Champlain and Ontario. In the spring of 1813, Captain Macdonough, who had been charged with the construction of a fleet on Lake Champlain, placed two staunch armed vessels on those waters, named Growler and Eagle. At the beginning of June they were sent to the foot of the lake to look after some British gun-boats that were depredating there. They ran down the Sorel with a stiff breeze almost to Isle-aux-Noix, when they turned and ran back, chased by British armed vessels and by a land force on each side of the narrow river. A heavy cannon-shot sunk the Eagle, and the Growler was captured with the crews of both vessels. This disaster stimulated Macdonough to greater exertions; and at the beginning of August he had placed on the lake, and fitted and manned, three armed schooners and six gun-boats. At about the same time Plattsburg (on the west side of the lake), entirely uncovered, had been seized, plundered and scorched by a British land and naval force, fourteen hundred strong, under Colonel Murray, while General Hampton, with four thousand troops at Burlington, about twenty miles distant, had made no attempt to oppose the invaders. Such was the condition of affairs on Lake Champlain at the close of the summer of 1813, when Wilkinson took command of the army of the north.

Chauncey, meanwhile, had been busy on Lake Ontario, after leaving the mouth of the Niagara River. While at Niagara he heard of the appearance of a British fleet on the lake and its menace of Sackett's Harbor, when he immediately weighed anchor and sought the enemy. He crossed the lake, looked into York, and ran for Kingston but not meeting with the British fleet, he went to the Harbor, where the embers of the late conflagration were yet smoldering. The unfinished big vessel on the stocks there had been saved, and she was speedily finished and named General Pike. But it was late in the summer before she was fully equipped and marined. The keel of a fast-sailing schooner, called the Sylph, was laid by Eckford at the Harbor, and was launched late in July.

For several weeks the belligerent fleets were moving over the lake without coming to an encounter. Chauncey was seeking an opportunity to measure strength and skill with his antagonist, and Sir James Yeo, the British naval leader, was continually avoiding battle, for his superiors had instructed him to risk nothing." Chauncey had thirteen vessels, a great portion of them altered merchantmen. Sir James had six staunch vessels built expressly for war. Finally, on

the 7th of July, they were in sight of each other. There was a stiff breeze and they maneuvered all day, each trying to obtain the weather-gage. At night there was a dead calm, and Chauncey, by the use of sweeps, gathered his vessels in close order. At midnight, fitful gales swept over the lake. Suddenly a rushing sound was heard at the rear of the American fleet; and it was soon ascertained that a terrific squall had capsized two of the vessels, and all on board had perished except sixteen men. The next day there was light skirmishing; but the summer wore away without bloodshed on the lake, Sir James continually expressing a desire to fight the Yankees."

Finally, on the 18th of September, Chauncey, who had been sent to Niagara to convey troops to Sackett's Harbor, went out to attack the British fleet which had followed him. He compelled the baronet to fight or cease boasting. A sharp battle ensued between the Pike and the heavier vessels of the enemy, but it did not last long. When the smoke of the conflict was cleared away, it was found that the Wolfe, Sir James Yeo's flag-ship, was too much bruised to fight any longer, and was hurrying away before the wind, with crowded canvas, covered in her retreat by the Royal George. The enemy fled westward to Burlington Bay, pursued by Chauncey, but a rising gale made it prudent for the latter to return to Niagara. The British vessels soon made their way to Kingston and Chauncey, returning to the Harbor, did little more during the remainder of the season than to watch the enemy and to assist the army in its descent of the St. Lawrence.

It had been determined by Armstrong and Wilkinson, in council at Sackett's Harbor, that the latter should lead an expedition down the St. Lawrence to attack Montreal. While preparations for this enterprise was in progress, the right wing of the army, under General Hampton, had been put in motion to co-operate with the forces on the St. Lawrence. At the middle of September, Hampton had gathered at Cumberland Head, near Plattsburg, four thousand effective infantry, a squadron of cavalry, and a well-appointed train of artillery. He moved forward, and on the 24th encamped on the Chateaugay River, not far from the present village of Chateaugay in Franklin county, N. Y., where he awaited further orders.

At the middle of October, the troops destined for Montreal embarked at Sackett's Harbor, and at the same time Hampton was ordered to make his way to the St. Lawrence at the mouth of the Chateaugay, to co-operate with them. The flotilla of open boats was terribly smitten by a gale. The vessels were dispersed, and much property was lost. The troops rendezvoused on Grenadier Island, except some under General Brown that pushed forward to French Creek, now Clayton, where, on the afternoon of the 1st of November, they had a sharp fight with British schooners and gun-boats filled with infantry. In the meantime snow had fallen to a considerable depth, and a Canadian winter was near. The troops went forward from Grenadier Island, and the combined force left French Creek at dawn on the morning of the 5th of November, in about three hundred boats. It was clear and cold. The banners were all folded, and the music was silent, for they wished to elude the vigilance of the British, who, until then, did not know whether Kingston or Montreal was the destination of the expedition. But the Americans were discovered and were pursued by a heavy armed galley and gun-boats filled with troops, through the sinuous channels among the Thousand Islands. That evening the belligerents had a fight by moonlight in Alexandria Bay, and land troops from Kingston reached Prescott before Wilkinson arrived at

Ogdensburg. The latter disembarked his army just above that village, and marched around to a point below to avoid the batteries on the Canada shore. In the meantime General Brown had successfully taken the flotilla past the batteries at Prescott, and the forces were reunited at a point four miles below Ogdensburg.

After many perils on land and water, and being closely pursued by the enemy in boats and on the shore, under the general command of Lieutenant-Colonel Morrison, the flotilla lay anchored a few miles above the head of Long Rapids, on the 10th of November. Many of the troops under Generals Boyd and Brown were on the northern shores of the St. Lawrence, and Brown had pushed forward to dislodge the enemy posted at the foot of the Long Rapids to attack the flotilla when it should descend the stream. Brown was successful, and the next day (November 11, 1813) General Boyd pushed forward and met the enemy face to face, in battle array, on the farm of John Chrysler, a few miles below Williamsburg, in Canada. There a severe battle was fought in cold, snow and sleet, which lasted about five hours. Boyd was ably supported by Generals Swartwout and Covington, Colonels Coles, Ripley and Swift, and Adjutant-General Walbach at the head of cavalry. The Americans were driven from the field with a total loss in killed and wounded of three hundred and thirty-nine. Among the mortally wounded was General Covington. Under cover of the night, the American troops withdrew to the boats, and the next morning the flotilla passed the Long Rapids in safety. General Wilkinson was very ill, and word came from General Hampton that he could not form the ordered junction, but would return to Lake Champlain and cooperate in the attack on Montreal. He would not serve under Wilkinson. The officers of the little invading army did not deem it prudent to follow Wilkinson (who was then weak in body and mind) any further in the way of invasion, and a council determined that the troops should be put into winter-quarters at French Mills, on the Salmon River, which was done. So ended in disaster and disgrace the expedition for another invasion of Canada. And the campaign of 1813, in the north, closed with distressing events on the Niagara frontier in December. General McClure, considering Fort George untenable with his little garrison of only forty effective men, resolved to abandon it, cross the river, and leaving Fort Niagara in charge of a subaltern, march to Buffalo. Before leaving, he ordered the beautiful village of Newark, on the Canada side, to be set on fire. One hundred and fifty houses were laid in ashes. Many of the tenants - tender women and children - were turned into the keen winter air (it was the 10th of December) houseless wanderers. This wanton savagism created fiery indignation. The British seized Fort Niagara, and massacred a part of the garrison. Free rein was given to the Indians for plunder and destruction; and every village and hamlet on the New York side of the river between the lake and Buffalo, was despoiled and burnt. Black Rock and Buffalo did not escape. The exasperated enemy took possession of the latter village, containing about fifteen hundred inhabitants, and laid it in ruins. Only four buildings were left. That event occurred a little more than ninety years ago now, on the site of that village, is a stately commercial city with over 341,000 inhabitants.

In the region of the Gulf of Mexico, affairs assumed a serious aspect in the summer of 1813. The ever-restless Tecumtha had been among the southern Indian tribes in the early spring, stirring them up to make war on the white people. The powerful Creeks, inhabiting Alabama and western

Georgia, yielded to his influence and persuasions and at the close of August, a large party of them, led by the noted chief Weatherford, surprised and captured Fort Mims, on the east side of the Alabama River, about ten miles above its junction with the Tombigbee. Flaming arrows set the fort on fire, and by the flames and the gleaming tomahawk, almost three hundred men, women, and children perished. The British agent at Pensacola had offered five dollars apiece for scalps, and many a savage pagan bore away the locks of men and the long tresses of women as marketable commodities in a Christian market.

This event aroused the whole southwest. A cry for help went northward, but it took a month to reach New York. Meanwhile the people of Tennessee flew to the relief of their suffering neighbors. General Andrew Jackson, commanding that region, was then disabled by a wound received in a duel with the late Senator Thomas H. Benton but he issued a stirring appeal to the men of his division. The Tennessee legislature provided for calling to the field over three thousand men, and immediate preparations were made for chastising the savages. Late in September Colonel John Coffee, at the head of five hundred cavalry, pressed on toward the frontier of the Creek country, and everywhere volunteers flocked to his standard. The appointed place of rendezvous for all the troops was at Fayetteville, eighty miles south of Nashville. Jackson arrived early in October, with his arm in a sling. He soon joined Coffee below the Tennessee, and with twenty-five hundred foot soldiers and thirteen hundred mounted men, he was encamped on the banks of the Coosa River at the beginning of November.

The campaign against the savages was opened with vigor. On the 3rd of November, Coffee (who had lately been commissioned brigadier-general) surrounded an Indian force, with nine hundred men, at Tallashatchee (near the present town of Jacksonville, in Benton county, Alabama), and killed two hundred of the savages. Not a warrior escaped. Tallashatchee was wiped from the face of the earth. Hearing of the approach of General Cocke with East Tennesseans, Jackson pushed on to Talladega, east of the Coosa, in Talladega county, to relieve the settlers there. On the 8th of November he had a sanguinary battle with the Indians at Talladega, and defeated them with great slaughter. Among the trophies which he carried back to his camp on the Coosa, was a coarse banner on which were the Spanish arms, an evidence of the complicity of the Spaniards at Pensacola with the savages.

Late in November the Creek country was invaded from the east by Georgians under General John Floyd, nine hundred strong, accompanied by four hundred friendly Indians. Floyd pushed westward to the Tallapoosa River, and fell upon the Indians at Autossee, twenty miles above the confluence of that stream with the Coosa, at dawn on the 29th. The place was called "holy ground," and the prophets had taught the Indians that no white man could set his foot there and live. This fallacy was soon fearfully dispelled by Floyd and his followers. He assailed the warriors there with cannon, bullet, and bayonet. After a brief struggle the affrighted savages fled to the woods, closely pursued by the victors, who cruelly butchered every one they overtook.

In the meantime, General Claiborne had penetrated the Creek country from the west with a thousand men, to aid Jackson in subduing the savages. He fought the Indians who were under the

immediate command of Weatherford, and on the morning of the 23rd of November, he assailed them at Econachaca, another holy" place at a bluff on the left bank of the Alabama River, in Lowndes county. There Tecumtha had left "prophets" to inflame the Creeks, and in the centre of the town white and dusky prisoners had been frightfully tortured at the stake. It was Weatherford's favorite resort, for he had built the village in an obscure place, to which no trail led. But Claiborne found it. Very soon after he closed upon it with three columns, the Indians fled in dismay, and in canoes and by swimming many escaped to the opposite shore. Weatherford, finding himself deserted by his warriors, fled swiftly on a powerful gray horse, hotly pursued, to the verge of a perpendicular bluff, having a ravine on each side. There he paused a moment, when his steed made a mighty leap, and horse and rider disappeared under the flood. They immediately rose, and Weatherford, with his rifle in his hand, was borne by the noble animal to the opposite shore, and escaped.

Jackson's army was literally disbanded at the close of 1813, but he was soon at the head of a thousand raw recruits and some friendly Indians, attended by General Coffee. His forced inactivity for awhile had encouraged the Indians to be aggressive, and he resolved to renew the war with as much vigor as possible. He pushed on with his force toward the Indian village of Emucfau, on the western bank of the Tallapoosa River, in Tallapoosa county. and encamped near there on the evening of the 21st of January. 1814. At daybreak the next morning he was fiercely attacked by the savages, and a very hard struggle ensued. The courage of the Creeks was astonishing, and though they were repulsed, Jackson thought it prudent to withdraw and return to Fort Strother, from which he had marched.

During the winter there was skirmishing in the Creek country and early in February, Jackson was gratified by news that two thousand East Tennesseans were near Lookout Mountain, coming to join him. The Choctaw Indians openly espoused the cause of the Americans, and at the beginning of March, he was at the head of about five thousand men, prepared to strike the savages a crushing blow. The Creeks, aware of this, gathered in large numbers at the Horse-shoe Bend of the Tallapoosa, to avert it. They called the place Tohopeka, and by the aid of white men at Pensacola, they had built a very strong breastwork of logs across the neck of the peninsula. The Indians had gathered there an ample supply of food, and with their women and children, numbering in all about twelve hundred persons, they determined to defend themselves to the last extremity.

Jackson moved upon Tohopeka with about two thousand soldiers, and on the 27th of March (1814) began an assault upon the stronghold, after planting small cannon on an eminence not far off. The Indians were in a fortified pen and were hopeful. The white men could make but very little impression upon their works, and were derided by the savages. Jackson called for volunteers to storm them. The first man who stepped out was Ensign Houston (afterward the eminent Sam Houston, governor of Texas), who was already wounded. Others followed. They set fire to the fortifications, and as the inmates tried to escape, they were shot down like wild beasts. Not one would surrender, and they were butchered without mercy. At the close of the conflict, almost six hundred Creek warriors lay dead, and the spoils of victory were more than three hundred Indian

widows and orphans. The nation had received a deadly blow. Its power and spirit were broken forever. The chiefs of the remnant sued for peace, and agreed to a treaty upon the terms imposed by Jackson. Weatherford, their great leader, survived the destruction of his nation, and he sought the tent of Jackson. There he found the general alone. Standing erect, his magnificent figure assuming an attitude of quiet dignity, Weatherford folded his arms and with a firm voice said I am in your power; do with me what you please. I have done the white people all the harm I could. I have fought them, and fought them bravely. My warriors are all gone now, and I can do no more. When there was a chance for success, I never asked for peace. There is none now, and I ask it for the remnant of my nation." Jackson admired the pluck of the chieftain before him, and granted his request. So it has been time after time since the advent of the Europeans in America the hands of the stronger have been laid upon the weaker until now nothing but remnants of once powerful nations are found.

There were important naval events on the ocean during the year 1813. We have observed that the Essex, Captain Porter, sailed on a long cruise, in the autumn of 1812. Having missed Bainbridge, Porter went southward, crossed the Equator on the 11th of December, 1812, and the next day captured his first prize, the British packet-ship Nocton, 10, with \$55,000 in specie on board. He sailed around Cape Horn into the Pacific Ocean, with the intention of capturing the English whalers there, and to live on the enemy. While in those waters Porter seized twelve British whale-ships, with an aggregate of three hundred and two men and one hundred and seven guns. Some of them he armed, and at one time he had a fleet of nine vessels. The Essex finally met with disaster in the harbor of Valparaiso, in the spring of 1813. There she was blockaded, with her consort Essex, Fr. (a prize vessel which Porter had manned with sixty choice men and armed with twenty cannon), by two British war-vessels - the frigate Phoebe, 36, Captain Hillyer, and the schooner Cherub, 20, Captain Tucker. At length Porter resolved to run the blockade. The sails of his vessels were spread for the purpose on the 28th of March, 1814, and both ships started for the open sea, when a squall partly disabled the Essex and both sought shelter in a bay. There they were attacked by the Phoebe and Cherub, and one of the most desperate and sanguinary battles of the war ensued. When at last the Essex was a helpless wreck and on fire, and her magazine was threatened - when every officer but one was slain or disabled - when, of the two hundred and twenty-five brave men who went into the fight on board of her, only seventy-five effective ones remained, Porter hauled down his flag. So ended the brilliant cruise of the Essex. Her gallant commander wrote to the Secretary of War: "We have been unfortunate, but not disgraced." Porter was publicly honored as the "hero of the Pacific."

When, after the capture of the Java, Bainbridge sailed for the United States, he left the sloop-of-war Hornet, commander James Lawrence, to blockade an English vessel in a South American port. The Hornet was driven away by a larger British vessel, and on the 24th of February, 1813, fell in with the British brig Peacock, 18, Captain Peake, off the mouth of the Demarara River. They fought desperately fifteen minutes, when the colors of the Peacock were hauled down, and a signal of distress was run up. Her commander was slain, and she was sinking. So rapidly did she fill, that before all the wounded could be taken from her, she went to the bottom of the sea, taking down with her nine British seamen and three Americans. Lawrence

immediately sailed for the United States and the story of the exploit of the Hornet created a profound sensation. A Halifax newspaper said, "It will not do for our vessels to fight them single-handed. The Americans are a dead nip." Public honors were awarded to Lawrence, and Congress gave him thanks and a gold medal. To each of the commissioned officers of the Hornet they gave a silver medal. More precious than all was a public letter of thanks given to Lawrence by the officers of the Peacock, his prisoners, for his kind and generous treatment of them.

While the Hornet was on her homeward-bound voyage, with her large number of prisoners, the Chesapeake, 38, Captain Evans, was out on a long cruise to the Cape de Verd Islands and the coasts of South America. She accomplished nothing, excepting the capture of four British merchant vessels; and as she entered Boston harbor in a gale, her top-mast was carried away, and with it several men who were aloft. These were drowned. She had the name of an "unlucky" ship. Evans was compelled to leave her on account of the loss of the sight of one of his eyes, and Lawrence, who had been promoted to captain, was put in command of her, with the Hornet, Captain Biddle, as consort.

At the close of May, the British frigate Shannon, 38 (she carried fifty-two guns), Captain Broke, appeared off Boston harbor in the attitude of a challenger. Lawrence observed her, and on the morning of the 1st of June he sent out a pilot-boat to ascertain whether she was alone. Shortly afterward Captain Broke sent in a polite note to Lawrence inviting him to come out to single combat, and assuring him that the Chesapeake would be crushed by a British squadron, if she should attempt to go to sea.

Seeing that the Shannon was without a consort, Lawrence, with Lieutenant Ludlow as his second in command, sailed out of Boston harbor to meet the boaster, at midday on the 1st of June. They engaged in a close conflict between five and six o'clock the same evening. After fighting twelve minutes, the shot of the Shannon so injured the spars and rigging of the Chesapeake, that she became unmanageable. Her mizzen rigging was entangled in the fore chains of her antagonist, in which position the decks of the Chesapeake were swept with terrible effect by the balls of the Shannon. Lawrence ordered his boarders to be called up. There was some delay in obedience, when a musket-ball mortally wounded the gallant young commander, and he was carried below. As he left the deck he said Tell the men to fire faster and not to give up the ship. Fight her till she sinks." The words of the dying hero, Don't give up the ship became a battle cry of the Americans. As an encouragement to any person struggling in life's battles, R. M. Charlton, referring to this incident, wrote in a short poem:

"Though danger spreads her ready snare
Your erring steps to trip, Remember that dead hero's
prayer,
And don't give up the ship."

Broke's boarders soon swarmed upon the deck of the Chesapeake, where the highest officer, not hurt, was a midshipman. A fierce hand-to-hand fight ensued, in which Lieutenant Ludlow, before wounded, was mortally hurt by a sabre cut. Victory remained with the Shannon, after a most sanguinary battle, in which the Americans lost, in killed and wounded, one hundred and

forty-six men, and the British eighty-four. Broke immediately sailed for Halifax with his prize, and the day before his arrival (June 7, 1813), Lawrence expired. The victory was hailed with great joy by the inhabitants. England rang with shouts of exultation. An American writer remarked, "Never did any victory - not even that of Wellington in Spain, nor those of Nelson - call forth such expression of joy on the part of the British a proof that our naval character had risen somewhat in their estimation."

The loss of the Chesapeake was soon followed by another disaster. The American brig Argus, 32, Captain Allen, had borne to France William H. Crawford, United States minister to that government. Then she cruised in British waters, and by celerity of movement and destructive energy, she spread consternation throughout commercial England. In less than thirty days she destroyed or captured twenty British merchantmen with their cargoes, valued at two million dollars. Too far away from home to send in his prizes, Allen burnt them all, after generous treatment of their people. Several British cruisers were sent out to capture the Argus. Just before the dawn of the 14th of August (1813), the British sloop-of-war Pelican, 18, Captain Maples, attacked her. The men of the Argus were weakened by the too free use of captured wine the night before, and after a conflict of three-quarters of an hour, she was compelled to strike her colors. In the action, a round-shot had carried away a leg of the brave Allen, and he died the next day. The capture of the Argus gave great relief to the British shipping interest, at that time, for she had appeared to be invincible.

Soon afterward an American naval vessel won honor by a victory near the New England coast. The brig Enterprise, 14, Lieutenant Burrows, sailed out of the harbor of Portland, Maine, on the morning of the 4th of September, in search of British cruisers. The next day she encountered the British brig Boxer, 14, Captain Blythe. Both leaders were mortally wounded at the beginning of the conflict, and Lieutenant McCall commanded the Enterprise during the battle of four minutes, when the Boxer was surrendered. The bodies of the two young commanders were buried side by side, in a cemetery near the water's edge, at Portland, and their graves are marked by marble slabs suitably inscribed, lying upon brick foundations. Congress presented a gold medal to the nearest masculine relative of Lieutenant Burrows, and another was given to Lieutenant McCall.

Chapter XCVIII

Marauding Warfare - Plunder and Destruction of Towns - Cockburn at Havre-de-Grace - Norfolk Threatened - The British Repulsed - Cruelties at Hampton - Departure of the Marauders - Cruise of Commodore Rogers - Fall of Napoleon - Peace Faction - Financial Difficulties - Conspiracy Against the Public Credit - Disposition of Troops on the Northern Frontiers - La Colle Mills - Attack on Oswego - Capture of Fort Erie - Battle of Chippewa.

DURING the spring and summer of 1813, a most distressing warfare was carried on by a small British squadron and some soldiers, under the command of Admiral Cockburn, upon the coast between Delaware Bay and Charleston Harbor. The chief object of the marauding movements appears to have been to draw American troops from the northern frontier to the defence of the seaboard, and thus lessen the danger from invasion by which Canada was continually threatened. It was a sort of amphibious warfare, carried on upon land or water as circumstances seemed to require, and it was marked by many acts of wanton cruelty and barbarity on the part of the aggressors. "Chastise the Americans into submission" was the fiat that went out from the British Cabinet toward the close of 1812, and it was determined to send out a land and naval force sufficient to do it. An order in council in December declared the ports and harbors of the Chesapeake and Delaware bays in a state of blockade. The first hostile squadron entered the capes of Virginia early in February, 1813, commanded by Sir George Cockburn, whose flag-ship was the Marlborough, 74. His vessels bore a land force of about eighteen hundred men, a part of them captive Frenchmen from English prisons, who preferred active life in the British service to indefinite confinement in jails. The appearance of this force alarmed all lower Virginia, and the militia of the peninsula and the region about Norfolk were soon in motion after the squadron had anchored the Hampton Roads. An order went out from the Secretary of the Treasury for the extinguishment of all the beacon-lights on the Chesapeake coast, and at Old Point Comfort a host of armed men defied the invaders. At the same time the frigate Constellation, 38, lying near Norfolk, was making ready to attack the British vessels, when the latter withdrew and engaged in the destruction of merchant-vessels in Chesapeake Bay.

A part of the squadron went into Delaware Bay to demand the submission of the inhabitants along its shores. When the commander sent a note to the first magistrate of the little town of Lewis, demanding bullocks, provender and vegetables, and threatening the destruction of the town in case of refusal, he was astonished by the answer, "We solemnly refuse to omit legal or moral treason do your worst." The inhabitants had prepared for the invaders, and the latter found prudence to be the better part of valor." All along the Delaware coast the militia, forewarned, were out with experienced leaders. Newcastle and Wilmington were alive with enthusiasm. At the latter place the venerable Allen McLane, of the Continental Army, took the direction of military affairs; and for some weeks the thunders of the British squadron were held back. Finally, early in April, cannon of the enemy opened on Lewis, and hurled full eight hundred 'hot and shell upon the town, without doing much damage. The invaders were repulsed by the militia.

Meanwhile Cockburn, who had been plundering and distressing the inhabitants along the

coasts of the Chesapeake Bay, concluded to undertake more ambitious adventures. He thought of attacking Annapolis, Baltimore, and even the national capital but the experience of the squadron in the Delaware caused him to listen to the warnings of prudence, and he only made warfare upon the little villages of Frenchtown, Georgetown, Frederick and Havre-de-Grace, on the banks of the Chesapeake, which he plundered and burned. At the latter place, situated at the mouth of the Susquehanna River, he opened a cannonade in the night, at the beginning of May, while the inhabitants were slumbering, and with his shot and shell he sent blazing Congreve rockets that set buildings on fire. Then he sent four hundred men on shore, who proceeded deliberately to plunder the dwellings and lay them in ashes. When the village was half destroyed, Cockburn went ashore himself and was met by a deputation of ladies, who had taken refuge in a large brick house some distance from the town. They entreated him to spare the remainder of the village, and he reluctantly consented to do so. When the marauders left Havre-de-Grace, the town was at least sixty thousand dollars poorer than when they came.

On the first day of June (1813), Admiral Warren entered the Chesapeake with a naval reinforcement for the marauders, bearing a large number of troops under General Sir Sidney Beckwith. The British naval force then within the capes of Virginia consisted of eight ships-of-the-line, twelve frigates, and a considerable number of smaller vessels. Their proposed first point of attack was Norfolk, then defended by the frigate Constellation, twenty gun-boats and four forts, besides an outpost of strong fortifications on Craney Island, a few miles below Norfolk. The militia of that region were in the field or in garrison, under the chief command of General Robert B. Taylor; and the troops on Craney Island were led by Lieutenant Colonel Beaty. The artillery were under the charge of Major James Faulkner. The armed vessels were placed in a curved line from Craney Island to the eastern shore.

Before the dawn of the 22nd of June (1813) twenty-five hundred British troops were landed on the western shore, not far from Craney Island, and, in the early morning, they crept stealthily through the underbrush of the woods, to attack the Americans. At the same time fifty large barges filled with fifteen hundred sailors and marines, were seen approaching from the ships of the enemy. They were led by Admiral Warren's beautiful barged and made for the narrow strait between Craney Island and the main. Faulkner had his artillery well in hand, and when the enemy were within proper distance, the great guns opened a terrible storm upon them. The invaders were repulsed, and retreated in haste to their ships. Warren's barge, which had a small swivel-gun at the bow, with four others, was sunk in the shallow water, when some American seamen waded out, seized the elegant little vessel and dragged it ashore, taking with them several men as prisoners. The British now abandoned all hope of seizing Norfolk, the Constellation and the navy-yard, and never attempted it afterward.

Exasperated by this repulse, the enemy fell upon the village of Hampton with fury. Early on the morning of the 25th of June, twenty-five hundred soldiers, including the French captives, landed near the village. Major Crutchfield, with a small force, fought the invaders gallantly, until the pressure of a superior number compelled him to retreat, when the British entered the village and Admiral Cockburn gave it up to pillage and rapine. Many of the inhabitants had fled up the

peninsula. Those who were unable to escape became victims of horrid atrocities, especially the unprotected men. A commission appointed to investigate the matter said, in their report, "The sex, hitherto guarded by the soldier's honor, escaped not the assaults of superior force." These transactions have consigned the name of Sir George Cockburn to merited dishonor. The British officers who tried to palliate the offence by charging the crimes upon the Frenchmen, were denounced by the most respectable British writers as responsible for the shame.

Leaving Hampton, Cockburn sailed down the coast of North Carolina, plundering the inhabitants wherever opportunity offered, and carrying away a large number of slaves whom he sold in the West Indies on his private account. In pleasing contrast to Cockburn's career on our coasts, was that of Commodore Sir Thomas Hardy on the ocean borders of New England, while he was in command of a blockading squadron there. His conduct was always that of a highminded gentleman and generous enemy. Even when he was exasperated by the attempts of private individuals to blow up his vessels with torpedoes, his forbearance from retaliation was as generous as it was humane.

We may close the record of contests on sea and land in 1813, by a notice of a remarkable cruise by Commodore Rodgers. He left Boston late in April, in the *President*, accompanied by the *Congress*, 38, and sailed to the northeast in search of British vessels. For weeks he was singularly unsuccessful, not meeting with a vessel of any kind. At length his presence in British waters became known, and produced much excitement among the English shipping. Many cruisers were sent out to capture or destroy the *President* (which had parted company with the *Congress* toward the Azores); and finally, on the 23rd of September, Rodgers fell in with the British armed schooner *Highflyer* the tender to Admiral Warren's flag-ship *San Domingo*, a staunch vessel and fast sailor and commanded by Lieutenant Hutchinson, one of Cockburn's subalterns when he plundered and burned *Havre-de-grace*, the home of Rodgers. By stratagem the latter decoyed the *Highflyer* alongside the *President*, and captured her without firing a gun. He had obtained some British signal-books before leaving Boston, and he had caused some signals to be made on his ship. When he came in sight of the enemy he raised a British ensign, which was responded to, and a signal was also displayed from the masthead of the *Highflyer*. Rodgers was delighted to find he possessed its complement, when he signalled that his vessel was the *Sea-Horse*, one of the largest of the British vessels of its class in American waters. The *Highflyer* bore down, hove to under the stern of the *President* and received one of Rodgers' lieutenants on board, who was dressed in the British naval uniform. He bore order from Rodgers for Hutchinson to send his signal-books on board the *Sea-Horse* to be altered, as the Yankees, it was alleged (and truly), had obtained possession of some of them. Hutchinson obeyed, and Rodgers was put in possession of the whole correspondence of the British navy.

The commander of the *Highflyer* soon followed his signal-books, and putting into Rodgers' hands a bundle of despatches for Admiral Warren, told the commodore that the main object of the British naval chief was to capture or destroy the *President*, which had spread alarm in British waters. "What kind of a man is Rodgers?" asked the commodore, when the unsuspecting lieutenant replied "I have never seen him, but am told he is an odd fish and hard to catch." "Sir!

said Rodgers, with emphasis that startled Hutchinson, "do you know what vessel you are on board of?" The lieutenant answered, "Why, yes sir; his Majesty's ship Sea-Horse." "Then sir," said Rodgers, "you labor under a mistake; you are on board the President, and I am Commodore Rodgers." At that moment the band struck up "Yankee Doodle on the President's quarter-deck, the American ensign was displayed, and uniforms were suddenly changed from red to blue. The lieutenant was astonished and was utterly overwhelmed with shame, for he had in his possession a sword which he had stolen from Rodgers' house at Havre-de-Grace. He had been instructed not to fall into the hands of Commodore Rodgers, for, it was alleged, he would hang the lieutenant to the yard-arm, if he should catch him. But Rodgers treated Hutchinson with all the courtesy due to a prisoner-of-war, and soon afterward he released him on parole. This transaction occurred off the New England coast, and three days afterward, Rodgers entered Newport with his prize. He had captured eleven merchant-vessels and nearly three hundred prisoners. In December, Rodgers sailed on another cruise to the southward, with some success and varying fortunes, and in February (1814) he dashed through a British blockading squadron off Sandy Hook and sailed into New York harbor. In that city he was entertained at a public dinner, at which he gave the following patriotic toast: "Peace - if it can be obtained without the sacrifice of national honor or the abandonment of maritime rights other-wise war until peace shall be secured without the sacrifice of either."

With the close of the year 1813, the British government evinced a disposition to prosecute the war in America with greater vigor. Their vessels-of-war swarmed in American waters and kept the seaport towns in such continual alarm, that all projects for conquering Canada by the Americans were kept in abeyance for awhile, though the invasion of that province continued to be a favorite scheme of the administration. Early in 1814 the victorious career of Napoleon was checked by the allied powers of Europe. Nearly every continental government coalesced with England in efforts to crush him and to sustain the sinking Bourbon dynasty. The armies allied in a common cause, approaching from different directions, met around Paris at the close of March, 1814, and the Prussian and Russian emperors entered the French capital in triumph. Napoleon had surrendered, for he had been closely pursued by superior armies, deserted by friends, and possessed only shattered forces. Hoping to secure the crown to his son, he abdicated the throne and retired to the island of Elba, where he was allowed to reign as sovereign, with an annual income of twelve hundred thousand dollars. Peace for Europe seemed to be secured thereby. British troops were with-drawn from the continent, and early in the summer of 1814, fourteen thousand of Wellington's veterans, fresh from the fields of the Peninsula, were sent to Canada to operate against the United States.

It was fortunate for the Americans that hitherto since war against England had been proclaimed, hostile armies were fiercely contending in Europe. Had peace reigned on that continent when our war first began, Great Britain might have crushed the Americans by the mere weight of military and naval numbers and metal. The Americans were excessively weak when they began the war, for political partisanship divided the nation. They were physically unprepared for any excessive strain but as the contest went on and the people beheld clearly that not party but justice was the object for which the armies and navies of the United States were contending, there

was more unity and consequently more moral strength. At the beginning of 1814 there were very few opponents of the war outside of the unpatriotic Peace Faction and their influence. This faction was found in much the greatest numbers in New England, where they had been very active, during 1813, in efforts to embarrass the government in carrying on the war. They upheld violators of the law and defied every principle of patriotic action by nefarious acts, until the great body of the people of New England so emphatically condemned their course that they became less and less conspicuous.

Among the mischievous enemies of the government were selfish men who secretly supplied the British blockading squadrons from our shores, and received British manufactures in pretended neutral vessels, by the sale of which enormous profits were realized. This system of public mischief had become so deplorable in its consequences, that late in 1813 the President recommended the passage of an Embargo act, shutting up American ports to ingress and egress. It was done but almost simultaneously with the passage of the act came news of Napoleon's reverses and prospects of peace in Europe. This intelligence was soon followed by the assurance of the British government of a willingness on its part to treat for peace with the Americans; but in these assurances, there was no disposition shown on the part of that government to recede one iota from its assumption of the right of search and impressment. The language of Lord Castlereagh was that his government was willing to treat with that of the United States "upon principles of perfect reciprocity not inconsistent with the established maxims of public law [the Rule of 1756] and with the maritime rights of the British Empire." Our government, sincerely anxious for peace: interpreted this generously, and added to the commission sent abroad to treat for Russian mediation, two other members authorized to join the others and negotiate a treaty with commissioners of the British government. There were now loud clamors for a repeal of the Embargo act, and it was repealed in April, 1814.

Meanwhile as these preliminary movements did not, by any means, give full assurance of peace, our government prepared to prosecute the war as vigorously as possible, notwithstanding the finances were in a wretched condition, and the public credit was so weak that United States Treasury notes had fallen seventeen per cent below par. From the beginning the government was compelled to ask for loans, and the Peace Faction made such persistent opposition for the purpose of embarrassing the administration, that in every case a bonus had to be paid for all sums borrowed. On a loan of \$16,000,000, authorized at the beginning of 1813, the lenders received a bonus of about \$2,000,000. In March, 1814, the darkest period of the war, a loan of \$25,000,000 was authorized, when the Peace Faction at public meetings, through the newspapers and even from the pulpit, cast every possible embarrassment in the way of the government. Their opposition assumed the character of virtual treason. They violently denounced the government and those who dared to lend it money; and by inflammatory publications and personal threats, they intimidated many capitalists who were disposed to lend. The result was that not one-half of the amount of the proposed loan was obtained, and that only by the payment on \$11,400,000 of a bonus of \$2,852,000. Over the failure of the government these unpatriotic men rejoiced, and pointed to it as an evidence that the people were opposed to war. So disastrous was this attempt to loan money, that only one more of a like nature was made through the remainder of the war,

the deficiency being made up by the issue of Treasury notes.

Failing to accomplish their object in full by this movement (for banks and patriotic men loaned money to the government), the Peace Faction struck another blow at the public credit, and obtained the aid of the Boston banks in giving it intensity. The banks out of New England were the principal lenders to the government, and measures were taken to drain them of their specie, and so produce an utter inability on their part to pay their subscriptions. Boston banks sent the notes of New York banks and those further south, which they held, with a demand for their redemption in specie, and at the same time drafts were drawn on the New York banks for the balances due the Boston corporations to the total amount of about \$8,000,000. A panic was created and great commercial embarrassment ensued, for banks so drained were compelled to contract their discounts. This conspiracy against the public credit was potent and ruinous in its effects. To make the blow more intensely fatal, the conspirators made arrangements with agents of the government authorities of Lower Canada, whereby a very large amount of British government bills, drawn on Quebec, were transmitted to New York, Philadelphia and Baltimore, and offered on such advantageous terms that capitalists were induced to purchase them. By this means an immense amount of gold was transmitted to Canada, and so placed beyond the reach of the government of the United States and put into the hands of the enemy. Had the conspirators fully succeeded the national armies must have been disbanded, and our country might have been reduced to a dependency of Great Britain.

As we have observed, the favorite project of the administration continued to be the invasion and capture of Canada. For this purpose and for defence against invasion, the greater portion of the national troops were kept on the northern frontiers. The main British army in Canada, to defend it from invasion or to make aggressive movements as circumstances might dictate, was placed under the chief command of Lieutenant-General Drummond late in 1813, and he was stationed on the Niagara frontier. The command of the American army on that frontier was given to General Jacob Brown. General Wilkinson, who, with his troops, went down the St. Lawrence and into winter-quarters at French Mills late in the preceding year, remained there until near the close of February, 1814, when he broke up his encampment and marched with a part of the troops to Plattsburg on Lake Champlain. At the same time, General Brown with two thousand men, proceeded to Sackett's Harbor, preparatory to his departure for the Niagara River. Late in March, Wilkinson erected a battery at Rouse's Point, at the foot of Lake Champlain and on the border of Canada.

Wilkinson was informed that a considerable British force was about to be gathered at La Colle Mills, three or four miles below Rouse's Point. As he was preparing for a march on Montreal, he pressed forward toward La Colle with about four thousand men, on the 30th of March, to meet the approaching foe. He found there a stone mill, with heavy walls, strongly garrisoned with British regulars under Major Hancock, and learned that reinforcements were on the way. Wilkinson attempted to dislodge them before the arrival of the reinforcements, but did not succeed and after a sharp engagement for about two hours, the Americans withdrew. The disastrous results of this affair (a loss of sixty-three men) brought Wilkinson into disrepute; and

with this event his military career was ended. He was tried by a court-martial and acquitted, but he left the army. In the meantime the command of his troops had been given to General Izard.

During the winter and spring, the belligerents had been preparing to make a struggle for the mastery of Lake Ontario and when the ice in Kingston harbor permitted vessels to leave it, Sir James Yeo went out upon the lake with a small British squadron and a force of about three thousand land troops and marines. On the 5th of May (1814) he appeared off Oswego, which was defended by a fort on a bluff on the east side of the harbor, with a garrison of only about three hundred men under Colonel Mitchell, and a small flotilla commanded by Captain Woolsey. Chauncey was then not quite ready to leave Sackett's Harbor. The object of the British was the seizure of a large quantity of provisions and naval stores at the Falls of the Oswego River, now the village of Fulton. They effected a landing, and after a sharp fight with the little garrison in the open field, the latter retired and the enemy took possession of the fort. The experience in that contest made the invaders cautious, and they did not venture to penetrate the country in quest of the coveted prize, but withdrew early on the morning of the 7th, bearing away with them as captives several citizens to whom they had promised protection.

On the first of July, General Brown was on the eastern bank of the Niagara River, at Buffalo, with a force competent, he thought, to carry out the orders of his government to invade Canada. His two brigades of infantry were commanded, respectively, by Generals Scott and Ripley; his artillery by Captains Towson and Hindman, and his small squadron of cavalry was led by Captain S. D. Harris. These were all regulars, and well equipped and disciplined. He had also a brigade of miscellaneous troops composed of New York and Pennsylvania volunteers, and between five and six hundred Indian warriors, embracing nearly the whole military force of the Six Nations remaining in the United States. The volunteers and Indians were commanded by General Peter B. Porter.

The first aggressive movement of the Americans was on the 3rd of July, when Generals Scott and Ripley crossed the Niagara River to attack Fort Erie, situated on the Canada shore at the foot of Lake Erie, opposite Buffalo. It was the chief impediment in the way of an invasion of Canada in that quarter. But that impediment was soon removed by its capture. Scott crossed the river with several regiments and a corps of artillery, before the dawn of the 3rd, and was followed by General Brown and his staff. At a later hour General Ripley crossed with some regiments, and the whole force invested the fort. Then Brown demanded its surrender, and at six o'clock the same evening, the American flag waved over it, and the garrison had been sent over the river prisoners-of-war.

Prompt measures were taken to secure the advantages gained by this Victory; for it was known that General Riall, who was then the chief commander on that frontier and an able officer, was moving toward Fort Erie. Early that morning, on hearing of the peril that impended over the fort, he had sent forward some of the Royal Scots to reinforce the garrison. At Chippewa they heard of the capture of the fort, when Riall determined to make an immediate attack on the Americans; but hearing that reinforcements from York were near, he postponed the attack until

next morning. To meet this force, General Brown sent forward General Scott, with his brigade, accompanied by Townsen's artillery, on the morning of the 4th of July. Ripley was ordered in the same direction with his brigade, but it was late in the afternoon before he was prepared to move. Scott went down the Canada side of the Niagara to a place a little more than a mile from Chippewa, driving back a British advanced detachment. The main portion of Brown's army reached Scott's encampment that night, and on the morning of the 5th the two belligerent armies were not more than two miles apart.

At noon on the 5th, Scott was joined by General Porter with his volunteers and Indians, and the British had also been reinforced. For some time the two armies felt of each other, when preliminary skirmishing was begun by General Porter with marked success. The Indians behaved gallantly on that occasion. Toward evening, Riall advanced with his whole force, and a desperate battle ensued between Street's Creek and Chippewa, in full view of the Niagara River. Finally a flank movement was made by Major McNeil with Campbell's regiment, and a terrific fire from a corps under Major Jesup, in the centre, made the British line give way. It broke and fled in haste toward the entrenchments below Chippewa Creek. The fugitives tore up the bridge over the creek that was behind them, leaving an impassable chasm between themselves and the Americans. The battle-field (opposite the foot of Navy Island) was strewn with the dead and the dying. The Americans lost, in killed, wounded and missing, three hundred and fifty-five men. The British had lost by the same casualties, six hundred and four men, of whom two hundred and thirty-six were killed.

The horrors of that battle-field, on that hot July evening, were mitigated by a gentle shower of rain that came like a descending angel of mercy at the close of the conflict. Many a feverish lip was moistened by it, and many a throbbing temple was cooled. All night long the wounded of both armies were tenderly cared for, and the dead were speedily buried in shallow graves. Scott was eager to pursue, but was compelled to await the tardy movements of Ripley, who did not arrive in time to participate in the action and to join in a pursuit.

There was joy in the camp of the Americans that night, for they had gained a decisive and important victory - more important in its immediate results, perhaps, than any which had preceded it. The Indian allies of the British were disheartened. Their disaffection, begun at the Thames, was now complete. Nearly all the savages who had terrified the frontiers wherever there were military operations, now left the British army and returned to their homes. The Victory also greatly inspirited the Americans, and recruiting became so active that almost any number of men might have been added to the army. It also gained for our American soldiers more of the genuine respect of the enemy than they had ever received and it subdued the clamors of the mischievous Peace Faction.

Chapter XCIX

Effects of the Battle of Chippewa - Movements of the Two Armies - Battle of Niagara Falls - Attack on fort Erie - A Successful Sortie - The Americans Abandon Canada - Navies on Lake Champlain - Invasion of Northern New York - Battles on Land and Water at Plattsburg - Events on Lake Ontario - Expedition Against Mackinaw - McArthur's Raid - The New England Coasts Blockaded - Boston and New York Fortified by the People - British Repulsed at Stonington - Their doings on the Penobscot.

UNTIL after the battle of Chippewa, English writers had indulged in sneers when alluding to our soldiers; and one of the most popular of the light theatrical performances in London was one in which the characters representing our military leaders were promoted tailors, shoemakers, etc. After that battle, in which an inferior number of Americans had won a decisive victory over British troops, the tone of British writers was changed. The important fact is," wrote an English author, "that we have now got an enemy who fights as bravely as ourselves. For some time the Americans cut no figure on land. They have now proved to us that they only wanted time to acquire a little discipline. They have now proved to us what they are made of; that they are the same sort of men as those who captured whole armies under Burgoyne and Cornwallis; that they are neither to be frightened nor silenced."

General Brown was impatient to pursue the discomfited army, for he expected Chauncey, with a squadron at the mouth of the Niagara River, to cooperate with him. Much of the next and following days was spent in burying the dead and caring for the wounded; but before the morning of the 8th, a part of Brown's army had crossed the Chippewa in boats. Riall fled down the Niagara River to Queenstown, put some of his troops into Forts George and Mississauga, and established his head-quarters near the lake twenty miles westward. Drummond was mortified by this discomfiture of his veteran troops by what he deemed to be raw Americans, and he resolved to wipe out the stain. He drew most of the troops from York and Burlington Bay, Kingston and Prescott, with a determination to renew the conflict and drive the Americans out of Canada. With a force about one-third greater than that of Brown, he soon advanced to meet the invaders.

Meanwhile Brown, with his whole army, had pushed on to Queenstown and threatened Fort George. There he anxiously waited many days for the arrival of Chauncey's fleet, when, on the 22nd of July, he received word that the commander was sick at Sackett's Harbor and his squadron was blockaded there. Abandoning all hope of co-operation from the navy, he ordered the army to fall back to the battle-ground of Chippewa, when their future movements would be governed by circumstances. They did not rest long, for on the 24th the alarming intelligence reached General Brown that Drummond had landed on the eastern shore of the Niagara River below Queenstown with a thousand troops, many of them Wellington's veterans that a considerable British force occupied Queenstown, and that Riall had joined Drummond with his shattered regiments and a body of loyal Canadians.

Drummond had landed at Lewiston, opposite Queenstown, and Brown suspected his intention

to be to seize the American stores at Schlosser. Impressed with this idea, he ordered Scott to march rapidly, with a part of the army, and menace the forts at the mouth of the Niagara River. Toward evening, Scott pushed on with his brigade, Towson's artillery and some mounted men, and saw some British officers leave a house at the verge of the great fall, leap into their saddles and ride rapidly away. Scott, believing only a remnant of the British army were near, dashed into the woods to disperse them, when he found Riall there with a larger force than he had at Chippewa. The peril of the American detachment was extreme. To stand still would be fatal to retreat would be very hazardous, for it might create a panic in the main army and demoralize the whole. So Scott instantly resolved to fight the overwhelming force and at sunset a desperate battle was begun, which ended at near midnight.

The British line which Scott encountered was eighteen hundred strong, posted in a slightly crescent form upon an eminence over which Lundy's Lane passed, and on which they had planted a battery. The quick eye of Scott soon discerned a blank between the enemy's left and the river; and he ordered Major Jesup, with his command, to crawl cautiously in the evening twilight through the underbrush that covered the space and turn the British left flank. Jesup obeyed, and was successful. He gained the British rear, and kept back reinforcements sent by Drummond. Meanwhile Scott was hotly engaged with Riall; and General Brown, when apprised of the situation by the booming of great guns and by messengers from the front, had pressed on with his whole army to the conflict. He perceived the key of the enemy's position to be their battery on the hill. Turning to Colonel James Miller of the Twenty-seventh, General Brown asked: "Can you storm that work and take it?" Miller instantly replied, "I'll try." With three hundred men he moved stealthily up the hill in the darkness, along a fence shrouded in luxuriant bushes that hid them from the view of the gunners and their protectors who lay near. When within short musket-range of the battery, they could see the gunners, with their glowing lint-stocks, ready to act at the word fire. Selecting good marksmen, Miller directed each to rest his rifle on the fence, select a gunner, and fire at a given signal. They did so. The gunners fell, and Miller and his men rushed forward and captured the battery before the troops, stationed for its protection, could resist.

Miller's gallant exploit secured a victory, not, however, until a terrible hand-to-hand fight had ensued. The British finally fell back. They attempted to retake the battery of some splendid brass cannon, but failed, even after being reinforced by fifteen hundred men sent forward by Drummond from Queenstown. Meanwhile General Scott had been fighting desperately, but successfully, and was severely wounded by a musket-ball in his shoulder. General Brown was also severely wounded, and the command devolved on General Ripley. The British were repulsed and the Americans fell back to Chippewa, with orders from General Brown to return after brief rest, before the dawn, and occupy the battle-field. The always tardy and disobedient Ripley failed to obey the order, and the enemy returned and took possession of the field and also of their battery, excepting one piece of artillery. This conflict is known in history as the battle of Niagara Falls, for it was fought within the sound of the sullen roar of the great cataract. It has also been called the battle of Bridgewater and the battle of Lundy's Lane. It was fought by about four thousand five hundred British troops, and two thousand six hundred Americans. The Americans lost, in killed,

wounded and missing, nearly one- third of their whole number; the British lost about eight hundred and seventy-eight, or twenty-six more than the Americans. Both parties claimed the victory.

General Ripley, whose tardiness deprived the Americans of the advantages of a glorious victory they had won, led the army to Fort Erie, where he was soon superseded in command by General Gaines. Drummond, who had been wounded, pushed forward as soon as he was able, and on the 4th of August, began a siege of Fort Erie with about five thousand men. From the 7th to the 14th of that month there was an almost incessant cannonade between the besiegers and the besieged. On the evening of the 14th, just at twilight, a shell from a British mortar came screaming into the American camp, lodged in a nearly empty powder magazine and blew it up. Drummond, supposing he had fired one of the principal magazines, and believing the camp and garrison to be in great confusion, determined to assail the fort in full force. Before the dawn of the 15th, fifteen hundred of the enemy furiously attacked the American lines, and after desperate fighting they gained a bastion of the fort. At all other points they were repulsed. To this stronghold the enemy held with tenacity, until the bastion was blown up with a terrific explosion. A jet of flame mingled with fragments of earth and timber, stones and the bodies of men, rose to the height of more than a hundred feet, and spread a shower of ruins to a great distance. Soon afterward the British broke and fled, and victory remained with the Americans.

For a month after this affair, both parties prepared to renew the struggle for the possession of Fort Erie. General Brown had recovered, and was in command of his army again. The fort was closely invested by the British but Drummond's force, lying upon low ground, was greatly weakened by typhoid fever. Hearing of this, Brown determined to make a sortie from the fort. He did so on the 17th of September, and after a severe engagement (in which General Porter was the chief actor, and James Miller, then promoted to brigadier-general, bore a conspicuous part), the British advance works were captured and destroyed. Fort Erie was saved, and the enemy were driven back to Chippewa with a loss of about nine hundred men in killed, wounded, and prisoners. "Thus," General Brown wrote to the Secretary of War, one thousand regulars, and an equal proportion of militia, in one hour of close action, blasted the hopes of the enemy, destroyed the fruits of fifty days' labor, and diminished his effective force one thousand men at least." So sudden and precipitate was Drummond's flight, that he abandoned some of his stores in front of Fort Erie and destroyed others on the line of his retreat. This victory, following so closely on that at Chippewa and Niagara Falls, and occurring a few days after another won at Plattsburg on Lake Champlain by the Americans, and the expulsion of the British from Baltimore, diffused unusual joy throughout the country, and dispelled, in a measure, the gloom which had recently overspread the whole land because of the capture of the national capital by the enemy. General Brown was highly honored by Congress and the people. The former gave him thanks and a gold medal and Scott, Ripley, Porter and Gaines received the same reward for their services during that campaign.

General George Izard, the successor of Wilkinson and Hampton in command of the army in Northern New York, who had led about five thousand troops first to Sackett's Harbor and then to the Niagara frontier, arrived at the latter in October, and, ranking Brown, took the chief

command. The combined forces, regulars, militia and volunteers, numbered about eight thousand men. With these Izard was preparing to march against Drummond, when the latter prudently withdrew his troops to Fort George and Burlington Heights. Perceiving that further offensive operations on the Canadian peninsula would be imprudent, perhaps perilous, Izard blew up fort Erie on the 5th of November, and it has lain in ruins ever since. He abandoned Canada, and the troops were wintered at several points in the State of New York.

When General Izard marched from Plattsburg for Sackett's Harbor in August, he left his troops that remained on the borders of Lake Champlain (nearly fifteen hundred in number) under the command of General Alexander Macomb. During the spring and summer, both parties had been busy in the preparation of war-vessels on that lake, and the command of the American squadron was held by Captain Thomas Macdonough. Many of Wellington's troops, as we have observed, had arrived in Canada. There were about fifteen thousand of them at Montreal at the close of August, and Sir George Prevost, governor of Canada and general-in-chief, proceeded to invade New York. A requisition had been made by Izard for militia and light dragoons and Macomb found himself in command of about three thousand five hundred troops at the beginning of September. These he conducted to Plattsburg, in anticipation of the threatened invasion.

Prevost advanced at the head of about fourteen thousand troops, to a point eight miles from Plattsburg; and at the same time the British squadron, under Captain Pringle, moved out of the Sorel into Lake Champlain. Prevost announced his intention to seize and hold Northern New York as far down as Ticonderoga, and lie called upon the inhabitants to cast off their allegiance and furnish him with supplies. Meanwhile Macomb bent all his energies in preparation for a defence of the menaced region. He had completed redoubts and block-houses at Plattsburg, to prevent the invaders crossing the Saranac River. General Benjamin Mooers, in command of the militia, had been very active at the same time; and when Prevost advanced, he was at the head of about five thousand men.

On the morning of the 6th of September, the British moved upon Plattsburg in two columns. One column had a severe skirmish near Beekmantown, with regulars and militia under Captain Wool. The latter were compelled to fall back to Plattsburg and other detachments sent out by Macomb were forced back by an overwhelming number of the enemy. The Americans retired to the south side of the Saranac, tearing up the bridges behind them and using the timbers for breastworks. The British tried to force their way across the stream, when they were repulsed by a small company of volunteers in a stone mill near the site of the lower bridge, who poured sharp volleys of musketry upon them. Prevost saw that his invasion was not to be a pleasant holiday affair, and he employed the time from the 7th until the 11th in bringing up his batteries and supply trains and constructing works to command those of the Americans on the south side of the Saranac. Meanwhile the British naval force, under Commodore Downie, had approached Cumberland Head. The flag-ship was the frigate *Confiance*, 38, which was assisted by one brig, two sloops, and twelve gun-boats. Macdonough's squadron lay in Plattsburg Bay. His flag-ship was the *Saratoga*, 26, which was assisted by one brig, two schooners, and ten gun-boats of galleys.

On the morning of the 11th, the British came round Cumberland Head with a fair wind, and at the same time the land forces of the enemy were moving for a combined attack upon the Americans on land and water. The battle was opened by the navy. Macdonough (then thirty-one years of age) had skillfully prepared his forces to meet the enemy. When his vessels were cleared for action, he knelt upon the deck of the *Saratoga*, near one of her heaviest guns, and with his chief officers around him, implored the aid of the Almighty. Very soon afterward the thunders of cannon boomed over the lake, and a sharp naval conflict was begun. At the outset, a shot from a British vessel demolished a hen-coop on board the *Saratoga*, when a young game-cock, which the sailors had brought from the shore, released from confinement and startled by the sound of the great guns, flew up on a gun-slide, and, flapping its wings, crowed lustily and defiantly. The incident was regarded by the sailors as ominous of victory, and thereby their courage was strengthened. In a rhyming Epistle of Brother Jonathan to Johnny Bull, written at the close of the war, is the following allusion to this event:

"O, Johnny Bull, my Joe, John, Behold on Lake Champlain, With more than equal force, John, You tried your fist again; But the cock saw how 'twas going, And cried cock-a-doodle-doo And Macdonough was victorious O, Johnny Bull, my Joe."

This naval battle lasted two hours and twenty minutes, and ended with victory for the Americans. The vessels were dreadfully shattered. There was not a mast in either squadron," Macdonough wrote, "that could stand to make a sail on." Our masts, yards and sails, were so shattered," wrote one of the officers of the *Confiance*, "that one looked like so many bundles of matches, and the other like so many bundles of rags." The sight of the conflict was sublime, and it was witnessed by hundreds of spectators on the headlands of the Vermont shore. The loss of the Americans was one hundred and ten that of the British was over two hundred. Among the British slain was Commodore Downie, whose remains were buried at Plattsburg.

While the battle was raging on the water, there was a sharp conflict on land. When the British squadron came around Cumberland Head, the British army moved forward and attempted to force their way across the Saranac at the sites of the two bridges. After a desperate but short conflict, with varying fortunes for both parties, the British were repulsed by the gallant men led by Macomb and Mooers. The Americans were driving back some of the enemy who had forced their way across the river near the site of the upper bridge, when tides came that the British fleet had just surrendered. The Americans gave hearty cheers, and the enemy wavered. Prevost was disheartened by the disaster to the navy, and, naturally timid in the presence of danger, saw with alarm the gathering of the neighboring militia, who threatened his flanks and rear. He ceased fighting at twilight, and prepared for a retreat. At a little past midnight he fled in such haste toward Canada, that he left his sick and wounded and a vast amount of stores behind. Light troops, militia and volunteers, started in pursuit, but heavy rains compelled them to give up the chase. The British loss, in killed, wounded and deserted, from the 6th to the 11th, was about twenty-five hundred men; that of the Americans, only one hundred and twenty. Throughout the land the victory was applauded with the greatest enthusiasm, and Macomb and Macdonough were highly honored, each having a gold medal awarded to him by Congress.

With the flight of Prevost and his army from Lake Champlain ended the military movements of importance on the northern frontier. Hostilities soon afterward ceased, as we have observed, on the Niagara frontier; and during a greater portion of the season Commodore Chauncey, one of the most vigilant and active of naval officers, had been compelled by circumstances to remain almost inactive at Sackett's Harbor. He was blockaded by a British squadron; and when he was ready to go out and fight the blockaders, by having the armament of a large vessel completed, he was prostrated by severe illness. It was the last of July before his squadron was fully ready for sea. On the 31st of that month he was carried, in a convalescent state on board of his flag-ship, the Superior, and the squadron sailed out on a cruise. It blockaded the harbor of Kingston, and Chauncey vainly tried to draw Sir James Yeo out for combat. At the close of September, Chauncey was informed that the St. Lawrence, a frigate pierced for one hundred and twelve guns, which had been built at Kingston, was ready for sea, when the commodore prudently raised the blockade and returned to Sackett's Harbor. The St. Lawrence sailed in October with more than a thousand men, accompanied by other vessels-of-war; and with his big ship, Sir James was really lord of the lake. The Americans determined to match the St. Lawrence, and the keels of two first-class frigates were laid. One of them, the New Orleans, began at Sackett's Harbor and partly finished when peace came early in 1815, may yet be seen housed on the stocks as she was left by the builders very nearly ninety years ago. Chauncey expected Yea would attack his squadron in the Harbor, but he did not; and when frost had closed the lake, the war ended on the northern frontier.

We have observed that the military-station on the island of Mackinaw was captured by the British just before the fall of Detroit in 1812. This station was the key to the vast fur-trade of the Northwest, and a land and naval expedition was planned, in the spring of 1814, for its recapture. A little squadron under Commander St. Clair, and a land force led by Lieutenant-Colonel Croghan of Fort Stephenson fame, were prepared, and they left Detroit at the beginning of July. A part of this force proceeded against the post of the Northwest Fur Company, at the Falls of St. Mary, the agents of which were among the most active of the British emissaries in inciting the Indians to make war on the Americans. When the armament appeared before the post, the keepers of it fled. Everything valuable that could not be carried away was destroyed, when the whole expedition started for Mackinaw. The post there was too strongly garrisoned to be taken by this small American force, and after an attempt to do so, the enterprise was abandoned. Some vessel, of the squadron cruised in those waters for a time, and after some exciting experiences the expedition returned to Detroit late in August, 1814. No further military movements were undertaken in that region afterward, excepting a terrifying raid which General McArthur, with about seven hundred mounted men from Kentucky and Ohio, made through western Canada, to create a diversion in favor of the American army on the Niagara frontier. It was one of the boldest operations of the war, on land. McArthur scurried throughout the region from the western end of Lake Ontario to the Detroit River, destroying property that might benefit the enemy, frightening the people everywhere, and keeping the militia from joining Drummond's ranks.

While the events recorded in this chapter There securing the northern frontiers of the Union, and the general results were inspiring to the Americans, there was uneasiness, confusion, and

alarm along the Atlantic seaboard, in consequence of the presence of British blockading squadrons and menacing fleets. New England had experienced very little of actual war within its borders so far, yet it felt its pressure heavily in the paralysis of its peculiar industries, the continued drain upon its wealth of men and money, and the wasting excitement caused by continually impending menaces and a sense of insecurity. From the spring of 1813 to the close of the contest, British squadrons were hovering along its coasts, and, in connection with the Embargo acts, were double-barring its seaports against commerce, and threatening the destruction of its maritime cities and villages.

The year 1814 was a peculiarly trying one for New England. The blockade of New London, begun in 1813, was kept up until the close of the war. In the spring of 1814, Commodore Lewis appeared in Long Island Sound with thirteen American gun-boats, to protect the coast trade of Connecticut against British privateers. He convoyed merchant-vessels safely into the Thames, and he boldly attacked the blockading squadron there. Early in June, British vessels began depredations on the coast of Massachusetts, under an order issued by Admiral Cochrane to "destroy the seaport towns and devastate the country." At Wareham, on Buzzard's Bay, they destroyed vessels and other property valued at \$40,000. In the same month despoilers appeared on the coast of Maine. Fifty armed men, in five large barges, entered the Saco River and destroyed property to the amount of about \$20,000. New Bedford and Fair Haven were threatened by British cruisers; and an unsuccessful attempt was made by the commanders of two blockaders there, to destroy the last-named village and seize the fort on the point, then commanded by Lieutenant Selleck Osborne, the poet. Formidable squadrons blockaded the Delaware, New York, New London, and Boston. Eastport and Castin, in Maine, were captured by the British and Stonington, a little east of New London, became the scene of stirring events.

Early in July (1814) Sir Thomas M. Hardy sailed from Halifax with a considerable force for service on sea and land, in accordance with the orders of Cochrane. The country from Passamaquoddy Bay to the Penobscot speedily passed under British rule, and continued so until the end of the war. After capturing Eastport, Hardy sailed westward and threatened Portsmouth and other places, and an attack upon Boston was confidently expected. That city was almost defenseless, and would have offered a rich harvest for plunderers. It was the place where ships were built for the war; and being the capital of New England, its capture would have a moral effect much to be desired by the enemy. When real danger impended, the inhabitants were aroused to intense action, and men of all classes were seen with implements of labor working daily in the construction of a strong fort on Noddles' Island, now East Boston. "I remember," wrote one of the eyewitnesses, "the venerable Dr. Lathrop, with the deacons and elders of his church, each shouldering his shovel and doing yeoman's service in digging, shoveling, and carrying sods in wheelbarrows." The fort was soon built on an elevation (on the crown of the present Webster street, near Belmont square, East Boston), and a heavy battery was planted on Dorchester Heights. Informed of these preparations and the enthusiasm of the people, the British blockading squadron did not venture to enter the harbor of Boston.

New York was equally excited, when news came of the operations of a powerful British

squadron in Chesapeake Bay. This city was, like Boston, almost defenseless. De Witt Clinton, then mayor, issued a stirring appeal to the citizens, and there, too, men of every rank in society worked daily in building fortifications at Brooklyn and Harlem. Members of various churches and of social and benevolent organizations went out in groups, as such, to the patriotic task so also did different craftsmen under their respective banners, such as were described as follows, by Samuel Woodworth Plumbers, founders, dyers, tanners, shavers, sweeps, clerks and criers, jewelers, engravers, clothiers, drapers, players, cartmen, hatters, tailors, gaugers, sealers, weighers, carpenters, and sailors."

The enthusiasm of the people was intense, and New York was soon well defended by fortifications and numerous militia. The citizens then felt secure, and Woodworth concluded a stirring poem with these lines addressed to the British:

"Better not invade recollect the spirit Which our dads displayed and their sons inherit. If you still advance, friendly caution slighting, You may get, by chance, a belly-full of fight a'. Pick-axe, shovel, spade, crowbar, hoe and barrow, - Better not invade Yankees have the marrow."

Hardy rejoined the blockading squadron off the mouth of the Thames and proceeded to execute Cochrane's terrible order, yet with reluctance on his part, for he was a humane officer. Great Britain had determined to make the war sharp and decisive, and this order to injure innocent people was a part of the plan. On the 9th of August, Hardy appeared before Stonington with three large vessels and a bomb-ship. He sent word to the magistrates of the borough that he intended to destroy the village, and gave the inhabitants one hour in which to leave it. He would grant no alternative, and the magistrates replied: We shall defend the place to the last extremity; should it be destroyed, we will perish in its ruins." Nearly all the inhabitants incapable of bearing arms left the place, and that evening the bomb-ship Terror and some launches rained shells and rockets upon the village without doing serious damage.

During that bombardment some bold spirits in Stonington cast up a sort of redoubt on the extremity of the peninsula on which the borough stands, and placed upon it, in battery, 6-pound and 18-pound iron cannon and from these they hurled solid balls upon the assailants with so much effect, that the bomb-ship and her consorts withdrew to the larger vessels. Some men gathered at Stonington the next day, but they were of little service; but a few brave men from Mystic, led by Captain Jeremiah Holmes, flew to the aid of their neighbors, and did gallant service at the redoubt. Captain Holmes, who was a good gunner, took charge of the 18-pounder, and with it he fought the ships of the enemy until his ammunition was exhausted and no more could be found. Then the borough seemed to be completely at the mercy of the invaders, and some timid citizens proposed to the captain to haul down the American flag that floated over the battery and surrender. No shouted the captain, that flag shall never come down while I am alive and it did not, in submission to a foe. When the wind died away and it hung drooping by the side of the staff, the brave captain held out the flag at the point of a bayonet that the British might see it While it was in that position, several shots passed through it. To prevent its being struck by some coward, the captain nailed it to the staff

The old cannon was not long silent. Some powder was found in a place of concealment. Double-shotting his piece, the captain kept the enemy at bay until a competent force of militia, under General Isham, were collected to prevent the British landing; and on the 12th, after a sharp bombardment, the blockading squadron, discomfited, withdrew. Not a single life had been lost in the village during the assault, and but one person was mortally and fifty or sixty were slightly wounded. About forty buildings were more or less injured, and two or three were nearly ruined.

We have observed that the region between Passamaquoddy Bay and the Penobscot was seized and held by the British. That was after Hardy captured Eastport. A strong squadron under Admiral Griffith, bearing about four thousand troops led by Governor Sherbrooke of Nova Scotia, captured Castin on Penobscot Bay and also Belfast, and went up the Penobscot River to Hampden, a few miles below Bangor, to capture or destroy the American corvette John Adams, which, caught in that stream, had gone up so far to escape from the enemy. The militia along the Penobscot gathered at the call of General John Blake, who, with the cannon of the Adams posted on a hill, prepared to defend the vessel and the country. But when the British troops landed at Hampden, the militia broke and fled. The Adams was burned by her commander, Captain Morris, and the troops after taking possession of the village, pushed on to Bangor. There, in the course of a stay of about thirty hours, they destroyed several vessels, plundered the inhabitants of property valued at over \$20,000, and retired to Hampden to repeat this conduct there. Then the troops and fleet descended the Penobscot and, after capturing Machias, returned to Halifax, leaving General Gosselin at Castin to hold the country, which he did with dignity and humanity.

Chapter C

Threatened Dangers Unheeded - Weakness of the National Capital - Tardiness of the Government - Barney's Flotilla - Preparations to Defend the Capital - Battle at Bladensburg - Flight of Civil Officers - Mrs. Madison - Destruction of Property at Washington - Alexandria Plundered - The British Before Baltimore - Battle of North Point - Bombardment of Fort McHenry - Repulse of the British - "The Star-Spangled Banner" - Naval Operations - Privateers - Change in the Theatre of Operations.

WHILE the stirring events just mentioned were occurring on the northern frontier and the New England coast, others of equal importance took place in the vicinity of Chesapeake Bay and the national capital. The Americans had premonition of a determination on the part of the British government to prosecute the war with great vigor. Tokens of danger to the region alluded to were not wanting. First came intelligence, late in January, 1814, that four thousand British troops destined for the United States had landed at Bermuda. This news was followed by the appearance of Admiral Cockburn again in Lynn Haven Bay at the beginning of March, with a strong naval force, to recommence the work laid out by Admiral Cochrane's order to "destroy the seaport towns and ravage the country." At the close of April, a ship from Europe brought an account of the downfall of Napoleon, and soon afterward came the announcement of his abdication, which would probably release a large British force for service in America - a fact that was speedily made manifest in Canada, as we have seen.

At that time the national capital was not prepared for defence against an invasion by land or water. The passage of ships up the Potomac might be disputed only by the guns of Fort Washington on the Maryland side of the river, a few miles below Washington city; but there was little to obstruct the passage of a land force across Maryland from the Chesapeake. On the first of July official intelligence reached the President that a fleet of transports, with a large force, bound to some port of the United States, probably on the Potomac, "was about to sail from Bermuda. In the fourth military district of which the District of Columbia formed a part, there were only a little more than two thousand effective men under General Winder, and these were scattered at points distant from each other, some as far away as Norfolk. Besides these, there were a company of marines at the barracks in Washington, and a company of artillery in Fort Washington. With a knowledge of this weakness, and the positive signs of impending danger, the government could not be persuaded that the capital would receive any harm. The government organ (National Intelligencer) boastingly declared, We have no idea of the enemy attempting to reach the vicinity of the capes and if he does, we have no doubt he will meet with such a reception as he had a sample of at Craney Island. The enemy knows better than to trust himself abreast of or on this side of Fort Washington." The folly of this overweening confidence was soon made conspicuous by sad events.

General Winder continually warned the government of danger, and called loudly for troops and when danger was apparent to the authorities, he was placed, by official orders, at the head of fifteen thousand militia for the defence of the capitol. But there was extraordinary tardiness

everywhere. The militia lay hidden in official orders; and when, at the middle of August, a powerful British land and naval force appeared in Chesapeake Bay, and there was widespread alarm over Maryland and Virginia, Winder had only a handful of men with whom to defend the capital.

At that juncture Commodore Barney, with an armed schooner and thirteen armed barges, was in the Patuxent River. He had been chased out of Chesapeake Bay and blockaded. The flotilla went far up the Patuxent, out of reach of British vessels, to a position where its men might assist either Baltimore or Washington, whichever city the enemy should decide to attack. The British determined to capture or destroy this flotilla, and for that purpose more than five thousand regulars, marines and negroes, were landed at Benedict, with three cannon. The British commander boasted that they should wipe out Barney's force, and dine in Washington city the next Sunday. This determination of the enemy being known, great exertions were put forth for the defence of the capital. The obstinate Secretary of War (Armstrong), who had disregarded Winder's warnings, now gave him full authority to exercise his judgment in the matter of defending the capital. Winder called upon General Smith of Baltimore to bring out his division of militia, and General Van Ness was requested to station two brigades of the militia of the District of Columbia at Alexandria. He also called for volunteers from all the militia districts of Maryland. These measures the alarmed Secretary of War approved, and General Smith promptly responded.

Meanwhile the British had pressed forward in barges in pursuit of Barney, who blew up his flotilla at Pig Point, and with his soldiers hastened to the head-quarters of Winder. Finding the American flotilla a smoking ruin, General Ross, the commander of the British land forces and one of the most active of Wellington's officers, marched to Upper Marlborough with the troops, where a road led directly to Washington city, leaving Cockburn in charge of the British flotilla. To oppose this strong force Winder had less than three thousand effective men, most of them undisciplined; and he prudently retreated toward Washington, followed by Ross (who had been joined by Cockburn and his seamen), on the afternoon of the 23rd. The British encamped that night within ten miles of the capital, where great excitement prevailed and sleepless watching by soldiers and civilians was the rule, Uncertain whether Washington city or Fort Washington was the destination of the foe, Winder had left a force near Bladensburg, about four miles from the capital, and with other troops he watched the highways leading in other directions.

The President and his cabinet did not sleep that night, and on the morning of the 24th, while Winder was in consultation with them, a courier came in great haste to tell them that the British were marching on Bladensburg. Winder immediately sent troops to join those already there, and he speedily followed in person. His little army was evidently in great peril, for the invaders had overwhelming numbers. He must either fight or surrender, for to retreat would be equally perilous. He chose to fight, and at a little past noon a sharp battle began in sight of the village of Bladensburg. The militia soon broke and fled in confusion; and the brave Barney and his gallant men, who stood fire, sustained the brunt of the battle until that leader was severely wounded, when Winder, seeing no sign of a hope of winning a victory, ordered a general retreat. The troops which had not already dispersed, retreated toward Montgomery Court-House, in

Maryland, leaving the battle-field in possession of the invaders. The latter had gained the advantage at the fearful cost of the loss of more than five hundred men in killed and wounded, among them several officers of distinction. The battle lasted almost four hours, when it was ended and the retreat began. President Madison, Secretary of State Monroe, Secretary of War Armstrong and other civil officers, who went out to see the fight and give assistance if possible, hastened back to the city as fast as fleet horses could carry them, and were the pioneers of a considerable multitude who followed. This race created much merriment afterward, especially among the opposition. A writer in a New York newspaper said: Should some Walter Scott [his *Marmion* was then very popular] in the next century write a poem and call it *Madison, or the Battle of Bladensburg*, we should suggest the following lines for the conclusion:

"Fly, Monroe, fly! run, Armstrong, run! Were the last words of Madison."

The President and his party of fugitives announced the startling intelligence that the British, victorious, were probably marching on the town. Mrs. Madison, at the White House, had already been apprised of danger, by a messenger sent by her husband, when the militia fled. She had ordered her carriage to be at the door ready for flight, and had sent away to a place of safety silver-plate and other valuable articles. While anxiously waiting for her husband, and at the moment when she had cut out of the frame, for preservation, a full length portrait of Washington by Stuart, the late Jacob Barker and another gentleman entered the house and bade her fly, for the enemy were near. "Save that picture!" she said, as it lay prone upon the floor; "save or destroy it, but do not let it fall into the hands of the British." Then snatching up the precious parchment on which the Declaration of Independence was written, and which contained the names of the fifty-six signers of that document, she entered her carriage with her sister and one or two others, and was borne away to a place of safety beyond the Potomac. The picture was saved, and it now adorns one of the reception-rooms in the White House.

The British entered Washington on the evening of the 24th (August, 1814), and at once proceeded to plunder and destroy. The Capitol, President's house, Treasury buildings, Arsenal and barracks were burned, and of the public buildings only the Patent-office was saved. Some private houses were plundered and others were burned. While these buildings were blazing in the city, the public vessels and other government property at the Navy Yard were in flames, for Commodore Tingey, who was in command there, had been ordered to destroy this property in case it was likely to fall into the hands of the invaders. The value of the property destroyed by the Americans and British at that time, was estimated at about two million dollars. Right-minded Englishmen deplored the barbarism of their troops in burning the national buildings. "Willingly," said the *London Statesman* newspaper, "would we throw a veil of oblivion over our transactions at Washington. The Cossacks spared Paris, but we spared not the capital of America." While the people of England loudly condemned the act, the British government caused the tower-guns to be fired in honor of Ross's victory; and on his death a few weeks later, his government decreed him a monument in Westminster Abbey.

The events at Washington caused intense excitement throughout the country. The disaster was

followed by another humiliating occurrence, and then by a glorious triumph. While Ross was crossing Maryland to the national capital a part of the British fleet, under Commodore Gordon, had gone up the Potomac River, and in defiance of the guns of Fort Washington, appeared before Alexandria on the evening of the 27th. Meanwhile the British at Washington, apprehending a large gathering of the militia, had stolen away from the capital very secretly on the night of the 25th, and re-embarked on their transports. Alexandria was almost defenseless and when Gordon demanded an enormous amount of property as a ransom for the doomed city from destruction, the town and its inhabitants were at the mercy of the invaders. The inhabitants were allowed only an hour to consider the terms. Of course they had to submit; and the British squadron sailed down the river with a large amount of plunder, annoyed some of the way by the batteries planted on the shores.

While Washington was suffering, Baltimore was threatened. Indeed all the shores of the Chesapeake Bay were menaced with plunder and devastation. After resting and recruiting several days at the mouth of the Patuxent, the British sailed for the mouth of the Patapsco River, on the banks of which Baltimore stands, ten miles from the Chesapeake. The fleet spread terror along the entire coasts of the bay, the people fleeing from their dwellings and at every light-house and signal-station alarm guns were fired. On Sunday, the 11th of September, the British vessels appeared off Patapsco Bay, having at least six thousand fighting men on board; and victorious Ross boasted that he would make Baltimore his winter quarters. It was a city of forty thousand inhabitants at that time. It had sent out so many clipper-built vessels as privateers, that the British held a grudge against the place, and resolved to capture or destroy it.

The citizens of Baltimore, wiser than those of some other places, had cast up defenses before the enemy were at their doors. When they heard of the capture of Washington, they turned out in force to strengthen these defenses. A large number of troops were gathered around the city. Fort McHenry, that commands the harbor, was garrisoned by about a thousand men, under Major Armistead, and was supported by redoubts. Such were the preparations for receiving the enemy, who, that evening (September 11, 1814,) appeared off Patapsco Bay, and before sunrise on the 12th had landed, nine thousand strong, at North Point, twelve miles from Baltimore. At the same time the fleet entered the harbor to attack Fort McHenry. When news came that the British were landing on North Point, General Smith, who had about nine thousand men under his command, sent General Stricker, with more than three thousand of them, to watch the enemy and act as circumstances might require.

Feeling confident of success, Ross and Cockburn were riding gaily in front of their troops, who were marching on Baltimore, when a rifle-ball from a small number of Stricker's advance troops, concealed in a hollow, mortally wounded the general. Ross died before his bearers could reach the boats, living only long enough "to name his wife and to commend his family to the care of his country." The command now devolved upon Colonel Brooke, who pressed forward and met Stricker's advance troops seven or eight miles from Baltimore. There a severe engagement occurred lasting about two hours, when Stricker ordered a retreat to his reserve corps. There he re-formed his brigade and fell steadily back toward the city, as far as Worthington's Mill, where he

was joined by General Winder with some fresh troops. The British bivouacked on the battle-field that night.

Early on the morning of the 12th, frigates, schooners, sloops, bomb-ketches and rocket-vessels entered the harbor of Baltimore and moved up toward Fort McHenry. They anchored out of reach of its immoderate-sized guns until evening. Then the fleet were so disposed as to bombard Fort McHenry and batteries not far off on the next morning, when Brooke should move forward with the land forces to attack the city. At the time specified the bomb- vessels opened a heavy fire upon the American works. Armistead immediately opened the batteries of Fort McHenry upon the fleet, but his missiles falling short, were harmless. The garrison was exposed to a tremendous shower of shells for several hours, without power to check the firing of the antagonist. Finally, to the delight of Armistead, the bomb-vessels moved nearer the fort to make their shells more effective, when his turn came for inflicting injury. He ordered a cannonade and bombardment from every part of the fort. The intruders were punished so severely that in the course of half an hour they withdrew to their former anchorage very much bruised.

All that day and the following night - twenty-five hours - the fleet bombarded Fort McHenry. Meanwhile Colonel Brooke, with the land forces, had been trying to reach Baltimore, but was foiled by Stricker and Winder. On the evening of the 13th, finding it impossible to accomplish his object, and learning that the bombardment had very little effect, Brooke obtained an interview with Cochrane, when they concluded that the efforts of the combined forces to capture Baltimore was already a failure. They resolved to relinquish the enterprise, and the bombardment suddenly ceased early on the morning of the 14th. The troops had begun their retreat in a heavy rain and intense darkness, at three o'clock that morning. They were taken on board the fleet the same evening; and on the morning of the 15th, the entire land and naval forces of the invaders went down the bay crestfallen and badly punished. This discomfiture of the enemy made the alarmed citizens of Philadelphia and New York breathe freer.

This gallant defence of Baltimore revived the spirits of the Americans, which were drooping because of the sad events at their capital. The did appointment of the enemy was very great. After the capture of Washington, Ross felt that the taking of Baltimore would be like a holiday pastime. Sir George Prevost postponed public rejoicing at Montreal because of the capture of Washington, until the capture of Baltimore should be accomplished, when both events might be celebrated at the same time. On the very day when Ross anchored off North Point (September 11, 1814), Prevost was vanquished at Plattsburg, and made to fly back to Canada.

When the British retreated to their ships from Washington, they carried with them Dr. Beans, a beloved physician of Upper Marlborough, as a prisoner. Francis S. Key, a gentleman of culture and great affability of manner, consented to go with a flag to the British squadron, and endeavor to procure the release of Beans. Key went with Mr. Skinner of Baltimore, and found the fleet at the mouth of the Potomac. As the invaders were preparing to attack Baltimore, they refused to allow either of the three to return, and they witnessed the bombardment of Fort McHenry from one of the British ships with the greatest anxiety, especially on the night of the 13th. The fort was

silent, and they did not know whether it had surrendered or not. In the dim light of early morning their hearts were gladdened, for they saw that "our flag was still there." It was while pacing the deck of the British vessel in great anxiety, that Key composed that song, "The Star Spangled Banner," which immortalized him. When the ships withdrew, Key and his friends were restored to liberty.

The naval operations on the sea, though not so important in immediate results as those of the two preceding years, fully sustained the character of the American war marine. Several new war-vessels were built and sent to sea during the first half of that year. The John Adams, which was cut down to a corvette of 28 guns, late in 1813, started on a cruise from the Washington Navy-Yard, under the command of Captain Morris, early in 1814, and eluding the blockading fleet in Lynn Haven Bay, went to sea. Her cruise was unsuccessful, and in August, with a sick crew and a damaged vessel, Captain Morris went into the Penobscot River, where he destroyed the corvette to prevent her falling into the hands of the British. In May of that year, Captain Johnston Blakely crossed the ocean in the Wasp, 18, and spread terror, like the Argus, among the shipping in the British channel. On the 28th of June, after a conflict of half an hour, the Wasp captured the British sloop Reindeer, and as she was a wreck, Blakely burned her. On the first of September, the Wasp had a sharp engagement in intense darkness, and compelled her antagonist, the Avon, to surrender. Three consorts of the Avon coming up, compelled the Wasp to relinquish her prize. She afterward captured several prizes; but during that autumn she was lost somewhere, with all her people, for she was never heard of afterward.

In March, 1814, the sloop-of-war Peacock, 18, Captain Warrington, sailed on a cruise from New York, and on the 29th of April she had a severe conflict of forty minutes with the Epervier, 18, and captured her. She was a valuable prize, having \$118,000 in specie on board, and the vessel sold for \$55,000. In another cruise to the shores of Portugal, the Peacock captured fourteen vessels and returned to New York in October. When Bainbridge relinquished the command of the Constitution, 44, in 1813, she was thoroughly repaired. She went to sea again under the command of Captain Charles Stewart, late in 1813, and early in February following she was on the coast of Surinam. On the 14th of that month she captured the Picton, 16, and returning to the New England coast early in April, she was chased into the harbor of Marblehead by two powerful British frigates. The Constitution afterward went to Salem and thence to Boston, where she remained until December, 1814. At the close of that month she put to sea, crossed the Atlantic to the Bay of Biscay, and then cruised off the harbor of Lisbon. Stewart sailed southward toward Cape St. Vincent, and on the 20th of February, 1815, he discovered two strange sails, which, toward evening, flung out the British flag, when he displayed the American colors. By skillful management, he secured an advantageous position, when he began an action with both of them and after a severe combat, he captured both of them. One of these vessels was the frigate Cyane, 36, and the other was the sloop Levant, 18. In this engagement the Constitution was so little damaged, that three hours after the battle she was ready for another. These exploits of the Constitution were performed after peace had been proclaimed. After one or two more stirring adventures, Stewart crossed the Atlantic, landed many of his prisoners on the coast of Brazil, and at Porto Rico he first heard of the proclamation of peace. He arrived at New

York at the middle of May, and gave the first intelligence of the capture of the Cyane and Levant. Honors were showered upon him. Congress gave him thanks and a gold medal. The Common Council of the city of New York gave him the freedom of the city in a gold box and honored him with a public banquet, and the Legislature of Pennsylvania presented him, in the name of the State, with a gold-hilted sword. The Constitution was ever afterward known as Old Ironsides, and Stewart bore the same title until his death in November, 1869, when he was in the ninety-second year of his age.

In the summer of 1814, Commodore Decatur, whose vessels had been long blockaded in the Thames, above New London, was transferred to the command of the President, and a little squadron composed of his flag-ship the Peacock, Captain Warrington; the Hornet, Captain Biddle; and the Tom Bowline, store-ship. The destination of the squadron was the East Indies, to spread havoc among the British shipping there. The President left her moorings first, and eluding the blockaders off Sandy Hook, put to sea. She had not proceeded far before she was chased by four British ships-of-war. Heavily laden for a long cruise, she could not sail fast, and after a protracted chase and running fight she was compelled to strike her colors. Decatur delivered his sword to Captain Hayes of the Majestic, the first vessel that came alongside the President after she struck.

Late in January, the remainder of Decatur's squadron put to sea, their commander being ignorant of the fate of the flag-ship. The commodore had designated one of a group of islands in the South Atlantic Ocean as the place of rendezvous, and toward this the squadron sailed. The Peacock and Tom Bowline arrived there early in March, but were driven away by a storm the Hornet was about to cast anchor there on the 23rd of March, when a strange vessel was discerned near. Biddle spread his sails and went seaward to reconnoiter. The stranger was the British sloop Penguin, 18. They fought desperately, and at the end of twenty minutes the Hornet won the victory. This action was regarded as one of the most creditable of the war. Biddle was honored by Congress with a gold medal, and citizens of Philadelphia gave him a service of beautiful silver plate. Afterward the Hornet was closely chased by a heavy line of battleship; but by consummate seamanship and casting everything overboard to lighten her, she escaped and reached New York in June, 1815, without boat or anchor.

Captain Warrington captured the Nautilus in the Straits of Sunda (between the islands of Sumatra and Java of the East Indian archipelago), on the 30th of June, 1815. Being informed the next day of the ratification of peace, Warrington gave up the Nautilus and returned home, bearing the honor of having fired the last shot in the second war for independence. Every cruiser, public and private, had returned to port when Warrington arrived, and the war was over. He, too, was honored by Congress with thanks and a gold medal. During the war, as we have observed, the American privateersmen did good service for themselves and their country. They swarmed upon the ocean, and were the terror of British commerce; the romantic story of their doings have filled a large volume (Coggeshall's History of American Privateers), and yet the half has not been told. Their exploits were but a repetition of those of the regular service. After the first six months of the war, the bulk of the naval conflicts was carried on upon the ocean, on the part of the

Americans, by private armed vessels, which, as we have observed, "took, burned and destroyed sixteen hundred British merchantmen of all classes, in the space of three years."

The navy," says Cooper, "came out of this struggle with a vast increase of reputation. The brilliant style in which the ships had been carried into action, the steadiness and rapidity with which they had been handled, and the fatal accuracy of their fire on nearly every occasion, produced a new era in naval warfare. Most of the frigate actions had been as soon decided as circumstances would at all allow and in no instance was it found necessary to keep up the fire of a sloop-of-war an hour when singly engaged. Most of the combats of the latter, indeed, were decided in about half that time. The execution done in these short conflicts was often equal to that made by the largest vessels of Europe in general actions, and in some of them the slain and wounded comprised a very large proportion of the crews. It is not easy to say in which nation this unlooked for result created the most surprise. . . . The ablest and wisest captain of the English fleet was ready to admit that a new power was about to appear on the ocean, and that it was not improbable the battle for the mastery of the sea would have to be fought over again.

The triumphs of the American navy gave great satisfaction to our people, and were themes for oratory, toast and song. That satisfaction was manifested in various ways, sometimes by a little harmless boasting as in the following verses of an ode to "The American Tar," which was very popular at the close of the war:

"The Goddess of Freedom, home down by oppression. In Europe's famed regions no longer found rest; She wept at the heart-rending, wide desolation, And languishing looked for relief from the West. She heard that Columbia was rearing a temple, where she would be worshipped in peace and in war; Old Neptune confirmed it - cried 'Here is a sample', Presenting with pride an American Tar.

"Cease weeping, then, goddess, to thee I've consigned him; He loves thee, and he thy protector will be; Believe me, a more gallant youth you will find him Than e'er bore your banners through ocean and sea. When his galley he trims firm, resolv'd for the onset, Woe, woe, to that foe who his prowess shall dare; Long will his country lament that he e'er met And brav'd the avenging American Tar."

We have now come to a consideration of the closing events of the war in connection with the military operations. These almost ceased at the north after the stirring events at Washington, Baltimore, and Plattsburg. There were some significant political movements in New England in the autumn of 1814, which attracted very wide attention, created considerable alarm, and called forth severe animadversions. The chief theatre of military operations was transferred to the Gulf region.

Chapter CI

The Creek Indians - The British at Pensacola and Fort Bowyer - General Jackson Drives the British from Pensacola - Is Called New Orleans - Invasion of Louisiana Contemplated - Lafitte and His Band of Outlaws - Jackson in New Orleans - The British in the Gulf - Events on Lake Borgne - Battle Below New Orleans - Pakenham and His Troops - Jackson's Line of Defence - Battle near New Orleans - Defeat and Retreat of the British - Honors to Jackson - The General Fined for Contempt of Court - Treaty of Peace - Its Effects - Effects of the War - The Hartford Convention, Its Cause, Designs and Doings - Adjustment of Public Affairs - Result of the War - The Barbary Powers Humbled.

JACKSON had crushed the military power of the Creek Indians in Alabama, in the spring of 1814, and in the course of the ensuing summer he wrung from them a treaty which extinguished them, politically, as a nation. A large portion of their beautiful and fertile country was added to the United States as indemnity for the expenses of the war. They agreed to allow the national government to build roads across their domain, and not to hold any communication with British or Spanish posts. It then was believed that the war in the South was ended. Suddenly the British appeared in force in the Gulf of Mexico, and were favored and sheltered by the Spanish authorities at Pensacola. Informed of this, some of the Creek chiefs indulged a hope of having their lost power restored to them, and for awhile the obligations of the treaty bore lightly upon their consciences.

By permission of the Spanish governor of Florida, the British took possession of one of the forts at Pensacola, where they fitted out an expedition for the capture of Fort Bowyer (now Fort Morgan), on the eastern shore of the entrance to Mobile Bay. The fort was commanded by Major William Lawrence with a band of one hundred and thirty resolute men. The English squadron bearing land troops appeared off Mobile Point and on the 15th of September, after some land troops had disembarked, an attack was begun, on land and sea, simultaneously. The twenty pieces of artillery with which Fort Bowyer was armed were brought to bear upon the enemy so skillfully that the British were soon repulsed, with the loss of a ship-of-war and many men. Among the land troops were two hundred Creek warriors who had violated the treaty.

General Jackson's head-quarters were then at Mobile. He was a major-general in the regular army, and the commander of the southwestern military district, which extended from Tennessee to the Gulf of Mexico and included New Orleans. He had learned that the Spanish governor had not only given shelter to the British, but had invited a large number of the Creek warriors to Pensacola, to be enrolled into the British service. The general took the responsibility of calling that official to account for his conduct, but he could not obtain any satisfactory guaranty that the unfriendly act would not be repeated he therefore determined to march to Pensacola and compel the British to leave that harbor. When volunteers from Tennessee had arrived early in November, he advanced with about four thousand men, and on the 6th encamped within two miles of the Florida capital. An officer was sent with a flag to demand the surrender of the forts, when the British fired upon it. The next day Jackson's troops charged into the town, when the frightened

governor offered to surrender the forts. This was done; whereupon the British abandoned the forts, blew up one of them (Barrancas), and sailed away with the garrison and a considerable number of Indians. These events so impressed the Creeks with a sense of the power of Jackson and his government, that they ever afterward kept quiet.

On his return to Mobile, Jackson found messages from New Orleans, urging him to hasten to the defence of that city. The unwise commander of the British in the Gulf had proclaimed his intention to invade Louisiana, and had sent an inflammatory proclamation among the inhabitants of that State. He had also tried to engage the services of a band of outlaws near the mouth of the Mississippi River, led by Jean Lafitte, who has been called the Pirate of the Gulf." Lafitte was a shrewd Frenchman, and he and his band had been outlawed by legal proceedings, though his crimes were not against humanity, only violations of the revenue and neutrality laws of the United States. When the invitation was put into his hands, he feigned compliance; but as soon as the bearer had departed, he called his followers around him on the border of the sea and said in substance: Comrades, I am an adopted citizen of the United States, and will never violate the confidence placed in me by serving the enemies of this country. We have been outlawed perhaps we deserve it by our irregularities. No matter; I am ready to serve my adopted country, and ask you to join me. What say you, comrades?" His brawny followers then threw up their hats and exclaimed,

We will we will and they were afterward accepted as volunteers in the defence of New Orleans. Lafitte immediately sent the despatches received from the British commander to the governor of Louisiana, and so the people were forewarned of approaching danger.

Jackson arrived at New Orleans on the 2nd of December, and found that city utterly defenseless, and the people filled with alarm and distracted by petty factions.

Real danger was imminent. The British troops that left Chesapeake Bay after their repulse at Baltimore had gone to the West Indies, where they were joined by about four thousand veterans under the brave Irish general Keane. The combined forces sailed in the direction of New Orleans late in November. The wives of many of the officers accompanied them, for not a man doubted that the speedy conquest of Louisiana would be the result of the expedition. The dullness of the voyage was enlivened by music and dancing, and all anticipated exquisite pleasures to be found in the paradise before them. The presence of Jackson allayed the fears of the people, and his vigorous measures inspired them with confidence. He established martial-law, and had so rigorously exercised it that before the British were ready for the invasion, he felt confident of success in defending the city against great odds.

The British forces halted at the entrance to Lake Borgne, between which and the Mississippi River New Orleans stands. On the bosom of that lake the Americans had a patrol of five gun-boats, commanded by Lieutenant (afterward Commodore) T. Ap Catesby Jones. Against these were sent twelve hundred men in about forty boats, who captured the American flotilla on the 14th of December, and so secured complete command of the lake. Meanwhile Jackson was

carrying on his measures for defence most vigorously; and when he heard of the capture of the flotilla, he sent couriers to General Coffee and others at the head of Tennessee and Kentucky troops, urging them to hasten to New Orleans. His efforts were timely, for on the 22nd of December, General Keane, with more than two thousand five hundred men, reached the banks of the Mississippi through a bayou nine miles below the city, and prepared to take New Orleans by surprise. Vigilant eyes were watching his movements; and a prisoner whom he had taken and who had escaped, hastened to New Orleans and gave General Jackson notice of the near approach of the foe. At the same time Coffee and Carroll arrived with Tennesseans, and Jackson put a column in motion to meet the invaders. Early on the evening of the 23rd they marched, eighteen hundred strong, led by Jackson in person, and at the same time the armed schooner Carolina dropped down the river to within musket range of the British camp. Shots from that vessel first revealed the fact to the British that their presence was known at New Orleans, and these missiles soon broke up their camp, when they were attacked in the dark by Jackson and his followers. The combat that ensued was indecisive, except in making the invaders more cautious and discreet. In this night-conflict the Americans lost about two hundred men, and the British lost four hundred.

New Orleans was saved from capture by surprise now it had to be saved from open invasion. The events of the 23rd dispirited the British, and in this condition General Pakenham found the troops on his arrival on Christmas day, with reinforcements, to take the chief command. He was a veteran fresh from the Spanish peninsula, and was delighted to find under his control some of the best of Wellington's regiments. He immediately prepared to effect the capture of New Orleans and the subjugation of Louisiana without delay. With hot-shot the annoying Carolina was burned, and the Louisiana was the only American naval force left in the river. Meanwhile Jackson had been casting up a line of entrenchments from the banks of the Mississippi to an almost impregnable swamp in the rear - four miles below New Orleans. Near this line indecisive engagements occurred. Finally a battle was fought which, without the negotiations for peace that resulted in a treaty, would have ended the war.

On the morning of the 8th of January, 1815, full six thousand expert sharpshooters, mostly from Tennessee under Coffee and Carroll, and from Kentucky under General Adair, lay behind Jackson's entrenchments almost wholly concealed from the enemy encamped on the plain that stretched away to the southward. Pakenham, who had twelve thousand effective men, had resolved to carry this line by storm, satisfied that his overwhelming numbers of regulars might easily crush the American militia gathered on both sides of the Mississippi. With about nine thousand troops he pressed forward for the purpose as soon as a heavy fog was dispersed, leaving the remainder as a reserve, under General Lambert. An ominous silence prevailed along the American line until the enemy approached within short cannon-range of Jackson's batteries. These were opened with terrible effect, cutting fearful lanes through the ranks of the British. Yet the invaders continued to advance steadily until they came within range of the American rifles, when volley after volley poured a deadly storm of lead upon the British. Whole platoons were mown down as with a scythe; but the gallant army continued to press forward until officer after officer was killed, and Pakenham himself fell, bleeding and dying, into the arms of the late Sir Duncan McDougall, his favorite aid, who performed a similar service for General Ross when he

was mortally wounded near Baltimore a few months before. Very soon afterward the whole of the assailants broke and fled back across the plain of Chalmette in great confusion. Lambert, with the reserve, covered the retreat. On the west side of the Mississippi the assailants had also retreated. The slaughter and maiming before Jackson's lines had been fearful. The fugitives left seven hundred dead and fourteen hundred wounded on the field, and suffered a further loss by having five hundred of their companions made prisoners - a loss of twenty-six hundred. The Americans lost only eight killed and thirteen wounded. They were thoroughly protected by breastworks, while the invaders were exposed on an open plain. The bodies of the slain British officers were taken to Villere's plantation, where they were buried that night by torchlight, excepting those of Pakenham and three or four general officers, which were sent to England in casks of rum. The British troops under General Lambert stole noiselessly away on the night of the 19th across Lake Borgne, in small transports, and escaped to the fleet. They then besieged Fort Bowyer for two days, when Major Lawrence was compelled to surrender, and the victors were about to push on to Mobile when they were arrested by tidings of peace.

General Jackson, with the main body of his army, entered New Orleans on the 21st of January, where the population, of all ages, greeted them as saviors. Two days later that city was the theatre of an imposing spectacle at the front of the old cathedral, in what is now Jackson Square. That day had been appointed by the apostolic prefect of Louisiana for the public offering, in the cathedral, of thanks to the Almighty for the great deliverance; and Jackson, with his staff, were to be in attendance. Preparations were made for the reception of the hero. In the public square was erected a triumphal arch supported by six Corinthian columns, and festooned with evergreens and flowers. Beneath the arch stood two beautiful little girls, each upon a pedestal and holding in her hand a civic crown of laurel. Near them stood two damsels, one personifying Liberty, the other Justice. From the arch to the cathedral, arranged in two rows, stood beautiful young maidens dressed in white, each covered with a blue gauze veil, and having a silver star on her forehead. These personified the several States and Territories of the Union. Each carried a basket filled with flowers, and behind each was a lance stuck in the ground, and bearing a shield with the name of the State she represented inscribed upon it.

Jackson and his staff passed on foot through the square between rows of soldiers, and as he stepped upon the slightly raised platform of the arch, the two little girls on the pedestals leaned gently forward and placed the laurel crown upon his head. At the same moment a charming Creole girl (Miss Kerr), as the representative of Louisiana, stepped forward and with great modesty in voice and manner, spoke a few words to the honored chief, in which she expressed the profound gratitude of her people. To this address Jackson made a brief reply, and then passed on to the church, with his pathway strewn with flowers. Therein he was seated near the great altar, and after the apostolic prefect delivered a patriotic discourse, the *Te Deum Laudamus* was chanted by the choir and the people. When the ceremonies were ended Jackson returned to the stern duties of a soldier.

The general was vigilant as well as brave, and he exercised martial law until official tidings of peace reached him. Martial and civil law clashed. An irate judge, whom the general had caused to

be arrested and banished beyond the military jurisdiction, summoned Jackson before him to show cause why the general should not be punished for contempt of court. The hero obeyed. The court-room was crowded with citizens indignant at such treatment of the man who had saved their State from invasion and their city from plunder. The judge was alarmed in the presence of the public wrath.

"Go on I will protect you in your duty," said the brave general to the trembling judge. The latter fined the hero a thousand dollars, for which amount the general drew a check before leaving the room. The populace bore him on their shoulders to a carriage in the street, and the citizens soon made up the amount of the fine and tendered it to Jackson. He ordered it to be distributed among the families of the soldiers who had fallen in the battle. Thirteen years afterward the people of the United States elected Andrew Jackson President of the Republic.

We have observed that Great Britain refused to treat for peace under Russian mediation, but the government offered to open negotiations in London or in Gottenburg, Sweden. President Madison, anxious for peace, accepted the proposition, and chose the last-named place for the meeting; but the ancient city of Ghent in the Netherlands (now Belgium) was afterward substituted. There commissioners appointed by the two governments met in August, 1814. The United States was represented by John Quincy Adams, James A. Bayard, Henry Clay, Jonathan Russell and Albert Gallatin. The British representatives in the commission were Lord Gambier, Henry Uoulbourn and William Adams. Christopher Hughes, Jr., of Baltimore, was appointed secretary to the American commissioners. He was then the diplomatic agent of the United States at the Court of Sweden, and was one of the most attractive of men in social life, and unrivaled as a diplomat. When negotiations for peace were opened, a wide difference in the views of the commissioners of the respective nations appeared. Discussions continued several months. A result was not reached until the 24th of December, when a treaty was signed by the respective commissioners and was immediately sent to London, where it was ratified on the 28th by the Prince Regent. It had been borne there by Mr. Baker, secretary of Lord Gambier, and Mr. Carroll, one of the secretaries of the American commission. The same messengers took it to America in the sloop-of-war Favorite, which arrived at New York on the 11th of February, Mr. Hughes, who left Ghent with a copy of the treaty, and embarked for America from the Texel, arrived at Annapolis two days after the Favorite reached New York, and he put a copy of the treaty into the hands of the President before the ratified copy arrived in Washington. The treaty was ratified by the Senate of the United States on the 17th of February, and it was promulgated the next day by a proclamation of the President. As the tidings went slowly over the land, intense joy and satisfaction were manifested in private and in public.

While the news of peace was spreading great joy throughout the country, there was a feeling of disappointment among reflecting men because the treaty did not secure to the Americans that immunity from search and impressment for which they had made war. It left Great Britain free to pursue her haughty course on the high seas, unrestrained by any moral force. The supercilious manner in which the American commissioners had been treated in England while waiting for the British government to determine where negotiations should be held, had left a thorn of irritation in

the public sentiment. For months the commissioners had been suffered to remain in England unnoticed by the government; and the ministry, by proposing first one place and then another for the meeting, had shown a spirit of undignified trifling which delayed the result full six months. The treaty stipulated a mutual restoration of all places and possessions taken during the war, or which might be taken after signing the treaty; declared that all captures at sea should be relinquished, if made within specified times thereafter, in different parts of the world and that each party should mutually put stop to Indian hostilities, and endeavor to extinguish the traffic in slaves. The boundaries, imperfectly adjusted by the treaty of 1783, were all settled; but the subjects of search and impressment, of paper blockades and orders in council, were all passed by without specific notice in the treaty. These grave omissions were weapons in the hands of the opponents of the war, which they used with vigor. Their newspapers contained some well-pointed epigrams; and the New York Evening Post, anticipating this failure, had printed in its "New Year's Address," several weeks before the arrival of the treaty, the following stanza:

"Your commerce is wantonly lost; Your treasures are wasted and gone; You've fought to no end, hut with millions of cob And for rivers of blood you've nothing to boast, But credit and nation undone."

But while the war and the treaty had failed to secure certain immediate and important incidental advantages, the events of that war did secure the far more important advantage of the positive and permanent independence of the United States, for which our people with arms and diplomacy had contended for many years in vain. It secured to posterity a guarantee for the perpetuation and growth of free institutions and Great Britain was taught the useful lesson, more puissant in its effects upon the topic of search and impressment than any treaty obligation, that the young republic of the West, the offspring of her oppressions, growing more lusty every hour, would no longer tolerate an insult, nor suffer its sovereignty to be questioned without resenting the offence. Great Britain was compelled to sign a bond, as it were, to keep the peace, in the form of an acknowledgment that she had, in this republic, a formidable rival for the supremacy of the seas, which she was bound to respect. The concessions made to the Americans by the treaty were equally offensive to British pride, for it seemed like stooping to "insolent Yankees;" and the spirit of a portion of the London press was manifested by the following "advertisement extraordinary:"

"Wanted - The spirit which animated the conduct of Elizabeth, Oliver, and William. "

"Lost - All idea of national dignity and honor.

"Found - That every independent State may insult That which used to call herself Mistress of the Seas."

The treaty of peace ended the war which had continued two years and eight months it also modified the partisan warfare in the republic. We have seen how persistently the Federalists opposed the declaration of war when it was proposed, and denounced it during its progress; also

how unpatriotic was the conduct of a portion of that party known as the Peace Faction. The mischievous conduct of that faction ceased only with the conflict of arms, while a more patriotic portion of the opposition adopted a measure which created suspicions of their loyalty at the time, and caused unjust vituperations for many years afterward. The event alluded to is known in history as "The Hartford Convention," the authentic history of which is as follows:

The haughty position assumed by Great Britain during the negotiations at Ghent, in demanding terms of peace humiliating to the Americans, caused our government to prosecute the war with more vigor than ever before, in the autumn of 1814. To do this it was necessary to raise considerable force by conscription. This measure brought matters to a crisis in New England, where the Peace-Faction was all-powerful. The conduct of that faction had made the President suspicious of the loyalty of the New Englanders; and in making military arrangements, he had discriminated unfavorably toward that section of the country of which he showed his distrust. In some of the other States, the matter of local defenses had been left almost wholly to the discretion of the respective governors; in New England, the President insisted upon his having exclusive control of all military movements there. The Massachusetts government had refused to place its militia under the control of General Dearborn, of the national army, and the national government therefore refused to pay the expenses of defending Massachusetts from the common enemy. Similar action had occurred in the case of Connecticut, and a clamor was instantly raised that New England was abandoned to the enemy by the national government. In a report, the Massachusetts Legislature made a covert threat of independent action on the part of the people of that section, by appropriating their home resources for home defence. A conference of sympathizing States, to consider the proposition and to consult upon a radical reform in the National Constitution, was proposed. That proposition was acceded to, and on the morning of the 15th of December, 1814, a convention, composed of twenty-six delegates representing New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut and Vermont, assembled at Hartford, Connecticut, and held their sessions in secret. George Cabot of Boston was chosen president of the convention, and Theodore Dwight, secretary. The sessions of that convention continued three weeks, during which time some propositions were made by indiscreet members, which, if carried out, might have been dangerous to the integrity of the Union. A series of topics for discussion, prepared by a committee, all having relation to the best interests of the republic, occupied the greater portion of the time. Late in December the convention adopted the report of a committee, that it would be expedient for that body to prepare a general statement of the unconstitutional attempts of the executive government of the United States to infringe upon the rights of individual States, in regard to the military, etc. and to recommend to the legislature of the States the adoption of the most effective and decisive measures to protect the militia and the States from the usurpations contained in these proceedings - the drafting of men. Also to prepare a statement concerning the general subject of State defenses, and a recommendation that an application be made to the national government for an arrangement with the States by which they could be allowed to retain a portion of the taxes levied by Congress, to be devoted to the expense of self-defence. They also proposed amendments to the National Constitution, to obtain the following results: The restriction of the power of Congress to declare and make war; a restraint of the exercise of unlimited power by Congress to make new States and admit them into the Union; a

restraint of the power of Congress in laying embargoes and restrictions upon commerce; a stipulation that a President of the United States shall not be elected from the same State two consecutive terms; that the same person shall not be elected President a second term, and that alterations be made concerning slave representation and taxation.

The Hartford convention, undoubtedly composed of as wise, loyal and patriotic men as any in the Union, and who represented the conservative sentiment of discontented New England during a season of great trial, adjourned on the 6th of January, 1815, with an impression that circumstances might compel it to reassemble therefore the seal of secrecy was not removed. This gave wide scope for conjecture, and the wildest stories of their seditious doings were circulated and believed and for twenty years the political cry of a Hartford Convention Federalist cast a degree of public odium on the man so denounced.

With the advent of peace very important duties were presented to the national administration, in the adjustment of public affairs in accordance with the new order of things. Plans were considered for the maintenance of the public credit and the extinguishment of the national debt, then amounting to over \$120,000,000. Appropriations were made for rebuilding the public edifices destroyed by the British. The army was reduced to a peace establishment of ten thousand men and the various acts necessary for the public good during a state of war were repealed. The naval establishment was fully kept up, for the necessity of a force in the Mediterranean to protect American commerce from the depredations of Algerien corsairs was apparent. The total cost of the war to the United States government was about \$100,000,000, and the loss of human life by battle and by other casualties incident to war was estimated at thirty thousand. The cost of blood and treasure to the British nation was much greater. The Americans captured during the conflict on the ocean and on the lakes fifty-six British vessels-of-war, mounting eight hundred and eighty-six cannon, and two thousand three hundred and sixty merchant-vessels, mounting eight thousand guns. There were also lost on the American coast, during the war, by wreck or otherwise, twenty-nine British ships-of-war, mounting eight hundred guns; while the Americans lost only twenty-five vessels-of-war, and a much less number of merchant-ships than the British.

As soon as the war with Great Britain was ended, the United States felt impelled to engage in another with Algiers. Offended because he had not received from the American government, as tribute, precisely the articles which he had demanded, the semi-barbarian Dey of Algiers, in 1812, unceremoniously dismissed Mr. Lear, the American consul, and declared war; and afterward his corsairs captured an American vessel, and the crew were reduced to slavery. Mr. Lear was compelled to pay the Dey \$27,000 for the safety of himself and family, and a few Americans who were there, to save them all from being made slaves. Believing that the United States navy had been almost annihilated by the British in the late contest, this North African robber renewed depredations upon American commerce in violation of treaty obligations. Determined to pay tribute no longer to this insolent ruler, the American government accepted his challenge for war, and in May, 1815, sent Commodore Decatur to the Mediterranean, with a squadron, to humble the Dey. When Decatur passed the straits of Gibraltar, he found the Algerian pirate fleet cruising in search of American vessels. On the 17th of June, Decatur met the flag-ship of the Algerian

admiral (a frigate of 44 guns), and after a brief engagement captured her, also another pirate ship with almost six hundred men. With these prizes he immediately sailed for the bay of Algiers, and on the 28th of June, he demanded the instant surrender of all the American prisoners, full indemnification for all property destroyed, and absolute relinquishment of all claims to tribute from the United States thereafter.

When the Dey of Algiers heard of the fate of a part of his fleet, that terrified robber hastened to comply with Decatur's demands; and in obedience to the commodore's requirements, the haughty chief appeared on the quarterdeck of the *Guerriere* (the flag-ship) with some of his officers of state and accompanied by the captives he was to release. There, on the 30th of June, he signed a treaty in accordance with the demands of Decatur, and departed deeply humiliated. From Algiers, after this triumph, the commodore sailed for Tunis, and demanded and received from the Bashaw or ruler of that state \$46,000 in payment for American vessels which he had allowed the British to capture in his harbor. This was in July. Then Decatur proceeded to Tripoli, the capital of another of the Barbary States, and in August demanded from the Bey, its ruler, \$25,000 for the same kind of injury to property and the release of prisoners. The treasury of the Bey being nearly empty, Decatur accepted, in lieu of cash, the release from captivity of eight Danish and two Neapolitan seamen, who were held as slaves. This cruise in the Mediterranean sea gave full security to American commerce in these waters, and greatly elevated the character of the United States in the opinion of Europeans. During this cruise of about two months, in the summer of 1815, the navy of the United States accomplished, in the way of humbling the North African robbers, what the combined powers of Europe dared not to attempt.

Chapter CII

Banks - Finances of the Government - A National Bank - Troubles about Boundaries in the Gulf Region - Beginning of Monroe's Administration - His Cabinet - State of the Republic and Its Industries - The West and Its Growth - Chicago - The President's Tour - The Slave System - Colonization Societies - Liberia Founded - Pirates and Slave Dealers - Trouble with the Indians - Jackson in Florida - Doings at Pensacola - Florida Added to the Union - Missouri Territory - Admission of Missouri as a State - Violent Debates on Slavery - Anti-Slavery Movements - Pirates Subdued - Effects of Whitney's Cotton-Gin - The "Monroe Doctrine" - Visit of Lafayette - Lafayette at the Tomb of Washington - Measures of Monroe's Administration - State of the Country.

THE eventful administration of President Madison drew to a close in 1816. During that year the efforts of the government were put forth to complete the readjustment of the finances of the country after the derangements produced by a state of war. Direct taxation was reduced one-half, and other changes were made. The Bank of the United States had expired by the limitation of its charter in 1811, and banks authorized by the several States had appeared in all parts of the Union. At the close of 1815, there were one hundred and twenty of these institutions, with an aggregate capital of \$40,000,000, and an emission of notes estimated at \$200,000,000. The finances of the government were then in a wretched condition. The public credit had been depressed by the unpatriotic action of the Peace-Faction, and from the same cause there was a general suspension of specie payments by the banks, the notes of which were greatly depreciated - twenty per cent in Baltimore and fifteen in New York. In this state of things the friends of a national bank pressed its claims upon Congress, and in the spring of 1816 a second bank of the United States was chartered for twenty years with a capital of \$35,000,000, the United States subscribing for stock to the amount of \$7,000,000. The creation of this bank gave an impetus to general business. The State banks were compelled to resume specie payments. Some of them were aided in their efforts by the national bank, while more feeble ones were finally obliged to close their doors. The government bank went into operation early in 1817, and receiving on deposit the funds of the national government, it soon became a powerful financial institution. It was so powerful that when President Jackson was inaugurated in 1829 he evinced hostility to it, and waged war upon it as a dangerous institution until it expired by the limitation of its charter, in 1836, which was never renewed by Congress. The bank was re-chartered by the Legislature of Pennsylvania in 1836, but made a final suspension four years afterward, when, on winding up its business, there remained nothing for the stockholders - the whole capital was gone.

During Madison's administration Louisiana and Indiana were admitted into the Union as States - the former in April, 1812, and the latter in December, 1816. There had been warm discussions on the subject of the admission of Louisiana, the Federalists strongly opposing the measure. The question of boundary between the possessions of Spain and the United States, in that region, was a serious one. Eastward of the vast territory which, under the title of Louisiana, had been ceded to the United States, and bordering on the Gulf of Mexico, was a region in possession of the Spaniards, known as East and West Florida, the dividing line between them being the Perdido

River, now the line between Florida and Alabama. The western portion was claimed by the United States as included in the cession, while the Spanish authorities asserted that their possession extended to the Mississippi. With the act for the admission of Louisiana was passed another act, annexing to that State that part of West Florida lying between the Mississippi and Pearl Rivers, and all eastward of that stream to the Perdido was annexed to the Territory of Mississippi. This measure produced unpleasant relations between the United States and Spain, which continued several years; and the dispute was not settled until after the retirement of Mr. Madison from the Presidency. The latter event occurred on the 4th of March, 1817. James Monroe, his Secretary of State, was his successor, having received an almost unanimous vote for the high office in the electoral colleges. At the same time Daniel D. Tompkins of New York was elected Vice-President by a large majority. Monroe was the fifth President of the United States, and he entered upon the duties of his office under favorable auspices for himself and his country. His inaugural address was liberal in its tone and gave general satisfaction, and the beginning of his administration was regarded as the dawning of an era of good feeling. The Federal party was declining in strength, and from the dominant party which elected him, the President chose his cabinet-ministers, composed of John Quincy Adams of Massachusetts, Secretary of State; William H. Crawford of Georgia, Secretary of the Treasury, and John C. Calhoun of South Carolina, Secretary of War. These were all aspirants for the Presidential chair, B. W. Crowninshield was continued Secretary of the Navy, and William Wirt was appointed Attorney-General. The President was thus surrounded by some of the ablest men of the republic as his constitutional advisers.

Mr. Monroe was conservative, judicious, and conciliatory just such a man as was then needed in the place which he filled. It was a critical time in the history of the republic, for the country was in a transition state from that of war to one of peace. The demand for domestic manufactures and the high prices obtained for them during the war, had stimulated that particular industry, and many manufacturing establishments had been nurtured into vigorous life. When the war was ended and European manufactures came like a flood in quantity and at low prices, that industry was suddenly overwhelmed in disaster. Thousands of men and women were compelled to seek other employments, and many turned their eyes and their hopes to the millions of fertile acres beyond the Alleghany Mountains, where sure wealth, or at least a competence, awaited the tiller's industry and skill. Bankrupts sought and found relief in the pursuits of agriculture. Homes in the east were left by swarms of sturdy people. Emigration flowed over the mountains in a broad and continuous stream; and before the close of Monroe's administration, the Great West had begun its wonderful career. That administration was marked by an immense expansion in the material growth of the United States. Five independent States had been created and added to the Union, namely, Mississippi in 1817, Illinois in 1818, Alabama in 1819, Maine in 1820, and Missouri in 1821.

The growth of "The West" in wealth and population has been marvelous. The five great lakes are over fifteen hundred miles in aggregate length, and drain a region estimated to be nearly thirty-six thousand square miles in extent. The regions around these lakes (especially the more western ones), less than fifty years ago, were almost a wilderness. In 1830, there were less than

five thousand white people in the vast region between Lake Michigan and the Pacific Ocean; now there are millions, and populous States and Territories exist where, within a generation, the buffalo and the Indian hunter were lords of the soil. On the borders of these lakes now cluster great commercial centres. Chicago is a model for illustration. It was first surveyed and a small village was marked out there in 1831. A small garrison depended for grain-food upon Mackinaw. Now Chicago is a city of over two million inhabitants, and it is the greatest grain market in the world.

Monroe determined to know more of the country and the people he was called upon to preside over, and sixty days after he was seated in the chair of state he left the capital for an extensive tour. He was clad in the undress uniform worn by officers of the Revolution - a blue coat of domestic manufacture, light waistcoat and breeches, high top-boots known as "Wellingtons," and a cocked-hat. He journeyed to far-eastern New England, and thence passed through the sparsely settled country to Vermont. He visited Plattsburg, and journeyed through the forests to the St. Lawrence, where he embarked for Lake Ontario. He halted at Sackett's Harbor, Fort Niagara and Buffalo, and then sailed over Lake Erie to Detroit. From that then remote region he journeyed through the woods of Michigan, Ohio, Pennsylvania and Maryland, and reached the capital after an absence of more than three months. In the journey the President became acquainted with leading men of all parties, and was cordially received everywhere with civic and military escorts and the profound respect of the people. The effect of that tour was every way beneficial. Partisan asperity was softened, and genuine patriotism filled the hearts of the people. There was then an almost perfect union of sentiment throughout the country but the slave system soon awakened the most bitter sectional feeling that disturbed the repose of the people for about forty years.

Congress had passed laws, after the year 1808, prohibiting the African slave trade in our country but after the war, the rapid increase in the cultivation of cotton made the demand for slave labor greater than the supply. and the African slave trade was reopened on the southern coasts in violation of law. There was also a brisk inter-state slave-trade act established, which continued until the breaking out of the sad Civil War. At that time (1860) the inhabitants of Virginia were receiving many millions of dollars from the sale of persons born on the soil of that State and sent to the cotton-growing States.

Before the Revolution the unpleasant situation of free colored people among the slaves on account of their social disabilities had attracted the attention of benevolent persons, and efforts had been made to form a settlement for them in Africa. Nothing of great importance was accomplished until about the beginning of Monroe's administration, when the American Colonization Society was formed for that purpose, and for sending to such settlements slaves who had been unlawfully brought to the United States. The society founded the Republic of Liberia on the western coast of Africa, which, since 1848, has been an independent state governed by its own people.

At this period, several of the Spanish-American colonies had declared their independence.

East Florida was then in possession of Spain. A bold Scotchman named McGregor, bearing a commission (as he asserted) from several of the revolted Spanish colonies, was at the head of a band of desperate men, and took possession of Amelia Island off the northern part of the coast of Florida. He declared St. Augustine in a state of blockade, pretended to be engaged in the liberation of Florida from the Spanish yoke, sheltered privateers and pirates, and carried on a brisk trade in African slaves who were smuggled into the United States. At the same time a similar establishment was set up at Galveston, on the coast of Texas, for the same purposes, to which some of the late followers of Lafitte resorted. The President determined to break up these nests. Late in November, 1817, a body of United States troops took possession of Amelia Island, and the Galveston establishment soon disappeared for want of support.

Meanwhile a mixed host composed of Seminole Indians in Florida, Creeks who were dissatisfied with the treaty of 1814, and runaway slaves, had commenced murderous forays upon the frontier settlers in Georgia and the Territory of Alabama, carved out of Mississippi. It was ascertained that these depredators were incited by British subjects residing in Florida under the protection of the Spanish authorities there. General Gaines was sent by our government to suppress these outrages and to remove any Indian from the territory ceded by the Creeks to the United States. His presence aroused the fierce anger of the Indians. They flew to arms, and for awhile Gaines was in great peril. General Jackson hastened to his relief, in time, with a thousand Tennessee volunteers. He arrived in December. Very little was done during the winter; but in March (1818) Jackson invaded Florida, took possession of the Spanish fort of St. Marks, at the head of Apalachee Bay), and sent the civil authorities and troops to Pensacola.

At St. Marks, Jackson found two of the most active inciters of the Indians to make forays into the settlements, and they were arrested. One was a Scotch trader from the Bermudas named Arbuthnot, and the other was a young Englishman named Ambrister, twenty-one years of age, who had borne a lieutenant's commission in the British service, and had led the motley gang of plunderers into Alabama. The general called these men before him sternly accused them of their misdeeds, which they could not disclaim, and ordered them to be bound and tried by a court-martial. They were speedily found guilty, and speedily hanged. Jackson soon afterward marched toward Pensacola, where the Spanish authorities who cherished the enemies of the United States and encouraged the Indians to make war on the white people resided. On Jackson's approach, the governor sent a protest against the invasion of the country of a friendly power, and a threat of repelling the intruders force by force." Jackson pushed on to Pensacola. The governor and a few friends fled on horseback to Fort Barrancas, where he refused to give a guaranty for the peace of the frontier or to surrender the fort. Jackson drew up a 9-pounder field-piece and five 8 inch howitzers before the fort, and had scaling ladders ready, when a white flag appeared over the ramparts and a surrender took place. Jackson sent the governor and the garrison to Havana, and afterward wrote "All I regret is that I did not storm the works, capture the governor, put him on his trial for the murder of Stokes and his family, and hang him for the deed."

Jackson was severely censured, in some circles, for these high-handed proceedings. His justification was a care for the public safety which could not be secured in any other way. The

government and the voice of the people sustained him; but it was perceived that a general and thorough settlement of affairs on the southern boundary was a pressing necessity. A treaty was soon made (February 22, 1819) by which Spain ceded to the United States the whole of the Floridas and the adjacent islands. Just two years afterward that country was erected into a Territory of the United States, and in March, 1821, General Jackson was appointed the first governor over the newly acquired domain.

The vast region known as Louisiana, which was ceded to the United States by France, was divided into two Territories called respectively the Territory of New Orleans and the District of Louisiana." The first named, when it was admitted as a State in 1812, assumed the original name of Louisiana, and the Territory north of it received the name of Missouri. In 1819, the southern portion of the latter Territory was formed into a separate government and called Arkansas. At the same time the Territories of Maine and Missouri were making overtures for admission into the Union.

Now began the first earnest debate in Congress on the subject of the extension of the slave-labor system in our country. The first effort to check that extension was, as we have observed, in 1787, when the Northwestern Territory was organized. The subject was only briefly considered incidentally, from time to time, until 1819, when the inhabitants of the Missouri Territory asked for its admission into the Union as a State. A bill for that purpose was introduced into Congress which contained a provision forbidding the existence of slavery in the new State when admitted. This caused one of the most violent debates in the House of Representatives on the subject of slavery that had ever occurred in the national legislature. Extreme doctrines and foolish threats were uttered on both sides; and there was much adroit management by the party leaders, who used great dexterity in trying to avoid a compromise which had been agreed to at a previous session, when the subject was before the House. One party wished to have Missouri enter the Union as a slave-labor State, and the other party desired its admission as a free-labor State.

As compromise seemed to be the only door through which Missouri might enter the Union, at that time, Henry Clay, who then first assumed the character of a pacificator, moved a joint committee to consider whether or not it was expedient to admit Missouri into the Union, and if not, what provision adapted to her actual condition ought to be made. This motion was adopted, a committee was appointed, but the final result, which was a compromise, was not reached until early in 1821. During the session of 1820-21, the discussions were sometimes very angry. The whole country, in the meantime, had become violently agitated by disputes on the subject, and a cry went forth from unwise and unpatriotic lips at the North and in the South for a dissolution of the Union. Then for the first time the people of the Union were vehemently and decisively divided on the subject of slavery. A member of Congress from Georgia prophetically said in the course of the debate; "A fire has been kindled which all the waters of the ocean cannot put out, and which only seas of blood can extinguish." A compromise was effected by the adoption of a provision in the bill (February, 1821) for the admission of Missouri, that in all territory south of thirty-six degrees and thirty minutes north latitude (the southern boundary of the State of Missouri) slavery

might exist, but was prohibited in the region north of that line. This agreement, known as the "Missouri Compromise" (by which that Territory was admitted as a free-labor State), was respected for more than thirty years, when, in 1854, it was violated in favor of the slave holders. Maine was admitted in 1820.

By this compromise the fire was smothered, but not extinguished. It was kept alive by philanthropists and politicians in the North, who soon reproduced the anti-slavery societies which had existed at an early period in the history of the nation. So early as 1775, Dr. Franklin was president of an anti-slavery society, whose objects were approved by Washington and other leading patriots. The New York Manumission Society was established in 1785, with John Jay president and similar societies were founded in other States, including Delaware, Maryland and Virginia, and these efforts resulted in the final abolition of slavery in all the States north of those just named. But the cotton-gin, invented by Eli Whitney in the closing decade of the last century, had made the cultivation of cotton so profitable, that there was a large increase in the demand for slave labor and a consequent enhancement in the value of slaves. This change in the commercial aspect of the cotton plant and slave labor caused the dying institution of slavery to revive and assume extraordinary vigor.

Opposition to it practically ceased at the South, while at the North, the slave-system being unprofitable, that opposition continued, though for many years in a state of repose. It was aroused to action by the debates on the Missouri question. That agitation was succeeded by repose for ten years, when William Lloyd Garrison began the publication of the Liberator (1831) in Boston, which advocated the emancipation of the slaves as the duty of every master and the right of every bondman, and denounced slave-holding as a "sin against God and a crime against humanity." Arnold Buffum, a member of the Society of Friends, and some others, formed an anti-slavery society in Boston in 1832; and in 1833 a similar society was formed in Philadelphia by Arthur Tappan and others. Violent agitations ensued. By lectures, tracts and newspapers, the antislavery doctrine was disseminated all over the land; and so perilous to the Union seemed these proceedings, that official efforts were made to prevent anti-slavery publications being carried in the mail-bags of the United States. This stimulated the Abolitionists to more vigorous action, and the friends and opponents of their causes threatened the dissolution of the Union. Churches were dismembered, and political parties were formed with the great question of slavery as the central point of action. The Liberal Party was formed in 1840, and in 1848 it was absorbed by the Free-Soil Party. This, in turn, was absorbed by the Republican Party formed in 1856, which still exists, and which carried in it the contest against the institution of slavery until it was utterly extinguished at the close of the late Civil war. Thus the prophecy of the Georgian was fulfilled - the fire was extinguished by seas of blood.

The commerce of the United States was greatly injured by swarms of privateers under Spanish-American flags, who had degenerated into pirates and so became outlaws, subject to chastisement by any nation. They infested the West Indian seas and the northern coasts of South America. Against these pirates and to protect American commerce, our government sent Commodore Perry, with two ships-of-war, in the spring of 1819. Perry died of yellow fever in the

performance of his duty, and very little was then done toward suppressing the pirates; but in 1822 a small American squadron destroyed more than twenty piratical vessels on the coasts of Cuba and the next year Commodore Porter, with a larger force, completed the good work. It was the policy of the government of the United States to favor the revolt of the Spanish-American provinces, whose flag these pirates had dishonored, as a means for preventing the establishment, in the future, of monarchical powers on the American continent. The latter policy was avowed by the President, and has never been lost sight of by our government, and is known in history as the Monroe Doctrine." Accordingly, on the recommendation of the President, Congress, early in 1822, resolved by an almost unanimous vote to recognize the independence of five of the revolted colonies, and appropriated 100,000 to defray the expenses of envoys to the seat of government of each, whom the President soon afterwards appointed.

While the Missouri question was pending, an election for President of the United States occurred. Never was a canvass carried on more quietly than this, and Monroe and Tompkins were reelected by an almost unanimous vote, the old Federal party as a political organization being nearly extinct. Mr. Monroe's second term was not marked by any very important public occurrences, but a pleasing incident in our history distinguished the last year of his administration. It was the visit of General Lafayette to the United States as the "nation's guest," he having been invited to come, by the President at the request of Congress. He declined the offer of a ship of the line for his conveyance to this country, and with his son (George Washington) and his secretary he sailed from Havre for New York, where he arrived on the 15th of August, 1824. In the space of about eleven months he made a tour of about five thousand miles through the principal portions of the United States, and was everywhere greeted with the greatest enthusiasm. His journey was like an almost continual triumphal procession. Congress voted him \$200,000 and a township of land, "in consideration of his important services and expenditures during the American Revolution;" and when he was ready to return to France, an American frigate named the Brandywine, in compliment to him (the first battle for our independence in which he was engaged having been fought on the banks of the Brandywine in September, 1777), was sent by our government to convey him back. He had witnessed the greatness of the American republic on his return he experienced the littleness of the Bourbon dynasty in France, for when on his arrival in Havre, a great concourse of the people assembled to make a demonstration in his honor, they were dispersed by the police.

Many interesting incidents occurred during Lafayette's tour through the country. A touching one was related to the writer, many years ago, by George Washington Parke Custis, the adopted son of General Washington. In October, 1824, Lafayette visited Mount Vernon and the tomb of Washington. He was conveyed to the shore from a steamboat in a barge, accompanied by his son (who had lived at Mount Vernon with Custis when they were boys), Secretary John C. Calhoun, and Mr. Custis. At the shore he was received by Lawrence Lewis, a nephew of Washington, and the family of Judge Bushrod Washington, who was absent on official business. He was conducted to the mansion where, forty years before, he took his last leave of the Patriot whom he most sincerely loved as a father. Then the company proceeded to the tomb of Washington (the old one on the brow of the hill), when Mr. Custis, after a brief speech, presented the general with a gold

ring containing a lock of Washington's hair. Lafayette received it with emotion, and after thanking the donor, he affectionately embraced him and the other gentlemen present. Then he fervently pressed his lips to the door of the vault. It was opened, and there were displayed the coffins of Washington and his wife, decorated with flowers. The general descended the steps, kissed the leaden caskets while tears suffused his cheeks, and then reverently retired.

When Monroe's administration of eight years was drawing to a close, the task of choosing his successor devolved upon the people. There were several prominent men spoken of as candidates, and the choice was not a political but a personal affair. The nomination, in the state of political parties at that time, if done with unanimity, would be equivalent to an election. But candidates were too numerous to insure unanimity. The principal ones were William H. Crawford, John Quincy Adams, Henry Clay, John C. Calhoun, and Andrew Jackson. The elections held in the autumn of 1824, showed conclusively that not one of the candidates would be elected by the popular vote, and that the choice would devolve upon the House of Representatives. This was determined by the vote of the electoral colleges; and in February, 1825, the House of Representatives chose John Quincy Adams of Massachusetts for President, and John C. Calhoun of South Carolina for Vice President, by the votes of thirteen States.

The administration of Mr. Monroe, which ended on the 4th of March, 1825, was not marked by any very important events besides those already mentioned, excepting the passage of an act making provision, in a degree, by pensions, for the widows and children of deceased soldiers of the War for Independence and of 1812-15 also an arrangement with Great Britain by which American citizens were allowed to share with those of that realm in the valuable Newfoundland fisheries. At about the same time the boundary between the United States and the American-British possessions from the Lake of the Woods to the Rocky Mountains was defined. The industries of the country were readjusted. In New England, in which capital had been chiefly employed in commerce, navigation and the fisheries, manufactures soon became a favorite pursuit, and under the stimulating influence of high tariffs established in 1816 and 1818, was amply remunerative. The business of the country was generally very prosperous. The population had rapidly increased the paper currency of the country was contracted and restored to a specie basis. Cotton had become the staple production of the Southern States; the manufactures of the country had increased tenfold, and the tonnage threefold; the national debt had dwindled from \$127,000,000 in 1816, to less than \$80,000,000, and the banking capital of the country was \$127,000,000. Such was the general condition of our country when John Quincy Adams, then fifty-seven years of age, was elevated to the office of President of the republic.

Chapter CIII

President John Quincy Adams - The Georgians and the Indians - The Erie Canal - Wedding the Lakes and the Sea - Death of Adams and Jefferson - South American Republics - The American System - A National Convention and Its Results - Administration of President Adams - President Jackson's Inauguration, Character and Policy - Removal of the Cherokees - United States Bank - Black Hawk War - State Supremacy and Nullification - War on the United States Bank - Speculation and the Credit System - War with the Seminoles - New States - Jackson's Last Official Act.

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS, son of the second President of the United States, entered upon the duties of that high office on the 4th of March, 1825. He was small in stature, a thorough republican in principles, and with political views consonant with those held by Mr. Monroe. The Senate was in session at the time of his inauguration, and that body, by unanimous vote, immediately confirmed Mr. Adams's nominations for cabinet ministers, excepting Henry Clay, against whose confirmation fourteen votes were cast. It had been charged that Mr. Clay, seeing little chance for his own election to the Presidency, had used his influence in favor of Adams and against Jackson with the understanding that he was to be appointed Secretary of State. This alleged bargain was the cause of opposition to Clay's confirmation. He was appointed Secretary of State; Richard Rush, Secretary of the Treasury; James Barbour, Secretary of War; Samuel L. Southard, Secretary of the Navy, and William Wirt, Attorney-General.

Mr. Adams's administration began under the most pleasant auspices. The country was at peace with all nations, and no serious domestic trouble appeared, while general prosperity reigned in the land and there seemed to be nothing that would disturb the serenity of public affairs. This quietude prevailed, in a degree, during the whole of Mr. Adams's administration of four years, which were the least conspicuous for stirring events in the history of the republic. The discords engendered by the late exciting election had produced healthful agitation, but measures were adopted that caused stormy times in the administration that followed.

A threatening cloud appeared in the firmament at the beginning of Adams's administration. When Georgia relinquished her claim to a considerable portion of the Mississippi Territory, the national government agreed to purchase for that State the Indian lands within its borders "whenever it could be peaceably done upon reasonable terms." The Creeks and the Cherokees, who were practicing the arts of civilized life, refused to sell their lands and remove into an uncultivated wilderness. The Georgians were impatient, and their governor demanded of the United States the instant fulfillment of the contract, by a removal of the Indians. He ordered a survey of their lands to be made, and he prepared to distribute their possessions among the citizens of Georgia and because the national government seemed tardy, he assumed the fight to remove the Indians himself. Our government took the just position of defenders of the Indians, and for awhile the matter bore a serious aspect. The difficulties were finally settled, and in the course of a few years the Creeks and Cherokees were settled on lands beyond the Mississippi River. It was at the beginning of Mr. Adams's administration that the greatest work of internal

improvement ever undertaken in our country, in the interest of commerce, was completed. It was the Erie Canal, which traverses the State of New York in an east and west line three hundred and sixty-three miles, between Buffalo and Albany, and connects the water of the great upper lakes and those of the Hudson River by a navigable stream. It was constructed by the State of New York at a cost of \$7,600,000; and it was the consummation of a scheme which General Philip Schuyler (the father of the American canal system), Elkanah Watson, Governor Morris, Jesse Hawley, De Witt Clinton and others had cherished for years. It was the grand result of a suggestion made by Governor Morris twenty-five years before. When the canal was completed in 1825, it was formally opened to commerce after a grand celebration," which consisted of an aquatic procession from Albany to the sea, in November of that year. The flotilla, led by the steamboat Chancellor Livingston, with De Witt Clinton (then governor of New York) and State officers on board, was composed of steamers and canal-boats. It halted at the city of New York and on a cool and brilliant November morning, the whole fleet, accompanied by other vessels, went down the bay, everywhere greeted by the roar of cannon and the unfurling of banners, and passing out the Narrows, were soon floating on the bosom of the Atlantic Ocean near Sandy Hook. There the Chancellor Livingston was anchored, with a swarm of other vessels around her, which were gaily decorated with flags and crowded with people. At a proper time Governor Clinton advanced to the taffrail of the Chancellor Livingston, and holding up a keg containing water of Lake Erie, which had been brought from Buffalo in a canal-boat, and pouring the liquid into the sea, completed the nuptials of the Ocean and the Great Lakes - nuptial ceremonies more important and significant than were ever performed in the wedding of the Doge of Venice and the Adriatic. That great work of internal improvement gave rise to similar ones elsewhere, and was of vast benefit to the whole country. The Erie Canal continues to be the channel of a wonderful outflow of the agricultural products of the West to the seaboard, and of the inflow of the merchandise from the Atlantic ports to the interior. During the year 1872 (the year before the great depression in the business of the country began), the value of the property that was transported on that canal was \$168,000,000; notwithstanding a three-track railway, carrying an immense amount of freight, is laid parallel to it in its entire length.

The venerable father of the President, John Adams, died at Quincy, Massachusetts, on the 4th of July, 1826, just fifty years, almost to an hour, after the Declaration of Independence was adopted. On the same day and almost at the same hour, Thomas Jefferson expired, at Monticello, in Virginia. Mr. Adams was about ninety-one years of age, and Mr. Jefferson about eighty-three. They were both members of the committee appointed to draft the Declaration of Independence. Mr. Jefferson was its literary author, and Mr. Adams was its chief supporter in the Congress. The death, simultaneously, of these two of the chief founders of the republic, produced a profound sensation and in many places throughout the Union, eulogies and funeral orations were pronounced.

The most important movement in the foreign policy of Adams's administration was the appointment of commissioners to attend a congress of representatives of the South American Republics, which assembled at Panama, on the Pacific coast, on the 22nd of June, 1826. The result of that congress was not very important but the policy of sending to it representatives of the

government of the United States, caused much discussion here.

The American System, as it was called (a system of protection and encouragement for American manufacturing establishments, by means of high duties imposed on fabrics made abroad and imported into the United States), was fully developed and assumed the form of a national policy late in the administration of Mr. Adams. On account of the illiberal commercial policy of Great Britain, tariff laws were enacted in 1816 as retaliative measures and in 1824 imposts were laid on foreign fabrics imported into our country, for the avowed purpose of encouraging home manufactures. These movements were opposed by the cotton-growers, as inimical, to their interests and to a national convention assembled at Harrisburg Pennsylvania, in 1826, to discuss the general subject of tariffs and manufactures, only four of the slave-labor States sent delegates. That convention petitioned Congress to increase the duties on foreign fabrics that were specified, and it was done in the spring of 1828. The measure pleased the manufacturing interest, and displeased the cotton-growing interest. It was denounced in some of the Southern States as oppressive and unconstitutional, and resistance to the law was suggested.

In the autumn of 1828, John Quincy Adams and Andrew Jackson were rival candidates for the Presidency of the United States. Jackson was elected, with John C. Calhoun as Vice-President, by a very large majority, after a most exciting canvass, during which, a stranger to our institutions, looking on, would have believed the nation to be on the verge of civil war. Mr. Adams's administration closed on the 4th of March, 1829. It had been marked by great tranquility and unexampled national prosperity. Peaceful relations with foreign nations existed, and the national debt had been diminished at the rate of more than \$7,000,000 a year, it being at the time of his retirement about \$58,000,000. This real prosperity he bequeathed to his successor, and he left the chair of state blessed with the grateful benedictions of the survivors of two wars and their families, to whom had been distributed in pensions, during the four years, more than \$5,000,000.

Jackson, when a lad, had served as a soldier in the old war for independence; and when he proceeded from his lodgings, in Washington city, to the Capitol, to be inaugurated on the 4th of March, 1829, he was escorted by surviving officers and soldiers of that war. His valorous deeds in the second war for independence (1812-15) were remembered by the soldiers of the latter war, and they thronged the national capital on that day to witness the exaltation of the chief.

President Jackson was honest, brave, and true to his moral convictions. He began his administration with an audacity of conduct that amazed his political friends, and alarmed his enemies. He swept his political opponents out of the various offices; but in making new appointments, he aimed to have the incumbent answer the searching queries in the affirmative - "Is he capable? Is he honest?" His foreign policy was indicated in his instructions to Louis McLane, his first minister to England, in which he said: "Ask nothing but what is right, and submit to nothing that is wrong." Jackson was so decided in his opinions and actions - so positive in character - that he was thoroughly loved or thoroughly hated; and for eight years he raved the fierce tempests that arose out of partisan strifes, domestic perplexities and foreign arrogance, with a skill and courage that challenge our profound admiration.

At the beginning of Jackson's administration, the government of Georgia renewed its demand for the removal of the powerful Cherokee nation from that State. The President favored the demand, and white people proceeded to take possession of Cherokee estates which had been assigned to them. These Indians were then advanced in civilization, many of them being successful agriculturists. They had churches and schools, and a printing-press and as they were disposed to defend their rights, civil war appeared inevitable for awhile. In 1832, the Supreme Court of the United States decided against the claim of Georgia, when that State, supported by the President, resisted the decision. An amicable settlement was finally reached and under the mild coercion of General Winfield Scott and several thousand troops, the Cherokees left Georgia in 1838, and went to lands assigned them well toward the eastern slopes of the Rocky Mountains, where they still remain, with Creeks, Choctaws and others as their neighbors.

In his first annual message, President Jackson took strong ground against a renewal of the charter of the United States Bank, which would expire in 1836. As we have observed, that charter was never renewed by Congress. The discussions on the subject, for several years, kept the commercial community in a state of feverish excitement. It was occasionally varied by some contra- excitement, like that of the Black Hawk War in 1832. At that time the region was known as the State of Wisconsin was an almost unbroken wilderness. Several Indian tribes inhabited it and these, led by Black Hawk, a fierce Sac chief, made war upon the frontier settlers of Illinois in April, 1832. After some skirmishes with United States troops and the militia of Illinois, the Indians were driven beyond the Mississippi, and their leader, made captive, was taken to eastern cities, that he might be impressed with the folly of contending with a nation so numerous and strong.

Now began a conflict which shook the republic to its very centre. The doctrine of State sovereignty, or State supremacy, formulated in the first constitution of the republic known as the Articles of Confederation, and discarded in the second constitution, yet prevailed, especially in South Carolina, where John C. Calhoun was its most earnest exponent. The discontents alluded to growing out of the tariff acts, and crystallized by the alchemy of this doctrine, assumed the concrete form of incipient rebellion against the national government when, in the spring of 1832, an act of Congress was passed imposing additional duties on imported textile fabrics. A State convention of delegates was held in South Carolina in November following, at which it was declared that the tariff acts were unconstitutional and therefore null and void and it was resolved that no duties should be collected in the port of Charleston by the national government. It was also proclaimed that any attempt to enforce the law would be resisted by the people in arms, and would cause the secession of South Carolina from the Union. The State Legislature that met soon afterward passed laws in support of this declaration, and military preparations were made for that purpose. Civil war seemed to be inevitable, but the President met the exigency with his usual promptness and vigor. On the 10th of December he issued a proclamation (Written by Louis McLane, Secretary of the Treasury), in which he denied the right of any State to nullify an act of the national government, and warned those engaged in the movement in South Carolina that the laws of the United States would be enforced by military power, if necessary. The nullifiers" yielded to necessity for the moment, but their zeal and determination were not abated. Great

anxiety filled the public mind for a time, until Henry Clay, one of the most earnest promoters of the American System, appeared as a pacificator, by offering a bill (February 12, 1833) which provided for a gradual reduction of the obnoxious duties during the next ten years. This compromise was accepted by both parties, and the bill became a law in March. Discord ceased, and the dark cloud gave way to sunshine. President Jackson had been reelected to the Chief Magistracy in the autumn of 1832, with Martin Van Buren as Vice-President. The latter had been Secretary of State, and was appointed by the President, during the recess of Congress, to succeed Mr. McLane as minister to England. The Senate afterward refused to ratify the appointment, and Van Buren was recalled. This act was regarded as a gratuitous indignity offered to the administration. Its friends made use of it to create sympathy for the rejected minister, and he was elected to preside over the body which had declared him to be unfit to represent the republic at the British court. The result completely alienated Calhoun from the administration.

While the country was agitated by the movements of the nullifiers, the President himself produced equal excitement by beginning a series of acts in his warfare upon the United States Bank which were denounced as high-handed and tyrannical. In his annual message in December, 1832, the President recommended Congress to authorize the removal from that institution of the government moneys deposited in it, and to sell the stock of the bank owned by the United States. Congress refused to do so. After the adjournment of that body, the President took the responsibility of ordering Mr. Duane, the Secretary of the Treasury, to withdraw the public funds (amounting to about \$10,000,000) from the bank, and deposit them in certain State banks. The Secretary refused, when the President removed him from office, and put in his place R. B. Taney, then the Attorney-General and afterward Chief-Justice, who obeyed his superior. The removal of the funds began in October, 1833, and a large portion of them were drawn out in the course of four months; the remainder, by the end of nine months. This transaction produced great public excitement and much commercial distress. The amount of loans of the bank was over \$60,000,000 on the first of October, when the removal was begun and so intricate were the relations of that institution with the business of the country, that when the functions of the bank were paralyzed, all commercial operations felt a deadening shock. This fact confirmed the opinion of the President that it was a dangerous institution, and he refused to listen favorably to all prayers for a modification of his measures, or for action for relief made by numerous committees of merchants, manufacturers and mechanics, who waited upon him. To all of them he said, in substance: The government can give no relief nor provide a remedy the banks are the occasion of the evils which exist, and those who have suffered by trading largely on borrowed capital ought to break; you have no one to blame but yourselves." The State banks received the government funds on deposit, and loaned them freely. The panic subsided; confidence was gradually restored, and apparent general prosperity returned.

The appearance was deceptive. Speculation was stimulated by the freedom with which the banks loaned the public funds, and the credit system was enormously expanded. Trade was brisk the shipping interest was prosperous; prices ruled high; luxury abounded, and nobody seemed to perceive the under-current of disaster that was surely wasting the foundations of the absurd credit system and the real prosperity of the nation. It collapsed at the touch of the etherial spear of

Necessity. A failure of grain crop of England caused a large demand for corn to pay for food products abroad. The Bank of England, seeing exchanges running high and higher against that country, contracted its loans and admonished houses who were giving long and extensive credits to the Americans, by the use of money borrowed from the bank, to curtail that hazardous business. At about the same time the famous Specie Circular went out from our Treasury Department (July, 1836), directing all collectors of the public revenue to receive nothing but coin. From the parlor of the Bank of England and from the Treasury of the United States went forth the unwelcome fiat, Pay up! American houses in London failed for many millions; and every bank in the United States suspended specie payments in 1837, but resumed in 1839. Then the United States Bank, chartered by the legislature of Pennsylvania, fell into hopeless ruin, and with it went down a very large number of the State banks of the country. A general bankrupt law, passed in 1841, relieved of debt almost forty thousand persons, whose liabilities amounted in the aggregate to about \$441,000,000.

These financial troubles were preceded by the breaking out of war with the Seminole Indians in East Florida, a consequence of an attempt to remove them, by force, to the wilderness west of the Mississippi River. Led by Micanopy, their principal sachem and chief they began a most distressing warfare upon the frontier settlements of Florida, in which Osceola, a chief superior in ability to Micanopy (for he possessed the cunning of Tecumtha and the heroism of a Metacomet), was an active leader for awhile, for he had private wrongs to revenge.

In the spring of 1832, some of the Seminole chiefs, in council, agreed to leave Florida, and made a treaty to that effect. Other chiefs (among whom was Osceola) and the great body of the nation resolved to stay, declaring that the treaty was not binding upon them. At length, in 1834, General Wiley Thompson was sent to Florida with troops to prepare for a forcible removal of the Indians. Osceola stirred up the nation to resistance. One day his insolent bearing and offensive words in the presence of Thompson caused that general to put the chief in irons and in a prison for a day. Osceola's wounded pride called for vengeance, and it was fearfully wrought during a war that lasted about seven years. By bravery, skill, strategies and treachery, he over-matched the United States troops sent against him and commanded by some of the best officers in the service.

The first blow was struck in December, 1835. Osceola had agreed to send some horses and cattle to General Thompson but at the very time he was to do so, the savage was, with a small war party, murdering the unsuspecting inhabitants on the borders of the everglades - a region mostly covered with water and grass, and affording a secure hiding-place for the Indians. At that time General Clinch was occupying Fort Drane with a small body of troops. That post was in the interior of Florida, forty miles eastward of the mouth of the Withlacoochee River, and the garrison was now exposed to much danger from the hostilities of the Indians. Major Dade, with over a hundred soldiers, was sent from Fort Brooke, at the head of Tampa Bay, to the relief of Clinch; and on the 28th of December (1835) he fell into an ambush, when himself and his followers were all massacred excepting four men, who afterward died from the effects of the encounter. That sad event occurred near Wahoo Swamp, on the upper waters of the Withlacoochee. On the same day Osceola and a small war party stole unobserved up to a store a

few yards from Fort King (about sixty miles southwest of St. Augustine), where General Thompson and five of his friends were dining, and murdered them. Osceola killed and scalped General Thompson with his own hand, and so he enjoyed the revenge he had sought. Three days later, General Clinch had a sharp fight with the Seminoles on the Withlacoochee; and on the last day of February, 1836, General Gaines was assailed at the same place.

The Creeks helped their brethren in Florida by attacking white settlers within their ancient domain, in the spring of 1836. Made bold by success, they extended their depredations and murderous forays into Georgia and other parts of Alabama, attacking mail-carriers on horseback, stage-coaches on the land, and steamboats on the rivers and finally they assailed villages, until thousands of men, women and children, were seen flying for their lives from place to place to escape the tomahawk, the bullet, and the scalping knife. General Winfield Scott was now in chief command in the South, and he prosecuted the war with so much vigor that the Creeks were speedily subdued and during the summer of 1836, thousands of them were removed to the wilderness west of the Mississippi. At mid-autumn, General Call of Georgia led about two thousand militia and volunteers from that State against the Seminoles. Near the place of the massacre of Dade's command, a detachment of them, about five hundred in number, had a severe battle with the savages on the 25th of November; but like all other encounters with these Indians in their swampy fastnesses, it was not decisive. In that region the United States troops suffered dreadfully from miasmatic fevers, the bites of venomous serpents, and the stings of insects and the year 1836 closed with no prospect of peace. Indeed the war continued all the winter; but finally, in March, 1837, several chiefs appeared before General Jesup, then in chief command there, at his quarters at Fort Dade, and signed a treaty, which was intended to secure an immediate peace and the instant departure of the Seminoles to the new home prepared for them. The wily Osceola caused this treaty to be violated. The war was renewed; and during the summer of 1837, many more troops perished in the swamp while pursuing the savages. At length the treacherous chief became a prisoner in the hands of General Jesup. That officer received Osceola and other chiefs, with a train of seventy warriors, under a flag of truce, in a grove of magnolias in the dark swamp. As the chief arose to speak, Jesup gave a signal, when two or three of his soldiers rushed forward and seized and bound Osceola with strong cords. He made no resistance; but several of his excited followers drew their gleaming hatchets from their belts. The muskets and bayonets of Jesup's troops restrained them, and they were dismissed without their leader, who was sent to Charleston and confined in Fort Moultrie. There he died of a fever, and a small monument was erected over his grave near the main entrance to the fort. Jesup was severely censured for this violation of the sanctity of a flag; his plea in his justification was that it was the only way to stop the distressing war, for Osceola could not be held by the most solemn obligations of a treaty. Osceola's captivity was a severe blow to the Seminoles but under other leaders they continued to resist, notwithstanding almost nine thousand United States troops were in their territory at the close of 1837. Their fastnesses in the everglades could not be penetrated by the troops and they defied them, even after they received a severe chastisement from six hundred national soldiers under Colonel Zachary Taylor (afterward President of the United States), who had succeeded General Jesup. This chastisement was given them in a battle fought on Christmas day, on the northern border of Macaco Lake. For more than two years afterward Taylor and his men endured

great hardships in trying to bring the war to a close. A treaty for that purpose was made in May, 1839, but so lightly did its obligations bind the Indians that they continued their depredations. It was not until 1842 that a permanent peace was secured, when scores of valuable lives and millions of treasure had been wasted in a war that had its origin in the injustice of the white man toward his dusky neighbor.

In the intercourse of President Jackson's administration with foreign governments, his instructions given to Minister McLane, already alluded to, formed the basis of action. He demanded what was right with vigor, and refused to submit to what was wrong on all occasions; and by this course he secured to our republic the profound respect of the nations of the globe. At the end of his first term, the foreign relations of our government were very satisfactory, excepting with France. That government, by a treaty which he had vigorously pressed to a conclusion, had agreed to pay to the United States \$5,000,000, by installments, as indemnity for injury to American commerce, which the operations of the various decrees of Napoleon from 1806 until 1811 had inflicted. The legislative branch of the French government did not promptly comply with the provisions of the treaty, and the President assumed a hostile attitude. The affair was finally settled in 1836, before Jackson left the chair of state. Similar claims were made against Portugal, and payment obtained and for similar reasons the king of Naples agreed to pay to the United States \$1,720,000. Commercial treaties were made with several European states and with the Sultan of Turkey; and when Jackson retired from office in the spring of 1837, our republic, with its national debt extinguished, was more respected than ever by the powers of the earth.

During the administration of President Jackson, of eight years, two new States were admitted into the Union, making the whole number twenty-six. These were Arkansas and Michigan. The former was admitted in June, 1836, and the latter in January, 1837. At that time Jackson's administration was drawing to a close. Martin Van Buren, who had been nominated for the Presidency, with the understanding that if elected he would continue the general policy of Jackson, was chosen to that office by a very large majority of the popular vote. The people failed to elect a Vice President, when the Senate chose Richard M. Johnson of Kentucky for that office.

President Jackson offended a large class of the people of the United States by his last official act. So loud was the public clamor against the "Specie Circular," that a bill for the partial repeal of the measure was passed by both Houses of Congress at near the close of the session in 1837. The President refused to sign this bill and to prevent its becoming a law by a two-thirds vote after he should veto it, he kept it in his hands until Congress had adjourned. His message giving his reasons for withholding his signature was dated March 3rd, 1837, a quarter before 12 P. M.

President Jackson now retired to his seat "The Hermitage," in Tennessee. He was then seventy years of age. He never entered public life again and there, at that beautiful retreat, he died in June, 1845, when he was more than seventy-eight years of age.

Chapter CIV

Inauguration of Mr. Van Buren - A Commercial Revulsion - Extra Session of Congress - Insurrection in the Canadas - Burning of the Caroline - Northeastern Boundary Troubles - The Ashburton Treaty - "Hard Cider Campaign" - General Harrison Elected President - Divorce of Banks and State - Harrison's Inauguration and Death - John Tyler Becomes President - History of Political Parties - Extra Session of Congress - Bills for a National Bank Passed and Vetoed - Dissolution of the Cabinet - South sea Exploring Expedition - Smithsonian Institution - Trouble in Rhode Island - Texas and Its Annexation - A Sad Accident - Oregon - President Tyler's Retirement.

IT seemed to be the opening of a new era in the history of our Republic, when, on the 4th of March, 1837, Martin Van Buren of New York, of Dutch descent, was inaugurated the eighth President of the United States. His predecessors in that office were all of British stock, and had been personally engaged in the events of the old war for independence; he was born at near the close of that war, and was in the fifty-fifth year of his age when he entered the chair of state. The day of his inauguration was bright and serene, and he rode from the Presidential mansion to the Capitol by the side of the venerable Jackson, in a phaeton made largely of wood of the frigate Constitution, which the political friends of the general had presented to him. They were escorted by the military, horse and foot, and the new President, when he had taken the oath of office and delivered his inaugural address, was warmly greeted by the shouts of a great multitude of people.

Mr. Van Buren's administration began at an inauspicious time, for the fearful commercial revulsion, already alluded to, had just begun. During March and April, 1837, there were mercantile failures in the city of New York to the amount of more than one hundred million dollars. Only fifteen months before, property to the amount of more than twenty million dollars had been consumed by a great fire, which occurred in December, 1835, when more than five hundred buildings were destroyed. The effects of these losses and failures at the commercial emporium were felt in every part of the Union, and business confidence received a paralyzing shock. A deputation of merchants and bankers of New York waited upon the President in May with a petition praying him to defer the collection of duties, rescind the Specie Circular," and call an extraordinary session of Congress. Their prayer was rejected, and when that fact became known nearly all the banks in the country suspended specie payment. This movement embarrassed the government, for it was unable to obtain coin wherewith to discharge its own financial obligations. So situated, the public good demanded legislative relief and the President called an extraordinary session of Congress on the 4th of September. In his message to that body, he proposed the establishment of an independent treasury for the public funds, totally disconnected with all banking institutions; but during a session of forty-three days, Congress did very little for the general relief excepting the authorizing of an issue of treasury notes, in amount not exceeding ten million dollars. The independent treasury scheme met with violent opposition, but a bill to that effect became a law in July, 1840, and the "Sub-Treasury System" was put into operation.

Peaceful relations between the United States and Great Britain, which had then existed many years, were somewhat disturbed in 1837 and 1838 by events connected with a revolutionary movement that broke out in Canada, the avowed object being to achieve the independent. In this effort our people sympathized, and gave the insurgents all possible aid and comfort. Individuals and organized companies went across the border and joined the insurgents; and refugees from Canada were protected here. The agitation and the outbreak occurred simultaneously in Upper and Lower Canada, but local jealousies prevented a unity of action, and the scheme failed. The active sympathy of the people of the "States," and especially along the northern frontier, irritated the British government. The President issued a proclamation, warning Americans not to violate neutrality and international laws and he sent General Winfield Scott to the northern frontier to preserve order. It was not permanently effected until at the end of about four years.

Many stirring incidents occurred on the frontier during that outbreak in the Canadas, the most conspicuous of which was on the bosom of the Niagara River. A party of Americans, seven hundred in number, with twenty cannon, took possession of Navy Island, in that stream, two miles above the Great Falls. They had a small steamboat named Caroline, that plied between the Island and Schollosser, on the New York shore. One dark night in December, 1837, a party of royalists crossed the river from Canada, set the Caroline on fire, cut her loose from her moorings, and allowed her to go blazing down the fearful rapids and over the crown of the mighty cataract into the seething gulf below. It was believed that some persons were on board the Caroline, and perished with her. Another cause for unpleasant feeling between the governments of the United States and Great Britain was a long-standing dispute concerning the true boundary between the State of Maine and the British province of New Brunswick. The inhabitants of each frontier had become so exasperated, that at the close of 1838 they were preparing for actual war. General Scott was sent to the scene of strife as a pacificator in the winter of 1839, and the dispute was settled by a treaty negotiated by Daniel Webster and Lord Ashburton, the same year. Provision was made in the same treaty for the cooperation of the two governments in the suppression of the African slave trade also for the giving up of fugitives from justice, in certain cases. This is known in history as the Ashburton Treaty.

Mr. Van Buren was a candidate for the Presidency a second time, and was nominated for that office by the unanimous vote of the Democratic convention assembled at Baltimore in 1840. In December, 1839, a national Whig convention, held at Harrisburg in Pennsylvania, nominated General William Henry Harrison of Ohio for President and John Tyler of Virginia for Vice-President. The canvass was a very exciting one, and the method of carrying it on by one party was exceedingly demoralizing. Because Harrison lived in the West and his residence was formerly a log-cabin, such a structure became the symbol of his party and because of his proverbial hospitality, that quality was symbolized by a barrel of cider. Log-cabins were erected all over the country as places for political gatherings, and seas of cider were drunk in them. Young and old partook freely of the beverage, and the meetings were often mere drunken carousals that were injurious to all, and especially to youth. Many a drunkard afterward sadly charged his departure from the path of sobriety to the "Hard Cider" campaign of 1840. Demagogues, as usual, had made the people believe that a change in administration would restore prosperity to the country, and

they adroitly held the administration of Van Buren responsible for nearly all the woes the country was suffering. The consequence was that Harrison and Tyler were elected by overwhelming majorities; and in the spring of 1841, Mr. Van Buren surrendered the Presidential chair to the popular soldier of the West.

Fifty years had now elapsed since the formation of the government under the new constitution. The number of the States had doubled, and the population had reached about seventeen million souls. The resources of the country had been largely developed, especially its mineral treasures of coal and iron. The railway system was fairly established, and the settlement of the West was in rapid progress. From the beginning of the career of the republic, the State and banking institutions had been closely wedded the chief event of Mr. Van Buren's administration was their absolute divorce. They were reunited during the late civil war, and their nuptials, under better auspices, have been fruitful of blessings to the country.

General Harrison was an old man - sixty-eight years of age - when he entered upon the duties of chief magistrate of the nation. He seemed vigorous in mind and body when he delivered his inaugural address from the eastern portico of the Capitol. It was received with favor by all parties, for it was full of wisdom and confidence was half restored in the commercial world, when it was known that he had chosen Daniel Webster for Secretary of State Thomas Ewing, Secretary of the Treasury John Bell, Secretary of War; George E. Badger, Secretary of the Navy Francis Granger, Postmaster-General, and John J. Crittenden, Attorney-General. This beginning gave omen of the dawn of a day of prosperity for the land, and there were glad hearts everywhere. But the anthems of the inaugural day were speedily changed into solemn dirges. The hopes centered in the new President were extinguished for precisely one month after he took the oath of office from Chief-Justice Taney, he died. He had performed only one official act of great importance during his brief administration, and that was the issuing of a proclamation on the 17th of March, calling an extraordinary session of Congress in May to consider the subjects of finance and revenue.

John Tyler, the Vice-President, became the constitutional successor of President Harrison, He was called to Washington from Williamsburg in Virginia, by a message sent by Harrison's cabinet-ministers on the 4th of April (the day on which the President died), and he was in the national capital at four o'clock on the morning of the 6th. At noon, the cabinet ministers called upon him in a body, and he took the oath of office, administered by Judge Cranch. To the gentlemen present, after alluding to the deceased President, Mr. Tyler said, "You have only exchanged one Whig for another." He had been a Democrat of the school of strict constructionists of the Constitution, but when he was a candidate for the Vice-Presidency, he had avowed himself to be a firm and decided Whig. It seems proper here, in order to better understand the brief record of events that follow, to give an outline sketch of political parties in the United States at that time.

We have seen that the Federal party was cast into a minority on the election of Mr. Jefferson in 1800, and continued in opposition until the close of Madison's administration in 1817, when they

soon afterward became extinct as a national party; the administration of Mr. Monroe being so generally satisfactory, that opposition practically ceased. When, in 1824, Adams and Jackson, Crawford and Clay, became rival candidates for the Presidency, separate political organizations of a personal nature were formed, composed of Federalists and Democrats intermingled but when Jackson was elected to the chief magistracy in 1828, his supporters claimed the name of Democrats. His opponents took the name of National Republicans, but when in 1833 and 1834 they were joined by seceders of the Democratic party, they took the title of Whigs. At the accession of Mr. Van Buren in 1837, the great national parties into which the people were divided were known respectively as Democrats and Whigs. Several minor parties (some of them local in their organization), such as the Anti-Masons in the Eastern States the State-Rights men in the South, who were opposed to the removal of the deposits from the United States Bank; and the supporters of Jackson in Georgia, Tennessee and other States, who were opposed to Van Buren, generally acted with the Whig party.

Even before the elevation of Mr. Van Buren to the Presidency, the Democratic party had been divided in the Northern and Middle States. There arose in its ranks, in 1835, in the city of New York, a combination opposed to all moneyed institutions and monopolies of every sort. They were the successor of the defunct Workingmen's party, formed in 1829, and called themselves the Equal Rights Party." They acted with much caution and secrecy in their opposition to the powerful National Democratic party. They never rose above the dignity of a faction, and their first decided demonstration was made in Tammany Hall, one evening at the close of October, 1835, when the Equal Rights men objected to some names on the ticket to be put before the people. There was a struggle for the chair, which the regulars obtained, declared their ticket and resolutions adopted, and then attempted to adjourn the meeting and put out the lights. The opposition were prepared for this emergency by having "loco-foco" or friction matches in their pockets, with which they immediately restored light to the room, placed their leader in the chair, adopted an Equal Rights Democratic ticket, and passed strong resolutions against all monopolies. The faction was ever afterward known as the Loco-Focos, and the name was finally applied by the Whigs to the whole Democratic party. This faction became formidable, and the regulars endeavored to conciliate the irregulars by nominating Richard M. Johnson of Kentucky, their favorite candidate for the Presidency, for Vice-President, with Mr. Van Buren. The advocacy of an extensive specie currency by the latter, and his proposition for a sub-treasury, alienated another portion of the Democratic party, and they formed a powerful faction known as Conservatives." This faction finally joined the Whigs, and in 1840 aided in the election of Harrison and Tyler.

The first extraordinary session of the Twenty-seventh Congress began on the 31st of May, 1841, and continued until the 13th of September following. Subjects of grave importance to the nation were presented to that body, chief of which was that of the finances of the country. The Secretary of the Treasury (Mr. Ewing) strongly urged the necessity of a national bank, and recommended Congress to charter one with a capital of thirty million dollars. At the request of Congress (whose action was suggested by the President), the Secretary reported a plan of a Fiscal Bank of the United States," with a bill for its incorporation. He endeavored to free the plan from the constitutional objections to preceding institutions of a similar nature. It was known that the

President had decided constitutional objections to the old bank and had assisted Jackson in his warfare upon it and a bill was finally framed, partly upon the plan proposed by the Secretary, and partly by one proposed in the Senate by Mr. Clay, which the President, it was said, had declared met his views. It was passed on the 6th of August, as eminently the great Whig measure of the session, and one which was to restore confidence to the business community and inaugurate a day of national prosperity. It was sent to the President for his signature, when, to the great disappointment of his political friends, he returned it with his objections ten days after its passage. The Whigs in Congress were bewildered, and great anxiety was felt throughout the country. There was not a sufficient number of its supporters in Congress to enable them to carry the measure over the President's veto, and they hastened to construct a new bill that would meet his views. He was visited by two members deputed for the purpose, and a bill in accordance with his wishes was drawn up and submitted to Mr. Webster, the Secretary of State, who laid it before Mr. Tyler. The latter approved it, and it was sent to the House of Representatives and passed by that body. In conformity to his wishes the name of Bank was omitted in the latter.

While the second bill was pending in Congress, a private letter written by the late John M. Botts of Virginia, concerning the veto, was made public. He charged the President with infidelity to the party in power, saying: "One Captain Tyler is making a desperate effort to set himself up with the Loco- Focos, but he'll be headed yet, and, I regret to say, it will end badly for him. He will be an object of execration with both parties. . . . He has refused to listen to the admonitions of his best friends, and looked only to the whisperings of ambitious and designing mischief-makers who have collected around him." This letter so irritated the President that, allowing his personal feelings to control his public action, he resolved to oppose any bank bill that might be offered at that session. The second bill, which the President had approved, was passed without alteration on the 3rd of September. He had expressed a strong desire, at the beginning of the session, to have the matter postponed until the regular session, but the friends of the measure in Congress and throughout the country demanded immediate action. The bill was submitted to the President for his signature, and pursuant to his resolve, he vetoed it on the 9th - six days after its adoption. In consequence of this act, the Whigs, who had elevated Mr. Tyler to his high dignity, were greatly exasperated, and he was denounced as unfaithful to solemn pledges and as a secret enemy, who was playing into the hands of his late associates, the Democrats. All of Mr. Tyler's cabinet ministers resigned excepting Mr. Webster, who patriotically remained at his post because grave public interests connected with his department required it. In fact, Mr. Webster felt that the bank matter had been pushed with too much haste and persistency, considering the state of the President's mind, since there was reason to believe that the President would be glad of time for information and reflection before being called on to form an opinion on another plan for a bank - a plan somewhat new to the country. Mr. Webster wrote, I thought his known wishes ought to be complied with. I think so still. I think this is a course just to the President and wise in behalf of the Whig party." But such counsels did not prevail, and there was a decided alienation between the President and the Whig party from the time of the resignation of his cabinet. The two principal motives attributed to Mr. Tyler as the cause of his vetoes of the bank bills were, first, his constitutional scruples, with a determination to preserve his character for consistency and, second, having set his heart upon a second term for the Presidency, he was charged with endeavoring to

Ingratiate himself with his recent party friends, the Democrats, by his bank vetoes, and thus become the candidate for reelection in 1844. But neither party nominated him, and he accepted that honor from a convention of delegates composed chiefly of office-holders, but perceiving that his election would be impossible, he withdrew in August, and he and his friends gave their influence to the Democratic party.

During that extraordinary session of Congress, other important measures were adopted. The wants of the treasury were supplied, provision was made for fortifications, the sub-treasury act was repealed, and a bankrupt act, which Mr. Webster spoke of as "a great measure of justice and benevolence," was passed. By the latter act, thousands of honest and industrious men who had been prostrated by the tempest of business disaster which had swept over the land, and were hopelessly in debt, were enabled to stand on their feet again and give their energies to the promotion of the various industries of the country. It bore hard upon the creditor class and when rogues sought its shelter while cheating honest men, the law was repealed.

The second year of Mr. Tyler's administration (1842) was distinguished by the return of an expedition which the government sent out late in the summer of 1838 under the command of Lieutenant Charles Wilkes, to explore the great Southern Ocean. That expedition cruised along what was supposed to be the shores of a Southern continent, seventeen hundred miles in the vicinity of latitude 66 degrees. Much valuable scientific information was obtained, for able scientists and artists accompanied the expedition but owing to the imperfect methods of the publications of the results, that knowledge has not been properly diffused among the people. At the end of a voyage of about ninety thousand miles, the expedition presented to the nation a large collection of specimens of the natural history and curiosities of the islands of the South Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. A greater portion of these are preserved in the custody of the National Institute, in the building of the Smithsonian Institution at Washington city. The last-named institution was founded with funds bequeathed to the United States government by James Smithson of England, in trust, to be used for the Increase and diffusion of knowledge among men." The sum bequeathed, when received in 1838, was more than half a million dollars in gold, and in 1865, a residuary legacy of over \$26,000 was received. That institution is carrying out the benevolent views of Mr. Smithson in an admirable manner, for a time under the direction of Professor Joseph Henry, who was appointed secretary of the board of managers in 1846.

During President Tyler's administration, a spark of civil war appeared in Rhode Island, which seemed to demand the interference of the national government. The constitution of Rhode Island was the old charter granted by Charles the Second, and under it the people had prospered until 1842, when it was proposed to abandon it and make a new constitution. There was a wide difference of opinion as to the method to be pursued in making the change. A Suffrage," or Radical party, and a Law and Order," or Conservative party were formed. Each adopted a constitution and elected a governor and legislature under It and in May and June, 1843, both parties were armed in support of their respective claims. The State was on the verge of civil war, when the interference of national troops was invoked. The constitution of the "Law and Order" party was sustained, and no further trouble ensued.

This local agitation was followed by a national one. On the Southwestern borders of our Republic was a sovereign State called Texas, a part of the domain of ancient Mexico that was conquered by the Spaniards. The Mexicans revolted and set up an independent government, which became a Republic under a constitution similar to that of the United States, and was divided into nineteen States and five Territories; Texas was one of the former. The Mexican government encouraged emigration into that State, and in 1833, full ten thousand Americans were settled there. Santa Anna, a restless, unscrupulous and selfish intriguer and revolutionist, had made himself military dictator of Mexico. The people of Texas, unwilling to submit to his arbitrary rule, revolted, and in 1836 that State was declared to be independent. Santa Anna was then in that country with a heavy military force but at a battle near the San Jacinto River, late in April, he was defeated by General Houston and made a prisoner. This ended the war for Texan independence, and that independence was acknowledged by the United States in the spring of 1837. But the people of Texas were continually harassed by Mexican marauders and when in 1843 President Tyler made a proposition to the President of that Republic for its annexation to the United States, it was gladly accepted. A treaty to that effect was negotiated, and it was signed in April, 1844, by the Texan commissioner and John C. Calhoun, who was then Secretary of State; but the Senate rejected it.

The country was soon afterward violently agitated by discussions on the subject of annexation. The chief point of antagonism lay in the slavery question, the friends of that institution being all in favor of the measure, while its opponents were firmly opposed to it, for they regarded it as a plan for strengthening the political power of the slave-labor States; also because it would surely lead to a war with Mexico, for that government had never given up its claim to Texas as one of the States of the Republic. This question entered largely into the canvass for the Presidency in 1844. For that high office James K. Polk of Tennessee, who was warmly in favor of the annexation of Texas, was nominated by the Democrats, and George M. Dallas of Pennsylvania was named for Vice-President. They were elected over the opposing Whig candidates, Henry Clay of Kentucky and Theodore Frelinghuysen of New Jersey.

During the following winter, President Tyler was deprived of the services of two of his most trusted cabinet officers. Late in February, 1845, he, with all his cabinet, many members of Congress and other distinguished citizens, with several ladies, were on board the United States steamship of war Princeton, on a trial trip down the Potomac. When they were opposite Mount Vernon, one of the largest guns of the Princeton was fired, when it burst. Its fragments killed the Secretary of State, Abel P. Upshur, and T. W. Gilmer, Secretary of the Navy also David Gardiner of New York, whose daughter the President soon afterward married. John C. Calhoun was appointed to succeed Secretary Upshur, and John Y. Mason was made successor of Secretary Gilmer. Mr. Calhoun urged forward the Texas annexation scheme with great zeal and ability.

The region known as Oregon had been a matter of dispute at an early day between the United States and Great Britain. In the year 1792, Captain Gray of Boston, in the ship Columbia, entered the mouth of the great river of that region and gave the name of his vessel to the stream. When a report of this fact was pressed upon the attention of President Jefferson, he sent Captains Lewis

and Clark on an overland expedition to the Pacific Coast at the mouth of that river. The exploration was accomplished in 1804-1806; and this transaction, with the discovery by Captain Gray, gave to the United States a title to the region watered by the Columbia River, according to the British interpretation of the law of nations. The region so watered extended to the parallel of 54 degrees 40 north latitude. By the purchase of Louisiana in 1803, the United States acquired whatever title to that domain France had possessed. But the British government, instigated by the Hudson's Bay Company, claimed Oregon. Finally, by a treaty made in 1818, it was agreed that citizens of both nations should jointly occupy it for ten years. This was renewed for an indefinite period, each party having the right to end the agreement at any time by giving twelve months notice to the other. Such notice was given by the United States in 1839, and preparations were made for the occupation of the territory by American citizens. Great Britain then claimed the whole of Oregon. The United States offered to compromise by drawing the northern line of its possessions there, along the parallel of 49 degrees 40'. The British persisted in their claim, and during the political canvass of 1844, "Texas" and "Oregon" became a part of the battle-cry of the Democrats. At their convention in Baltimore they had declared by resolution that "our title to the whole of the territory of Oregon is clear and unquestionable that no portion of the same ought to be ceded to England or any other power; and that the reoccupation of Oregon and the reannexation of Texas [it had been claimed as a part of Louisiana, purchased of France] at the earliest practicable period, are great American measures which this convention recommends to the cordial support of the democracy of the Union." The former proposition was popular in the North, and the latter was popular in the South and secured the election of Polk and Dallas. The war-cry of Fifty-four forty, or fight was often heard during the canvass. A compromise was finally effected with Great Britain. The northern boundary of our Republic in that region was fixed at the parallel of 49 degrees; and 1848 the Territory of Oregon was organized. In February, 1859, it was admitted into the Union as a State.

The closing act of Mr. Tyler's administration was an imitation of President Jackson's "pocket veto." A bill making appropriations for certain harbors and rivers had passed both houses at near the close of the session, and was sent to the President for his signature. He retained it until the session had closed; and so, without formally vetoing it, he prevented its becoming a law.

At the close of his administration, on the 4th of March, 1845, Mr. Tyler, the tenth President of the United States, and then fifty-five years of age, retired to private life, where he remained a greatly respected "private citizen until the Civil war broke out, when he took an active part with the enemies of the Republic. He died at Richmond, Virginia, in January, 1862.

Chapter CV

President Polk - Relations between the United States and Mexico - Annexation of Texas - Preparations for War - Bargain with Santa Anna and Its Result - Army of Occupation in Texas - General Taylor and Troops on the Rio Grande - Generals Ampudia and Taylor - Fort Brown Constructed - First Bloodshed - A Mexican Force in Texas - Attack on Fort Brown - Battles of Palo Alto and Resaca de la Palma - General Taylor Enters Mexico - Declarations of War by the Two Governments - Plan of a Campaign - Siege and Capture of Monterey - Santa Anna in Mexico - General Wool in Mexico - Conquests by the Navy - General Scott Calls for Taylor's Troops - Battle of Buena Vista - Movements of General Taylor - Events in Northern Mexico - Conquest of New Mexico and California.

MR. POLK, the eleventh President of the United States, was a native of North Carolina, but was a citizen of Tennessee from early childhood and from 1825, when he was thirty years of age, he was almost constantly a representative of that State, in Congress, until he was elected to the Presidency, a period of twenty years. He entered upon the duties of that high office at a critical period in the history of our country, for it was on the verge of a war with the sister republic of Mexico, chiefly on account of the annexation of the revolted province of Texas, the independence of which had been acknowledged by the United States, France and England, and which that State had maintained nine years.

The friendship between the United States and Mexico had been extinguished some years before the annexation of Texas, because of repeated aggressions which had been made by the many succeeding rulers of our unfortunate neighbor, against the property of American citizens on the soil of that country or on vessels on the Gulf of Mexico. Redress had been frequently sought in vain. Our government generously forbore to use its power because Mexico was weak and distracted, and the latter seemed to consider that forbearance as an evidence of cowardice. Our government claimed six million dollars for spoliations of American property Mexico acknowledged two million as a just claim, but after repeated postponements of the payment of this amount, the government of Mexico virtually refused to settle the claim. This conduct alienated the confidence and respect of our government and people for Mexico and yet, in all the discussions concerning the annexation of Texas, propositions were made with special reference to the good faith of treaties made with Mexico. That government conscious of its inability to hold Texas, had offered to acknowledge its independence, provided it would not become annexed to our Union. Such was the situation when the joint resolution providing for the annexation of Texas was adopted by both Houses of Congress on the 28th of February, 1845, and was signed by President Tyler on the first day of March.

Two days after the inauguration of President Polk, General Almonte, the Mexican minister at Washington, asked and received his passports, and diplomatic relations between the governments ceased. The President of Mexico, Herrera, issued a proclamation in June following, declaring that the annexation of Texas in no wise destroyed the rights of Mexico, and that they would be maintained by force of arms. Both governments prepared for war when, on the 4th of July, 1845,

Texas became a State of our Union. Satisfied that war was inevitable, President Polk ordered brevet Brigadier-General Zachary Taylor, then in command of national troops in the southwest, to enter Texas and take a position as near the Rio Grande as prudence would allow. His little force of fifteen hundred men were called an "Army of Occupation" for the defense of the newly-acquired State.

At the same time Commodore Conner, of the United States navy, was sent with a strong squadron into the Gulf of Mexico to protect American interests in that region, ashore and afloat.

At that time, Santa Anna was an irritated exile in Cuba, having been banished from Mexico for ten years, and President Polk made a secret bargain with him for the betrayal of his country into the hands of the government of the United States. The plan that was agreed upon was simple. The President was to send a strong force toward the frontier of Mexico. Santa Anna was to go into his own country, where an army gathered near that frontier would be sure to pronounce for him as their leader, and then the war was to begin. The President was to furnish a force sufficient to give Santa Anna a decent excuse for surrendering his army to it; and so the Americans might easily take possession of Mexico. For this important act Santa Anna was to receive a very large sum of money from the secret service fund in the hands of the President. The Army of Occupation or Observation, as it was alternately called, was sent into Texas, as we have seen, and A. Slidell McKenzie, of the United States navy, was sent to Cuba to perfect the arrangement with Santa Anna, who was living a few miles from Havana. Instead of going secretly to the retreat of the exile, the vain McKenzie, dressed in the full uniform of our naval officers, entered a volante in Havana, at noon-day, and in sight of all the people rode out to the dwelling place of Santa Anna. This fully disconcerted the whole plan. After this public visit from an officer of our navy, the exile could not fulfill his bargain in Mexico, for the act would make his treason palpable.

General Taylor landed with his troops on the Island of St. Joseph, where the flag of the United States was first unfurled in power over the soil of Texas for from the moment of the act of annexation, our government regarded Texas as part of our domain, and entitled to the full security which our flag could give. From St. Joseph's, General Taylor sailed with his troops to Corpus Christi, a Mexican village on the main, beyond the Nueces and not far from its mouth, and there, in September (1845), he formed a camp and tarried during the autumn and the ensuing winter. At the same time, President Polk inquired of the Mexican government whether it would receive a minister from the United States. President Herrera, who sincerely desired peace, gave an affirmative answer, when his countrymen, who were in favor of war, offended by this act, revolted and elected General Paredes in his place. This revolution was going on when our minister arrived, and Paredes, when elected, refused to receive him.

Soon after Taylor reached Corpus Christi, he was reinforced by seven companies of infantry under Major Brown, and two companies of volunteer artillery under Major Gally. Early in the following year (1846) he was ordered to take a position on the left bank of the Rio Grande, opposite the Mexican city of Matamoros, for it was observed that Mexican troops were gathering there with the evident intention of invading Texas. The region on the left bank of the Rio Grande,

fronting the State of Tamaulipas, was disputed territory, the boundary line between that State and Texas not having been defined. Mexico claimed it as a part of Tamaulipas, while the United States claimed it as a part of Texas. General Taylor obeyed his orders and went into that territory, landing at Point Isabel, about twenty-eight miles from Matamoros, where he formed a camp, despite the warnings of the Mexicans that he was on foreign soil. Leaving his stores and a part of his army there, he proceeded with the remainder of his force to the bank of the Rio Grande opposite Matamoros, and there began the construction of a fort large enough to accommodate about two thousand men. It was called Fort Brown in compliment to Major Brown, who was left in command there.

Paredes, the successor of Herrera, immediately sent General Ampudia with a considerable force to drive Taylor beyond the Nueces. On the day after his arrival (April 12, 1846) Ampudia sent a letter to Taylor, demanding the withdrawal of his troops within twenty-four hours, and saying: "If you insist in remaining upon the soil of the department of Tamaulipas, it will clearly result that arms, and arms alone, must decide the question." This General Taylor refused to do, as he was upon the soil of the United States. Ampudia hesitated, and twelve days afterward he was succeeded in the chief command there by the more energetic General Arista, chief of the northern division of the army of Mexico. It being reported that Arista had been reinforced, the work on Fort Brown was carried on most vigorously. A week after Ampudia's demand, General Taylor was informed that two vessels laden with supplies for the Mexicans were about to enter the Rio Grande, when he ordered the river to be blockaded by a brig and a revenue cutter. Arista regarded this as an act of war, and prepared to attack Fort Brown. Meanwhile parties of Mexicans had crossed the river and gotten between General Taylor and Point Isabel, cutting off all communication with his stores there. It was known that Arista's army was hourly increasing in strength, and other armed parties of Mexicans were trying to cross the river, above Taylor's encampment. The latter sent a party under Captain Thornton to reconnoiter, and nearly the whole command of that officer were surprised and captured. Thornton escaped only by the extraordinary leap of his horse over a thick hedge, followed by harmless bullets. Lieutenant Mason was killed, and his was the first blood shed in the war with Mexico. That was on the 24th of April, 1846.

General Taylor was satisfied from reports that reached him, that a Mexican force was gathering on the Texas side of the Rio Grande, to attempt a capture of his supplies at Point Isabel and on the first of May, having nearly finished Fort Brown, he placed a competent garrison in it under Major Brown, and with the remainder of his army made a forced march in the direction of his stores. He arrived at Point Isabel the same day, without molestation. Supposing this movement to be a retreat, Arista ordered troops to cross the river and gain the rear Fort Brown. This was done, and on the night of the 4th of May, the Mexicans erected battery behind the fort; and early the next morning they opened a tremendous fire from it upon the fortification. At the same time batteries at Matamoros, which had fired upon the fort on the 3rd, hurled shot and shell with very little effect, for Major Brown had erected strong bomb-proof shelters; yet almost at the beginning, that gallant officer was killed. The bombardment continued about thirty-six hours, when Arista sent a summons for a surrender. This was refused, and toward the evening of the

6th, another storm of shot and shell was poured upon the fort.

General Taylor ordered Major Brown to fire heavy signal guns if the fort seemed to be in peril. These were fired on the evening of the 6th of May, and on the following evening, Taylor, with more than two thousand men, marched from Point Isabel to relieve Fort Brown. He had been reinforced by Texan volunteers and marines from the fleet. At noon on the 8th they encountered a Mexican army six thousand strong, led by General Arista, upon a portion of a prairie flanked by ponds of water and beautified by tall trees, which gave it the name of Palo Alto." Nothing daunted, Taylor and his men attacked this superior force, and fought them so desperately for five hours, that at twilight the Mexicans gave way and fled in great disorder. The victory for Taylor was thorough and complete and when the battle was ended, the victors sank, exhausted upon the ground. They had lost in killed and wounded, fifty-three men; the Mexicans had lost about six hundred. During the engagement, Major Ringgold, commander of the American flying artillery which did terrible work in the Mexican ranks, was mortally wounded by a cannon-ball that passed through one thigh, the body of his horse, and the other thigh. Rider and steed fell to the ground. The latter was dead; the Major died at Point Isabel four days afterward. Meanwhile Fort Brown had defied the shot and shell from the Mexican batteries; and when, on the 8th, the thunder of cannon at Palo Alto announced Taylor's approach, the garrison took fresh courage and held out. Their works had endured a cannonade and bombardment for about one hundred and sixty hours without receiving much hurt.

At two o'clock in the morning of the 9th of May, Taylor's army were awakened from their slumbers on the battle-field to resume their march for Fort Brown. Their leader prepared for an attack on the way, for the broken forces of the enemy had been rallied but he saw no traces of the enemy until toward evening, when, as the Americans emerged from a dense thicket, the Mexicans were discovered strongly posted in battle order in a broad ravine that indented a prairie, called Resaca de la Palma or "Dry River of Palms." The ravine was about four feet deep and two hundred feet wide, and was fringed with palmetto trees. It was the bed of continuous pools of water in the rainy season, but was dusty in the dry season. Within that trench the Mexicans had planted a battery that swept the road over which the Americans were marching. Taylor pressed forward, and after some severe skirmishing, in which a part of his army was engaged, he ordered Captain May, leader of dragoons, to charge upon the battery. That gallant officer instantly obeyed. Rising in his stirrups, he called out to his troops:

Remember your regiment Men, follow! and dashing forward in the ace of a shower of balls from the battery, he made his powerful black horse leap the parapet He was followed by a few of his men, whose steeds made she fearful leap. The gunners were killed, and General La Vega (who was about to apply a match to one of the pieces) and a hundred men were seized by the troopers, made prisoners, and were borne away in triumph within the American lines. The battle went on, growing hotter every moment. The almost impenetrable thicket was alive with Mexicans, and blazed with the fire of their muskets. The strife was terrible for some time but at length the camp and headquarters of General Arista, the commander-in-chief, were captured, and the enemy were completely routed. Arista saved himself by flight, and, unattended, he made his

way across the Rio Grande. So sudden was his discomfiture and departure that the plate and other private property of Arista, with correspondence, arms, ammunition and equipments for several thousand men, and two thousand horses, fell into the hands of the victors. La Vega and a few other captive officers were sent on parole to New Orleans. It was estimated that the Mexicans had over seven thousand men on that battle-field: the Americans had less than two thousand. The former lost about a thousand men: the latter one hundred and ten. The Mexican army was completely broken up.

Leaving the battle-field of Resaca de la Palma, General Taylor returned to Point Isabel to make arrangements with Commodore Connor for future work, and then proceeded to Fort Brown to commence offensive operations there. The terrified Mexicans trembled for the safety of Matamoros, when Arista sent a deputation to Taylor to ask for an armistice until the two governments should arrange the dispute. The latter would not trust the treacherous Mexican, and refused the boon. It was afterward ascertained that during the conference Arista had removed a large quantity of ammunition and stores, and during the succeeding night (May 17, 1846) retreated with his troops which he had rallied, to the open country toward Monterey. Hearing of this, Taylor crossed the river (May 18) with his army, and, for the first time, unfurled the American flag over undisputed Mexican soil.

When news of the attack on Captain Thornton and his party on Texas soil, on the 24th of April, and a knowledge of the critical situation of the Army of Occupation, spread over the country, the people were aroused and before the two brilliant victories of Taylor were known a Washington, Congress (then in session) had declared that by the act of the republic of Mexico, a state of war exists between that government and the United States. They authorized the President to accept fifty thousand volunteers, and appropriated ten million dollars for carrying on the contest. This declaration of war was made on the 13th of May, and on the 23rd of the same month, the government of Mexico made a formal declaration of war against the United States. The American Secretary of War (Wm. L. Marcy) and General Winfield Scott, then general-in-chief of the armies of the United States, immediately made a magnificent plan for prosecuting the war. A fleet was to sweep around Cape Horn and attack the Pacific coast of Mexico; an "Army of the West" was to gather at Fort Leavenworth, on the Missouri River, to invade New Mexico and cooperate with the Pacific fleet, and an Army of the Centre was to rendezvous at San Antonio de Bexar, in the heart of Texas, to invade old Mexico from the north

The news of Taylor's victories produced great joy in the United States. illuminations, bonfires and cannon-peals in all the chief cities, were the outward demonstrations of delight, and, for the moment, the war was generally popular. Meanwhile General Taylor, who was called "Rough and Ready" by his soldiers, was preparing for the achievement of other victories in the land he had invaded. He remained at Matamoros until the beginning of September waiting for instructions from his government, and reinforcements for his army. Then the first division of his troops under General W. J. Worth moved toward Monterey, the strongly fortified capital of New Leon, which was then defended by about nine thousand troops commanded by General Ampudia. Taylor joined Worth, and, on the 19th of September, they encamped within three miles of that city with

almost seven thousand men. On the night of the 20th, Worth moved nearer the town, and on the following day he attacked it. Joined by other divisions of the army, the assault became general on the 23rd, and a conflict in the streets was dreadful. From the strong stone houses, the Mexicans poured volleys of musketry upon the invaders, and the carnage was severe. Finally, on the 4th day of the siege, Ampudia asked for a truce. It was granted, and he proposed to evacuate the city. Taylor would grant no other terms than absolute surrender, which was done on the 24th of September. Leaving General Worth in command at Monterey, Taylor encamped at Walnut Springs, a few miles from that city, and there awaited further orders from his government. Santa Anna had gone into Mexico, and was now at the head of its army; and having given assurances that he desired peace, Taylor agreed to a cessation of hostilities for eight weeks, if permitted by his government. In the siege of Monterey, the Americans lost over five hundred men, and the Mexicans about double that number.

Congress had directed General John E. Wool to muster and prepare for service the rapidly gathering volunteers authorized by that body, at San Antonio. So promptly did he perform that duty, that by the middle of July twelve thousand of them had been inspected and mustered into the service. Of these, nine thousand were sent to the Rio Grande to reinforce General Taylor's army, and the remainder were disciplined by Wool preparatory to an invasion of Chihuahua, one of the richest provinces of Mexico. With them, three thousand in number, Wool went up the Rio Grande, and on the last day of October (1846) he was at Monclova, seventy miles northwest from Monterey, where his kind treatment of the inhabitants won their confidence and esteem, and they regarded him as a friend instead of an enemy. There Wool heard of the capture of Monterey, and acting upon the advice of General Taylor, he abandoned the project of penetrating Chihuahua and marched to the fertile district of Parras in Coahuila, where he obtained an abundance of supplies for the two armies.

When General Taylor informed his government of the capture of Monterey, he called for reinforcements for his own army, and recommended the landing of twenty-five thousand troops at Vera Cruz. He received such instructions from the Secretary of War, that he gave notice that the armistice at Monterey would cease on the 13th of November. General Worth marched on the 12th with nine hundred men for Saltillo, the capital of Coahuila, and was followed the next day by General Taylor, who left General Butler in command at the conquered city. Saltillo was taken possession of on the 15th of November, and just a month afterward Taylor set out for Victoria, the capital of Tamaulipas, with a considerable force, intending to march upon and attack Tampico, on the coast. Commodore Conner had already captured that place (November 14), and Commodore Perry had also taken possession of Tobasco and Tuspan. Being informed of a rumor that Santa Anna, who had entered Mexico, was collecting a large force at San Luis Potosi to attack Worth at Saltillo, Taylor marched to Monterey to reinforce that officer, if necessary. There he received word that General Wool had reached Saltillo with his division, when Taylor again marched for Victoria, which place he occupied on the 29th of December.

Just as General Taylor was preparing to enter upon a vigorous winter campaign, he was compelled to endure a severe trial of his patience, temper, and patriotism. In accordance with his

recommendation, his government had sent General Scott, with a considerable force, to attempt the capture of Vera Cruz, and from that point to penetrate to the Mexican capital. Scott arrived off Vera Cruz in January, 1847, and being the senior officer of the army, he assumed the chief command of the American armies in Mexico. To effect the work which his government had ordered him to do, he felt compelled to draw from General Taylor's army a large number of his best officers, and a greater portion of his regular troops, leaving him with only about five thousand effective men, including the division of General Wool; and of them only five hundred were regulars. Like a true soldier, Taylor, though greatly mortified, instantly obeyed the chief's order to that effect. At that time Santa Anna had gathered an army of twenty thousand men at San Luis Potosi. He had also been elected Provisional President of Mexico in December, and his followers were full of enthusiasm when, on the first of February, he began a march toward Saltillo, with the avowed intention of drawing the Americans beyond the Rio Grande. General Wool, at Saltillo, had kept his commander advised of the movements of Santa Anna; and when Taylor was assured that the Mexicans were really moving against him, he resolved, weak as he was in numbers, to fight them. On the 31st of January he left Monterey with all his troops, and reached Saltillo on the 2nd of February. He pushed on to Aqua Nueva, twenty miles south of Saltillo, on the San Luis road, and encamped until the 21st, when he fell back to Augustina, a narrow defile in the mountains facing the estate of Buena Vista, and there encamped in battle order to await the approach of Santa Anna. His position was well chosen. It was near a narrow gorge in the mountains, through which the approaching Mexican army must pass - a sort of Thermopylae.

On the morning of the 22nd of February (1847), Santa Anna and his army were within two miles of Taylor's line of battle, when the Mexican chief sent the following note to the American leader:

"You are surrounded by 20,000 men, and cannot, in any human probability, avoid suffering a rout, and being cut to pieces, with your troops but as you deserve consideration and particular esteem, I wish to save you from such a catastrophe, and for that purpose give you this notice in order that you may surrender at discretion, under the assurance that you will be treated with the consideration belonging to the Mexican character; to which end you will be granted an hour's time to make up your mind, to commence from the moment that my flag of truce arrives at your camp. With this view, I assure you of my particular consideration. God and Liberty! ANTONIO LOPEZ DE SANTA ANNA."

General Taylor, who was always "ready," did not take an hour to consider the matter, but immediately replied:

"SIR - In reply to your note of this date, summoning me to surrender my forces at discretion, I beg leave to say that I decline acceding to your request. With high respect, I am, Sir, your obedient servant, Z. TAYLOR."

Both armies now prepared to fight. The Americans waited for the Mexicans to take the

initiative. It was deferred until evening excepting some skirmishing that afternoon and all that night. While the American troops were bivouacked without fire and slept on their arms, the Mexicans were in detachments in the mountains above them, trying to form a cordon of soldiers around the little army of Taylor and Wool, then less than five thousand in number. Early in the morning of the 23rd the battle began and continued all day. The struggle was terribly severe, and the slaughter was fearful. Until almost sunset it was doubtful who would triumph. Then the Mexican leader, after performing the pitiful trick of displaying a flag in token of surrender, to throw Taylor off his guard, made a desperate assault on the American centre, where that officer was in command in person. That centre stood like a rock against the billow. The batteries of Bragg, Washington and Sherman, rolled back the martial wave, and it was not long before the Mexican lines began to waver. General Taylor, standing near the battery of Captain Bragg, saw the signs of weakness and coolly said: "Give them a little more grape Bragg did so, when, just at twilight, the Mexicans gave way and fled in considerable confusion. Night closed the battle: but expecting it to be resumed in the morning, the Americans again slept on their arms; but when the day dawned, no enemy was to be seen. Santa Anna had fallen back to Aqua Nueva, and, in the course of a few days, his large but utterly amazed and dispirited army was almost dissolved. In the flight they had left five hundred of their comrades dead or dying on the field. They had lost in the battle almost two thousand men: the loss of the Americans in killed, wounded and missing, was seven hundred and forty-six. A son of Henry Clay was among the slain.

On the day of the battle of Buena Vista, Captain Webster, and a small party of Americans, drove General Minon and eight hundred Mexicans from Saltillo. Three days afterward, Colonels Morgan and Irvin defeated some of the enemy in a skirmish at Aqua Frio, and on the 7th of March Major Giddings was victorious in a conflict at Ceralvo. Meanwhile General Taylor had marched for Walnut Springs, near Monterey, where he remained almost inactive, several months, and in September (1847) he returned home, where he was received with the liveliest demonstrations of respect and honor because of his achievements. Three years afterward he was elected President of the United States by the votes of the Whig party.

While these operations were in progress near the Gulf, other events of importance were occurring in the northern part of Mexico. Stephen W. Kearney, of New Jersey, who had been brevetted major-general late in 1846, was placed in command of the "Army of the West" at Fort Leavenworth, in the spring of 1847, with instructions to conquer New Mexico and California. Before this time, Captain John C. Fremont, who had been sent by our government, with about sixty men, to explore portions of New Mexico and California, had become involved in hostilities with the Mexicans on the Pacific coast. When he approached Monterey, on that coast, he was opposed by General Castro and a strong party of Mexicans. Fremont retired to a mountain position, where he called around him the American settlers in that region, and captured a Mexican post at Sonoma Pass (June 15, 1846), with nine cannons and two hundred and fifty muskets. After some more skirmishing, Castro was routed, the Mexicans were driven from that region, and on the 5th of July the Americans there declared themselves independent, and placed Fremont at the head of public affairs. Two days afterward, Commodore Sloat, who was in command of an American squadron on the Pacific coast, bombarded and captured Monterey; and on the 9th,

Commodore Montgomery took possession of San Francisco. Almost a week later, Commodore Stockton arrived on that station and succeeded Sloat in command; and on the 17th of August he and Fremont took possession of the city of Los Angeles (city of the angels), near the Pacific coast, now the capital of Los Angeles county, California.

General Kearney left Fort Leavenworth with sixteen hundred men, in June, and on the 18th of August, after a march of almost nine hundred miles, he arrived at Santa Fe, the capital of New Mexico. He had traversed great plains and rugged mountain passes, without opposition; and as he approached Santa Fe, the governor and four thousand Mexican troops fled, leaving the six thousand inhabitants of the city to quietly surrender it. Kearney took formal possession of the State, appointed Charles Jent governor, and then pushed on toward California. He soon met a messenger from Stockton and Fremont, informing him that the conquest of California was already achieved, when Kearney sent the main body of his troops back to Santa Fe, and with one hundred men he pushed on toward Los Angeles. There, on the 27th of December (1846), Kearney met Stockton and Fremont, and these three officers shared in the honors of events which, soon afterward, accomplished the complete conquest and pacification of California. Fremont, the real liberator of California from the Mexican yoke, claimed the right to be governor of the territory, and was supported by Stockton and the people but General Kearney, his superior officer, would not acquiesce in the arrangement. At Monterey, Kearney, assuming the office of governor, proclaimed (February 8, 1847) the annexation of California to the United States. Fremont refused to obey him, and was ordered home to be tried on a charge of disobedience. His commission of lieutenant-colonel, which he had received, was taken from him, but the President offered to restore it. Fremont refused it, and went again to the wilderness to engage in explorations, Kearney remained in command on the Pacific coast until May (1847), when he returned home, leaving Colonel Mason as military governor of California.

While Kearney was on his march for the Pacific coast, Colonel Doniphan, of his command, at the head of a thousand Missourians, was performing signal services. He compelled the Navajo Indians to make a treaty of peace, late in November (1846), and then he marched toward Chihuahua to join General Wool. At Braceti, in the valley of the Rio del Norte, he encountered a Mexican force under General Ponce de Leon, who sent a black flag to Doniphan and a message, saying: "We will neither ask nor give quarter." This was immediately followed by the advance of the Mexicans, who fired three volleys. The Americans had all fallen on their faces. Supposing them to be dead, the Mexicans rushed forward to plunder them, when the Americans sprang to their feet, and poured such a deadly fire upon their assailants that two hundred Mexicans were killed. The remainder, astonished, fled in great disorder. Doniphan pressed on, and when within eighteen miles of the capital of Chihuahua, he was confronted by about four thousand Mexicans (February 28, 1847), whom he attacked and dispersed, and then entered the city in triumph. There, in the midst of a population of forty thousand souls, he unfurled the American flag over the citadel. He lost eighteen men in the engagement; and the Mexicans lost about six hundred.

Doniphan rested six weeks in Chihuahua, when he joined Wool at Saltillo late in May. Then he proceeded to New Orleans, having made a march from the Mississippi and back of about five

thousand miles. The conquest of all Northern Mexico and California was now complete. Some conspiracies against the new government in New Mexico ripened into revolt in January, 1847, when Governor Bent and others were murdered. Massacres occurred at various places. The insurgents were defeated at Canala, by troops under Colonel Price, and were scattered at the Pass of Embudo. Permanent peace was then secured.

By these conquests New Mexico, one of the places in the interior of the North American continent earliest visited by the Spaniards, became a permanent portion of the domain of our country. It was first traversed by the white race in the persons of Cabeza de Vaca and the remnant of those who followed Narvaez to Florida. They reached New Mexico some time 1536, when de Vaca sent a report of what he saw to the viceroy of Mexico. Expeditions were sent into that region from Mexico, and one of them penetrated to the Rio Grande. That company were the first Europeans who saw the bison, or buffalo, on our continent. Castaneda, the historian of the expedition, calls the animal a new kind of ox, wild and fierce, whereof the first day they killed fourscore, which sufficed the army with flesh."

Chapter CVI

Capture of Vera Cruz - March toward the Capital of Mexico - Battle of Cerro Gordo - Flight of Santa Anna - Capture of Jalapa, Perote, and Pueblo - A Wonderful Campaign - Peace Propositions Rejected - March over the Cordilleras - Defences of the Mexican Capital - Battles near that City - Failure of Negotiations for Peace - Conquest of the Empire - Treaty of Peace - Gold Found in California - Results of the War with Mexico - Election and Inauguration of General Taylor as President of the Republic - California Seeks Admission into the Union - Violent Debates of the Subject of Slavery - Its Temporary Settlement by a Compromise - Death of President Taylor - Accession of President Fillmore - Compromise Bills Passed - Invasion of Cuba.

IN the month of February, 1847, powerful land and naval forces were concentrated in the Gulf of Mexico. The military were under the command of Major-General Winfield Scott, and the vessels were in charge of Commodore Connor, who was afterward succeeded by Commodore M. C. Perry. The troops were gathered at Lobos Island, about one hundred and twenty-five miles north of Vera Cruz and on the 9th of March about thirteen thousand of them, designed for the conquest of Mexico, were landed near that city, which was considered the key of the country. Upon an island opposite was a very strong fortress, called the Castle of San Juan d'Ulloa, which the Mexicans regarded as impregnable. This fortress and the city were completely invested four days after the debarkation, and on the 22nd, Scott and Connor were ready to begin the siege. On that day Scott summoned the city and fortress to surrender; and when the demand was refused, shells from seven mortars on land (soon increased to nine) were hurled upon the city. The engineering work for the siege had been skillfully prepared by the late General Totten.

For about four days a furious cannonade and bombardment were kept up on land and water. The Mexicans in the city suffered dreadfully, and on the morning of the 26th the commander made overtures for a surrender. That event occurred on the 29th, when five thousand Mexicans marched out to a plain about a mile from Vera Cruz, and then laid down their arms, gave up their flags, and returned to the interior on parole. The city and fortress, with five hundred pieces of artillery and a large amount of munitions of war, passed into the possession of the Americans. During the siege the victors had lost about eighty men in killed and wounded; the loss of the Mexicans was fearful. About a thousand were killed, and many were wounded. Scott had tried to induce the governor of Vera Cruz to send the women and children and foreign residents out of the city before the bombardment began, but he refused, and many of them perished.

General Scott now made preparations to march for the Mexican capital by way of the Great National Road from Vera Cruz. Leaving General Worth as temporary governor at Vera Cruz, and a sufficient garrison for the castle, he moved forward on the 8th of April with about eight thousand men toward Jalapa, General Twiggs leading his division in advance. Meanwhile General Santa Anna, by extraordinary efforts after the defeat and dispersion of his army at Buena Vista, had gathered a force of about twelve thousand men from among the Sierras of Orizaba, and concentrated them upon the Heights of Cerro Gordo - a difficult mountain-pass at the foot of the eastern slope of the Cordilleras. There he was strongly fortified and was in Scott's path when, on

the 13th of April, Twiggs came in sight. Scott arrived the next morning, reconnoitered the position of the enemy, and made preparations to attack him. On the 17th he issued a most remarkable general order to the army, in which he directed movements in the coming battle which, followed, led to victory, making that order appear almost prophetic in its details. The battle occurred on the 18th, and before sunset the Americans were victorious. It was fought at a wild place in the mountains. On one side was a deep dark river, on the other was a frowning declivity of rocks a thousand feet in height, bristling with batteries, while above all arose the strong fortress of Cerro Gordo. The place had to be taken by storm and the party to do the work was composed of the regulars of Twiggs, led by the gallant Colonel Harney. Victory followed skill and bravery, and Cerro Gordo fell. Velasquez, the commander of the fortress, was killed, and the Mexican standard was hauled down by Sergeant Henry. Santa Anna, with Almonte and other generals, and eight thousand troops, escaped the remainder were made prisoners. Santa Anna attempted to fly with his carriage, which contained a large amount of specie, but it was overturned, when, mounting a mule taken from his carriage, he escaped to the mountains, leaving behind him his wooden leg. In the vehicle was found his papers, clothing, and a pair of lady's satin slippers. The victory for the Americans was complete and decisive. The trophies were three thousand prisoners, who were paroled, forty-three bronze pieces of artillery cast in Seville, five thousand stand of arms (which were destroyed), and a large amount of munitions of war. The fugitives were pursued with vigor toward Jalapa. In that battle the Americans lost four hundred and thirty-one men.

General Worth was now with the army, and with his division led the onward march. On the 19th they entered Jalapa; and a few days afterward (April 22nd, 1847) Worth unfurled the American flag over the strong castle of Perote, on the summit of the Cordilleras, fifty miles beyond Jalapa. This fortress was regarded as the strongest in Mexico after San Juan d'Ulloa. These places had been captured without resistance, for the Mexicans were appalled by the suddenness of the invasion and the swiftness of the conquests of the invaders. At Perote, the spoils were fifty-four pieces of artillery and an immense amount of munitions of war.

Onward the victors swept along the Great National Road over the Cordilleras, and on the 15th of May they halted at the fine "City of the Angels" - Pueblo de los Angeles - where they remained until August. In a campaign of two months, General Scott had made ten thousand Mexican prisoners of war, and captured seven hundred splendid pieces of artillery, ten thousand muskets, and twenty thousand shots and shells; and yet, when he reached Pueblo, his whole effective marching force for the conquest of the capital did not exceed four thousand five hundred men. The demands for garrison duty and severe sickness had reduced his army about one half.

While Scott was resting at Pueblo, an opportunity was given to the Mexicans to treat for peace. At Jalapa, the commander-in-chief issued a proclamation to the Mexican people, very conciliatory in character, but closing with this significant paragraph: "I am marching on Pueblo and Mexico; and from those capitals I shall again address you." The government also sent Nicholas P. Trist as a diplomatic agent, with letters to certain persons in Mexico, and clothed with power to treat for peace. He reached the army just as Scott left Jalapa, and went forward with it when it

resumed its march. He had made overtures to the Mexican government, which were treated with disdain. The Mexicans foolishly boasted of their patriotism, valor and strength, while losing post after post in rapid succession.

At Pueblo, Scott was reinforced by fresh troops, which had been sent by way of Vera Cruz. There his principal officers were Generals Worth, Quitman, Pillow, Twiggs, Shields, Smith, and Cadwallader; and on the 7th of August, he resumed his march toward the capital, with about eleven thousand men. The road lay nearly along the line of the march of Cortez, more than three hundred years before, over the Anahuac range of mountains, and up the slopes of the great Cordilleras. It was a most beautiful and picturesque region, well watered, clothed with rich verdure, and bathed in the most salubrious air. From the lofty summits of these mountains and almost upon the spot where Cortez stood, Scott and his army beheld, as the Spanish conquerors had there beheld, the great valley of Mexico, with its intervalles and lakes, cities and villages, and the waters of Tezcuco embracing the Mexican capital - the ancient metropolis of the Aztec empire - now presenting lofty steeples and spacious domes. Down into that valley the invaders cautiously pressed, for resistance was expected at the mountain-passes. General Twiggs, with his division, led, and on the 11th of August he was encamped at St. Augustine, with the strong fortress of San Antonio before him. Close upon his right were the heights of Churubusco, crowned with embattled walls covered with cannon, and to be reached in front only by a causeway exposed at every point to a raking fire from the batteries. Not far off was the strongly fortified camp of Contreras, containing about six thousand Mexicans under General Valencia; and between it and the capital was Santa Anna with twelve thousand men; who were held in reserve. The whole of the invading army were concentrated in the valley by the 15th, with headquarters on the Acapulco road.

Such was the general disposition of the belligerent forces when General Scott arrived at headquarters on the morning of the 18th, and after surveying the whole scene, made arrangements for attacking the enemy and fighting his way to the gates of the city. That was a difficult task, for the capital was strongly defended at points nearer than those already mentioned, and approaches to it could only be made over narrow causeways through oozy ground, as in the time of Montezuma. Near the city was the hill of Chapultepec, which was strongly fortified and covered by a Military Institute, and at the foot of it, at the King's Mill (Molino del Rey), was a fortified stone wall and a citadel capable of great resistance. Every avenue to the city was guarded, and no point had been neglected. Chapultepec would have to be carried by storm, and so would the position at Molino del Rey and the strongholds of Contreras. San Antonio and Churubusco would have to be carried before these could be reached. To carry these, and capture Chapultepec and Molino del Rey, was now the important business to which Scott addressed himself.

Confronted by the victorious Americans, the Mexicans prepared for a desperate struggle. They strengthened their fortifications and increased their garrisons. The Americans were equally active, and prepared for the attack with great skill under the immediate direction of General Scott, ably assisted by Captain Robert E. Lee (general-in-chief of the Confederate forces in the great Civil War), the chief engineer of the army, whose services at Cerro Gordo and before Mexico

won for him the commissions of major, lieutenant-colonel, and colonel, in rapid succession.

On the evening of the 19th (August, 1847) everything was in readiness on the part of the Americans. The day had been spent in indecisive skirmishing. The night was very dark, rainy, and cold. The American troops stood, drenched, waiting for daylight, and when it appeared, they were led forward to storm the camp. The grand struggle began at sunrise. It was brief, but sharp and sanguinary. The Americans, under cover of darkness, had gained a position close upon the Mexicans, in rear and flank, before they were discovered. Springing up suddenly from behind the crest of a hill, they delivered volleys in quick succession; dashed pell-mell into the entrenchments captured the batteries drove out the army of Valencia, and pursued its flying remnants on the road toward Mexico. The conflict lasted only seventeen minutes. Eighty officers and three thousand privates of the Mexicans were made prisoners, and among the trophies were thirty three pieces of artillery. Meanwhile Generals Shields and Pierce (the latter afterward President of the United States) had kept Santa Anna's powerful reserve at bay. A similar movement was now made against San Antonio and Churubusco. Santa Anna advanced with his numerous followers, to defend them, and very soon the whole region became a battle-field. The entire American and Mexican armies were engaged. The invaders dealt heavy and successful blows. San Antonio yielded, Churubusco was taken, and the forces of Santa Anna were sent flying toward the capital like chaff before a gale. Prisoners and spoils glutted the hands of the Americans. It was a memorable day in the annals of our military career. In the course of a single day, a Mexican army full thirty thousand strong, had been broken up by another less than one-third its strength in number; full four thousand Mexicans had been killed or wounded; three thousand were made prisoners, and thirty-seven pieces of fine artillery had been captured, with a vast amount of munitions of war. The Americans lost in killed and wounded, on that memorable day, almost eleven hundred men. They might easily have pressed on while the Mexicans were panic-stricken, and taken possession of their capital, but Scott preferred to try negotiations for peace again. He advanced to Tacubaya, on the 21st, within three miles of the capital, and there, and on the way, he was met by a proposition from Santa Anna for an armistice preparatory to negotiations for peace. It was acceded to, and Mr. Trist went into the capital on the 24th for the purpose. At the palace of the Archbishop at Tacubaya, which Scott made his headquarters, the General waited impatiently for the return of Mr. Trist. He came on the 5th of September with the information that his propositions for peace had not only been rejected with scorn, but that Santa Anna had violated the armistice by strengthening the defenses of the city. General Scott, disgusted with the treachery of the Mexican chief, declared the armistice at an end on the 7th of September, and prepared to storm the capital.

The castle at Chapultepec, the walls and stone citadel at Molino del Rey, and the fortified gates of Mexico manned by thousands of Mexicans, yet stood between Scott and possession of the capital, and to the capture of these he proceeded on the 8th. The Americans were on one of the main causeways, in full view of the city. General Worth was sent, with between three and four thousand troops, to attack Molino del Rey, and they were repulsed, at first, with great slaughter. Gallantly returning to the assault and fighting desperately for an hour, they drove the enemy before them. Nearly one thousand Mexicans were dead on the field. The loss of the

Americans was about eight hundred. Attention was now turned to Chepultepec, the site of the Halls of the Montezumas," and then the only defense of the city left, outside of its suburbs. On the night of the 11th of September, Scott erected four heavy batteries, the guns of which might be brought to bear upon the hill. These were opened on the morning of the 12th, and on the following morning the Americans made such a furious charge upon the works, that their occupants were routed with great slaughter and fled to the city along an aqueduct, pursued by General Quitman to the very gates. The pursuers were continually engaged in sharp encounters, at various places.

Santa Anna, thoroughly alarmed and his army hopelessly shattered, fled from the city with the remnant of his troops, and the officers of the civil government, before daylight on the morning of the 14th and at dawn a deputation came out from the municipal authorities and begged General Scott to spare the town and propose terms of capitulation, He would make no terms, but ordered Generals Quitman and Worth to move forward and unfurl the American flag over the National Palace. At ten o'clock General Scott, escorted by dragoons, rode into the city in full uniform, on his powerful white charger, and made his way to the Grand Plaza. There he dismounted, took off his hat, and drawing his sword and raising it high above his head, he proclaimed in a loud voice the conquest of Mexico, and took formal possession of the empire.

Quiet soon reigned in the Mexican capital. Santa Anna afterward made feeble and unsuccessful efforts to regain his lost power. After some defeats in skirmishes with American detachments, his troops deserted him, and before the close of October he was a fugitive, flying for personal safety to the shores of the Gulf. The President of the Mexican Congress assumed provisional authority and on the 2nd of February, 1848, that body concluded a treaty of peace with commissioners of the United States, at Guadalupe Hidalgo. It was ratified by both governments, and President Polk proclaimed it on the 4th of July following. That treaty stipulated the evacuation of Mexico by the American army within three months, the payment of three million dollars in hand, and twelve million in four annual installments by the United States to Mexico, for the territory acquired by conquest and, in addition, to assume debts due certain citizens of our republic to the amount of three million five hundred thousand dollars. Boundary and other disputes were settled, and New Mexico and California became acknowledged territories of the United States. It was in the very month when the treaty was signed at Guadalupe Hidalgo, that gold was found at Captain Sutter's Mill on the American fork of the Sacramento River in California; and the official statement of the fact that gold was abundant in that territory, made in the President's message in December following, caused an emigration to the Pacific coast, not only from our States, but from other countries. Since then the yield of the precious metal there has been enormous and in some of the other Territories in the western portion of our republic, immense quantities of silver, as well as gold, have been discovered.

Mr. Polk's administration, which closed in the spring of 1849, was chiefly distinguished by the events and results of the war with Mexico, and the settlement of the Oregon boundary question, already noticed. The war was very unpopular, at first, with a large proportion of our citizens; but the unparalleled achievements of our little army there first excited the pride of the Americans, and

then aroused their enthusiasm, and the war very soon became popular. It was carried through in a manner highly honorable to our country, and its acquisition of territory not only enriched the republic but greatly extended its domain. In May, 1848, Wisconsin was admitted into the Union as a State, making the whole number of States thirty.

The exploits of General Zachary Taylor at an early period of the war with Mexico, made him exceedingly popular throughout the Union, and the Whig National Convention that assembled at Philadelphia on the 1st of June, 1848, nominated him for the Presidency of the republic, with Millard Fillmore for the Vice-Presidency. Both were elected in November following, and on the 5th of March, 1849 (the 4th fell on Sunday), he was inaugurated the twelfth President of the United States, Chief-Justice Taney administering the oath of office. General Taylor was eminently a "plain, blunt man," with no pretensions to polished manners, but with every characteristic of a true gentleman. He chose for his constitutional advisers John M. Clayton for Secretary of State; William M. Meredith, Secretary of the Treasury; George N. Crawford, Secretary of War; William B. Preston, Secretary of the Navy; Thomas Ewing, Secretary of the Interior, a department which had just been created; Jacob Collamer, Postmaster-General, and Reverdy Johnson, Attorney-General.

President Taylor's administration was marked by events which led to very important results. In August, 1849, General Riley, then military governor of California, summoned a convention of delegates to meet at Monterey, on the Pacific coast, to form a State constitution. California had not yet been organized as a Territory; but it was so rapidly filling up with the elements of a new and powerful State, that its speedy admission into the Union as such seemed probable. These elements were then principally gold seekers, who were mostly enterprising young men. The convention met, and on the first of September (1849) they adopted a State constitution, an article of which excluded slavery from that Territory forever. This action - the actual formation of a State by the voice of the people - was accomplished twenty months after gold was first found at Sutter's Mill. It produced warm debates in and out of Congress, and excited a violent controversy throughout the republic on the subject of slavery, which ended only when that institution was utterly destroyed.

Under their State constitution, the Californians elected Edward Gilbert and G. H. Wright, delegates to the National House of Representatives and the State Legislature, at its first session, appointed John Charles Fremont and William M. Gwinn, United States Senators. The latter carried the State constitution with them to Washington city, and in February they presented a petition to Congress, praying for the admission of California into the Union of States. It was perceived that a compromise on the subject of slavery must be effected to avoid serious difficulty, for the supporter of the system of slave-labor boldly declared their intention to dismember the republic, if California should be admitted into the Union with its constitution forbidding the existence of slavery in that domain. A joint resolution was offered for the appointment of a committee of thirteen to consider the subject of territorial governments for California, New Mexico and Deseret (the latter settled chiefly by a Mormon community), with instructions to report a plan of compromise embracing all the questions then arising out of the institution of

slavery. The resolution was adopted in April, and Mr. Clay was made chairman of the committee. He had already submitted a plan of compromise to the Senate, and spoke eloquently in favor of it and on the 8th of May he, in behalf of the committee of thirteen, reported a bill intended as a pacificator. It provided for the admission of California as a State for a territorial government for New Mexico and Deseret or Utah for a law which would compel the return, to their masters, of all fugitive slaves; for the suppression of the slave-trade in the District of Columbia, and for a settlement of the boundary of Texas. This bill, containing such a variety of important propositions, was called the "Omnibus Bill," but as a whole it was known as the Compromise Act. It was not satisfactory to the slaveholders, notwithstanding its large concessions to their interests and in June they held a convention at Nashville, in Tennessee, and by resolutions presented to the country alternatives for the settlement of the controversy, namely, the security, by an enactment of Congress, of protection to their property in slaves, for those who should choose to emigrate into any of the Territories, or a partition of the Territories between the free and slave labor sections of the Union, on the basis of the Missouri Compromise.

For four months a discussion and a controversy, which shook the republic to its very foundations, was carried on in Congress and among the people - a controversy on the slavery question more violent than any which had yet occurred. The Compromise Act was violently opposed in both sections of the Union, but, of course, on opposite grounds. The extreme pro-slavery men regarded it as a surrender of their most vital claims, to the political sentimentality of the North; and they resolved not to submit to it. Threats of disunion were loud, violent, and numerous; and opposition to the Compromise took the shape of a political party first in Mississippi, with Jefferson Davis as leader. It spread into other slave-holding States, and appeared formidable. The opposition to the measure in the Northern States was comparatively feeble but there was a powerful minority in these free-labor States who were strenuously opposed to the Fugitive-Slave law, which formed a part of the Compromise, as unworthy of the sanction of a civilized nation. Yet the majority of the northern people acquiesced in the measure because it promised peace and the maintenance of the commercial prosperity which then prevailed.

In the midst of the excitement occasioned by this controversy, the country was startled by the death of the President, caused by bilious fever, which occurred on the 9th of July, 1850, when he was in the sixty-fifth year of his age. There was much real mourning on account of his death, for the reflecting men of all parties relied upon his justice, integrity and firmness in the right, in that hour of apparent peril to the republic. Millard Fillmore, the Vice-President, became the constitutional successor of President Taylor, and on the day after the death of the latter, Mr. Fillmore took the prescribed oath of office as President of the United States. On the following day, William R. King, of Alabama, was elected president pro tempore of the Senate, and became acting Vice-President.

The several members of the cabinet of President Taylor tendered their resignations to Mr. Fillmore, who accepted them, and immediately nominated others for his constitutional advisers. These were Daniel Webster, Secretary of State; Thomas Corwin, Secretary of the Treasury Charles M. Conrad, Secretary of War; William A. Graham, Secretary of the Navy Alexander H.

H. Stuart, Secretary of the Interior; Nathan K. Hall, Postmaster-General, and John J. Crittenden, Attorney-General. These names impressed the people with confidence in the administration of Mr. Fillmore.

The most important measures of the government that were pending at the death of President Taylor, and which claimed the early attention of President Fillmore, were the several bills included in the Compromise Act. These were all adopted, with slight modifications, and became laws in the month of September, by receiving the signature of the President. Mr. Seward offered an amendment to the act for the suppression of the slave trade in the District of Columbia, which provided "That slavery in the District be entirely abrogated; that its abolition depend on the vote of the inhabitants and that in case, on such vote being taken, it should be in favor of emancipation, the sum of two hundred thousand dollars be appropriated to pay the owners of the slaves for whatever loss they may suffer." This amendment, after a brief discussion, was rejected by five yeas to forty five nays.

During Taylor's administration, some unpleasant feeling had been engendered between the governments of the United States and Spain, by an invasion of Cuba by a military force organized in this country. It will be observed hereafter, that the men and measures connected with these movements, were intimately associated with the actors in, and the preliminary events of the late Civil War. General Lopez, a native of Cuba, who led an expedition to that island from the United States, was backed by many men who were conspicuous in the secession movements ten years later. The avowed object of the invasion was to stir up the Creoles, or native Cubans, to a revolt for the purpose of overthrowing the local government, casting off the Spanish yoke, and forming an independent State. No doubt this was the principal and perhaps the only design of Lopez, but not of the politicians at his back. Their chief object undoubtedly was to seize Cuba, and make it a part of a great slave empire of the South - a proposition shamelessly set forth in the discreditable Ostend Manifesto" of a later day. Lopez and his followers landed at Cardenas, in Cuba, at the middle of April, 1850, where he expected to be joined by some of the Spanish troops and a host of native Cubans, and with them to overthrow the government of the island. He was disappointed. The troops and people did not appear, to co-operate with him, and he returned to the United' States to prepare for a more formidable invasion.

The introduction of the Compromise Act, the invasion of Cuba and the admission of one State and three Territories into the Union, were the most prominent features of President Taylor's administration. That State was California; the Territories were New Mexico, Utah, and Minnesota. The name of the latter is the Indian title of the River St. Peter, a large tributary of the Upper Mississippi, and means sky-colored water.

Chapter CVII

The Mormons: Their Origin and Progress - The Fugitive-Slave Law - Invasion of Cuba - Territory Bought of the Indians - Enlargement of the Capital - Kossuth and His Cause - Disputes about Fisheries - Relations with Japan - Tripartite Treaty - The Ostend Conference - President Pierce and his Cabinet - Exploring Expeditions - Union Pacific Railroad - The Sandwich Islands - Our Foreign Relations - Kansas and Nebraska Territories - Controversy about Slavery - Difficulties with Spain - Raids in Central America - War with Indians - Violation of Neutrality Laws - Conflict Between Freedom and Slavery - Political Struggles in Kansas - A State Constitution Adopted - Violence in Kansas - Political Parties.

ALLUSION has been made to the Mormons in Utah. Their history is a most remarkable one. About fifty years ago, a young man named Joseph Smith, a native of Vermont, pretended to have revelations from heaven. In one of these he was directed to go to a hill near Palmyra, New York, where he would find a record of the ancient inhabitants of America and a new gospel for mankind, written centuries before on plates of gold, in unknown characters and languages. From these plates (it was alleged) Smith, sitting behind a blanket to prevent their being seen by profane eyes, read the inscriptions, which were written down by a scribe who was not permitted to see the "leaves of gold." This copy was published under the name of "The Book of Mormon." The true story, as ascertained by investigation, appears to be, that the Rev. Solomon Spaulding, many years before, wrote a work of fiction, founded upon the theory that our continent was peopled by the "lost tribes of Israel that the manuscript came, by accident, into the hands of Smith, and that he read to his scribe from the manuscript, and not from any plates containing mysterious characters.

Smith found dupes and followers, and in 1830 he established a "church" with thirty members. He was assisted in his work by Sidney Rigdon, who, it was said, had become possessed of Spaulding's manuscript, and placed it in the hands of Smith. The latter pretended to be governed by continual revelations from heaven; and in accordance with one of them, he led his deluded followers to Kirtland, Ohio, where they built a temple and remained several years, until the conduct of the leaders became so obnoxious that they were compelled to leave. They established themselves in Hancock county, Illinois, where they founded the city of Nauvoo, and built a temple. Meanwhile they had attempted to plant themselves in Missouri, but they were expelled by the exasperated people, who were assisted by the civil and military powers. At Kirtland, they were joined by a shrewd young man named Brigham Young, a native of Vermont, who was active president of the Mormon church more than thirty years. It was at Nauvoo that the system of polygamy was first practiced among them, and Young had ever been foremost among its defenders. That system was established in consequence of the jealousy of Smith's wife because of his intimacies with other women. In justification of his immoral conduct, Smith had a special revelation from heaven, authorizing polygamy, and declaring that the greater number of wives a man possessed, the greater would be his future rewards also that the women who consented to share the honors of wifehood with others, would thereby be assured of eternal happiness.

This "revelation" led to events which resulted in the imprisonment of Smith and some of his

most intimate associates. The "prophet and his brother were shot dead by a mob at the prison and their followers, in 1845, prepared for an exodus, led by Brigham Young, who had succeeded to the presidency of the Mormon church, on the death of Smith. They finally crossed the Mississippi and penetrated to the valley of the Great Salt Lake, where, in 1848, they seated themselves in a most picturesque region, founded a city, and built a temple. Their numbers have long entitled their domain (which was organized into a Territory with the name of Utah) to admission into the Union as a State. In 1849, President Fillmore appointed Young governor of that Territory; but because of the practice of polygamy by the Mormons, that Territory has never been permitted to enter the Union as a State. The Mormons now number, in our own and other countries, probably, more than two hundred thousand souls. They have, from time to time, given our government considerable trouble, by their defiance of its laws. The speedy extinguishment of their system is probable.

It was believed by superficial thinkers and observers that the Compromise Act of 1850 had quieted, forever, all controversy on the subject of slavery; and during his entire administration, President Fillmore gave his support to all the measures embraced in that act. When his administration closed in the spring of 1853, there seemed to be very little uneasiness in the public mind on the subject of slavery. But it was only the ominous calm that precedes the bursting of a tempest. The moral sense of the people in the free-labor States (and of thousands in the slave-labor States) had been shocked by the passage of the Fugitive-Slave Law, which compelled every person to become a slave-catcher, under certain circumstances, willing or not willing. That law was so much at variance with Christian ethics and the civilization of the age, that a multitude of persons in all parts of the Union yearned to see it wiped from our national statute-books as an ugly blot; and, pondering upon it, many persons who had been indifferent, felt a desire to have a check put upon the further expansion of the system of slavery in our republic. This feeling, and the avowed intention of the supporters of that system to make it a national and not a mere sectional institution, produced violent collisions in speech, and, finally, a most sanguinary civil war. The Fugitive-Slave Law, framed by James M. Mason of Virginia, had much to do with bringing on that terrible crisis in our history.

In 1851, General Lopez renewed his attempt to cause an insurrectionary movement in Cuba, by landing a strong military force, organized in this country, upon its shores. Our government watched these movements and the violation of neutrality laws with great vigilance, detaining vessels and dispersing illegal associations but in August, Lopez managed to sail from New York, with almost five hundred followers, whom he landed on the northern coast of Cuba. There he left Colonel W. L. Crittenden (son of the Attorney-General of the United States) in command of one hundred soldiers, and with the remainder he pushed into the interior. At that time forty thousand Spanish troops were concentrated in Cuba. Crittenden and his party were soon captured and shot. Again Lopez found the Cubans unwilling to revolt. He became a fugitive, and at near the close of August, he and six of his followers were arrested, taken to Havana, and executed.

At the same time our government was making peaceful acquisitions of territory in the northwest by the purchase from the Sioux Indians of millions of acres of fertile lands beyond the

Mississippi, in the newly organized Territory of Minnesota. This had become a necessity, for a stream of population was pouring into that Territory and threatening to overflow the Indian reservation there. At the same time emigration from Europe was flowing in an immense tide over portions of our domain. Territories and States were increasing in number, and swelling the volume of representatives in the national legislature. To accommodate these, the halls of legislation had to be enlarged, and in the summer of 1851, the corner-stone of the extension of the Capitol was laid by President Fillmore, with appropriate Masonic ceremonies. On that occasion Daniel Webster delivered an oration in the presence of a vast multitude of people.

Toward the close of the same year, our government reaffirmed its policy of non-interference with the domestic affairs of European nations, under peculiar circumstances. In December, Louis Kossuth, the exiled governor of Hungary, arrived in the United States to plead the cause of his countrymen, who were struggling for their independence of the rule of Austria, and to ask for material aid from our government. The touching story of his career had preceded and had created here almost universal sympathy for him and his cause. He was received with great enthusiasm, and his mission was the theme of many debates on the floors of Congress. On his arrival at New York he became the guest of the city, and was welcomed by cheers from an immense multitude of citizens, who fringed the streets through which he passed in procession. At Washington he was welcomed by the President, the heads of departments, and the National Congress. The latter gave him a banquet, at which the Acting Vice-President presided. So demonstrative was the welcome, that the Austrian minister formally protested against it, and because his protest was unheeded, he left his post. The President, however, at his first interview with Kossuth, told him frankly that our policy of non-interference would not allow our government to give him any material aid. This was afforded, to a considerable extent, by private subscriptions.

There was a little ruffling of the good feeling between the governments of the United States and Great Britain, in 1852, in consequence of the alleged violation by American fishers off the coast of British America, of treaty stipulations, which provided that they should not cast their nets nearer such coast than three miles. A new interpretation of that agreement had recently been made by the British government, which claimed that the American fishers had no rights in bays within a line drawn from headland to headland and that government sent a naval force to support these pretensions. The President sent a naval force to protect our fishermen, and a spark of war seemed inevitable, when the dispute was amicably settled by mutual concessions.

Owing to our increasing intercourse with Asia across the Pacific Ocean, friendly relations with the Japanese was desirable. To establish such amity, our government sent a squadron of seven vessels, commanded by Commodore M. C. Perry, in the summer of 1853, to convey a letter from the President of the United States to the Emperor of Japan, asking him to consent to the negotiation of a treaty of friendship and commerce between the two governments. The mission was successful, and friendly relations were then established between the two countries which have continually increased in strength and importance. In 1860, a large and imposing embassy from the Empire of Japan, visited the United States, and were welcomed by President Buchanan at a personal interview in the reception-room of the executive mansion. Intercourse between the two

nations is now free and cordial.

The sympathy manifested by a large portion of the people of the United States in the efforts of Lopez in Cuba, gave rise to suspicions in Europe that it was the policy of our government to ultimately possess that island and assume control over the Gulf of Mexico (the open door to California) and the West India Islands, which were owned chiefly by France and England. To prevent such a result, the governments of these two countries asked that of the United States to enter into a treaty with them, which should secure Cuba to Spain, by agreeing to disclaim now and forever hereafter, all intention to obtain possession of the Island of Cuba," and to discountenance all such attempts, to that effect, on the part of any individual or power whatever." To this invitation our Secretary of State (Edward Everett) replied, in the spirit of the Monroe Doctrine," that the question was an American and not an European one, and not properly within the scope of the interference of European cabinets; that the United States did not intend to violate any existing neutrality laws that the government claimed the right to act in relation to Cuba independent of any other power, and that it could not see with indifference the island of Cuba fall into the hands of any other power than Spain." France made no rejoinder; Great Britain did; and so ended the diplomatic correspondence on the proposed "Tripartite Treaty," in February, 1853. In the letter of Lord John Russell, the English prime-minister, there was an intimation that England and France would not see with indifference the possession of Cuba by the United States. The suspicion that our government intended to gain possession of that island was confirmed by the act of its agents abroad, the following year. Mr. Buchanan, Mr. Mason, and Mr. Soules then represented our country, respectively, at the courts of Great Britain, France, and Spain. They met at Ostend, in Belgium, in October, 1854, by direction of President Pierce, to confer upon the best method for settling all difficulties about Cuba and gaining possession of that island. They embodied their views in a letter to our government, in which they recommended the purchase of Cuba, if possible if not, to obtain it by force. If Spain," they said, actuated by stubborn pride and a false sense of honor, should refuse to sell Cuba to the United States," then "by every law human and divine, we shall be justified in wresting it from Spain, if we possess the power." Honest Americans would gladly blot this letter from our national records, for it is justly regarded as one of the most disgraceful passages in the history of American diplomacy.

When Mr. Fillmore's administration was drawing to a close, nominations for his successor were made. A Democratic national convention assembled at Baltimore, in June, 1852, nominated General Franklin Pierce, of New Hampshire, for President, and William R. King of Alabama, for Vice-President. A Whig national convention assembled at the same place in the same month, and nominated General Winfield Scott for President, and William A. Graham of North Carolina for Vice-President. The Democratic nominees were elected, and on the 4th of March, 1853, President Fillmore retired to private life. One of the most important of the closing events of his administration was the creation, by act of Congress, of a new Territory called Washington, which was carved out of the northern part of Oregon. The bill for this purpose became a law on the 2nd of March, 1853.

General Pierce took the oath of office as President of the United States, upon a platform of

New Hampshire pine, which had been erected at the eastern portico of the Capitol. It was administered in the presence of thousands of people, who stood in a storm of driving sleet as witnesses of the august ceremony. President Pierce chose for his cabinet William L. Marcy, Secretary of State James Guthrie, Secretary of the Treasury Jefferson Davis, Secretary of War; James C. Dobbin, Secretary of the Navy; Robert McClelland, Secretary of the Interior James Campbell, Postmaster-General, and Caleb Cushing, Attorney General.

Important American explorations by sea and land, in the interests of commerce, marked the earlier portion of Pierce's administration. The acquisition of California opened the way for an immense commercial interest on our Pacific coast; and in the spring of 1853, Congress sent four armed vessels to the eastern shores of Asia, by way of Cape Horn, to explore the region of the Pacific Ocean, which, it was evident, would soon be traversed by American steamships plying between the ports of our western frontier and Japan and China. At the same time plans were maturing for the construction of a railway across the continent from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean. Congress, in the summer of 1853, sent out four surveying expeditions to explore as many routes along the general course of four degrees of latitude. One of these lines of railway, known as the Union Pacific, was completed in the spring of 1869. On a beautiful day in May, in a grassy valley in mid-continent, and in the presence of a great concourse of spectators, the last spike was driven and the great work was completed. Over that railway passengers may now lie carried from the Atlantic to the Pacific, in the course of four or five days.

At that time the government of the Sandwich Islands was making overtures for the annexation of that ocean-empire to our republic. This aroused the jealousy of France and England, who felt disposed to interfere in the matter. A change of rulers in the islands, put an end to the matter. A dispute in relation to the boundary line between New Mexico and the Province of Chihuahua in old Mexico threatened to produce war, but it was happily diverted by diplomacy. With the government of Austria there were some unpleasant relations about that time, growing out of the protecting power of our government in the case of a naturalized citizen. A Hungarian exile, named Kozta, had become naturalized here. While engaged in business in Smyrna, he was seized by order of the Austrian consul-general and placed on board a brig to be sent to Trieste as a refugee. The St. Louis, one of our naval vessels, was then in the harbor of Smyrna, and her commander (Captain Ingraham) claimed Kozta as a citizen of the United States and demanded his release. It was refused, and Ingraham cleared his ship for action. This argument was effectual, and Kozta was delivered up on board the St. Louis. Congress showed their approval of the conduct of their servant by voting Ingraham a sword. Austria was offended, but no serious difficulty ensued. This protection of an humble citizen of the United States, in a foreign land, increased the respect for our government and flag abroad.

An unexpected movement now aroused a vehement discussion of the slavery question. In January, 1854, Senator Stephen A. Douglas presented a bill in the Senate for the erection of two vast Territories in mid-continent, to be called, respectively, Kansas and Nebraska. The bill provided for giving permission to the inhabitants of those Territories to decide for themselves whether slavery should or should not exist within their domain. This proposed nullification of the

Missouri Compromise produced rancorous controversies in and out of Congress, and the people of the free-labor States became violently excited. After long and bitter discussions in both Houses of Congress, the bill became a law in May following. The people of the North thought they perceived in this measure a determination to make slavery national; and the boast of Robert Toombs, of Georgia, that he would yet "call the roll of his slaves on Bunker Hill," seemed likely not to be an idle one. While this irritating subject was under discussion, fresh difficulties with Spain appeared. The Spanish authorities in Cuba seized the American steamship back Warrior and confiscated her cargo, under some pretense of her violating the neutrality laws. Our government, satisfied of the flagrancy of the act, was disposed to suspend those laws. A special messenger was sent to the Spanish government at Madrid to lay the case before the imperial authorities. The Cuban officials, becoming alarmed, proposed to deliver up the vessel and cargo on the payment of a fine, by her owners, of six thousand dollars. It was paid under protest, and the affair was amicably settled by the governments. These occurrences were made the excuse for the meeting of the American ministers at Ostend, and their disreputable action there.

In the light of historic events, it is clear to-day, that men who afterward speared as leaders in the war against our government, were then concocting and executing schemes for the extension of the domains of the slave system. It must expand or suffocate. They contrived and put in motion expeditions for conquering neighboring provinces, in the southwest, under various pretexts, and their acts were unrebuked by our government. They formed a design to conquer parts of Mexico, and also Central America and the theatre of their first practically successful endeavors was on the northern portion of the great isthmus between North and South America. The first movement was an armed emigration into Nicaragua, with peaceful professions, led by Colonel H. L. Kinney. This was followed by an armed invasion by Californians led by William Walker, first, of provinces in Mexico, and then of the state of Nicaragua. Walker also made peaceful professions on landing, but the next day he cast off the mask and attempted to capture a town. He was soon driven out by Nicaraguan troops, and escaped in a schooner. He soon reappeared with a stronger force (September, 1855) when the country was in a state of revolution, and pushed his scheme of conquest so vigorously that he seized the capital of the state (Grenada), in October, and placed one of his followers (a Nicaraguan) in the presidential chair. He also strengthened his power by armed emigrants who came from the slave-labor States. The other governments on the isthmus were alarmed for their own safety, and in the winter of 1856 they formed an alliance for expelling the invaders. Troops from Costa Rica marched into Nicaragua, but were soon driven out by Walker's forces. So firm was his grasp that he caused himself to be elected President of Nicaragua; and the government at Washington hastened to acknowledge the new nation," by cordially receiving Walker's ambassador in the person of a Roman Catholic priest named Vigil. For two years this usurper ruled that state with a high hand, and offended commercial nations by his interference with trade. At length the combined powers on the isthmus crushed him. In May, 1857, he was compelled to surrender the remnant of his army, but escaped himself through the interposition of Commodore Davis of our navy. Late in the same year he reappeared in Central America, when he was seized, with his followers, by Commodore Paulding, and sent to New York as an offender against neutrality laws. The President (Buchanan) privately commended Paulding for his action, but for prudential reasons," as he said, he publicly

condemned the commander in a message to Congress, for thus violating the sovereignty of a foreign country." Walker was allowed to go free, when he fitted out another expedition and sailed from Mobile. He was arrested only for leaving port without a clearance, and was tried and acquitted by the supreme court at New Orleans. Then he went again to Nicaragua, where he made much mischief, and was finally captured and shot at Truxillo.

Settlers in the Territories of Oregon and Washington, on the Pacific coast, had trouble with the Indians there in 1855, who went out in parties to plunder and murder. General Wool, then stationed at San Francisco, went up to Portland, in Oregon, to arrange a campaign against them. The savages were so well organized in both Territories that, at one time, it appeared as if the white settlers would be compelled to abandon the country. The Indians were subdued in 1856, but for a long time restlessness appeared among the tribes west of the Rocky Mountains. It was generally believed that they were incited to hostilities by the employes of the Hudson's Bay Company, in British Columbia. At the same time the friendly relations between Great Britain and the United States were somewhat disturbed by the enlistment, in our country, of recruits for the British army, then operating against Russia in the Crimean Peninsula. This violation of neutrality laws had been done with the sanction of British officials here, among whom was the British minister at Washington. The minister and the British consuls at New York, Philadelphia and Cincinnati, were dismissed by our government. There was much irritation felt by the British cabinet for some time but as our government was clearly in the right, a new minister and new consuls were soon sent hither.

Our country, at this juncture, was approaching that great crisis which appeared in the dreadful aspect of civil war - a tremendous conflict between Freedom and Slavery for supremacy in the republic. With the enactment and enforcement of the Fugitive-Slave Law and the virtual repeal of the Missouri Compromise Act, in the case of Kansas and Nebraska, the important question was forced upon the attention of the whole people of the land, Shall the domain of our republic be the theatre of all free or all slave labor, with the corresponding civilization of each as a consequence?" The time had come when one or the other of these social systems must prevail in all parts of the land. Part free and part slave was a condition no longer to be tolerated, for it meant perpetual war. The supporters of the slave system, encouraged by their recent triumphs, had full faith in their ability to win other and more decisive victories, and did not permit themselves to doubt their ultimate possession of the field, so they sounded the trumpet for their hosts to rally and prepare for the struggle. Kansas was the chosen field for the preliminary skirmishing. It lay nearest to the settled States it was bordered on the east by a slave-labor State, and it was easy of access from the South. On the surface of society they saw only insignificant ripples of opposition. They began to colonize the Territory; and, flushed with what seemed to be well-assured success, they cast down the gauntlet of defiance at the feet of the friends of free-labor in the nation.

That gauntlet was quickly taken up by their opponents, and champions of freedom seemed to spring from the ground like the harvest from the seed- sowing of dragons' teeth. Enterprising men and women swarmed out of New England to people the virgin soil of Kansas with the hardy children of toil. They were joined by those of other free-labor States in the North and West. The

then dominant party in the Union were astonished at the sudden uprising, and clearly perceived that the opponents of slavery would speedily outvote its supporters. Combinations were formed under various names, such as "Blue Lodges," "Friends' Society," "Social Band," "Sons of the South," etc., to counteract the efforts of the Emigrant Aid Society of Massachusetts, to gain numerical supremacy in Kansas - a society which had been organized immediately after the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska bill. The supporters of slavery, conscious that their votes could not secure supremacy in Kansas, where the question of slavery or no slavery was to be decided at the ballot-box, organized physical force in Missouri to oppose this moral force. Associations were formed in Missouri, whose members were pledged to be ready, at all times, to assist, when called upon by the friends of slavery in Kansas, in removing from that Territory by force every person who should attempt to settle there "under the auspices of the Northern Emigrant Aid Society."

In the autumn of 1854, A. H. Reeder was sent to govern the Territory of Kansas. He immediately ordered an election of a Territorial legislature, and with that election the struggle for supremacy there was finally begun. Missourians went into Kansas to assist the supporters of slavery there in carrying the election. They went with tents, artillery and other weapons. There were then eight hundred and thirty-one legal voters in the Territory, but there were more than six thousand votes polled. The members of the Legislature were all supporters of slavery; and when they met at Shawnee, on the borders of Missouri, they proceeded to enact laws for upholding slavery in Kansas. These laws were regularly vetoed by Governor Reeder, who became so obnoxious that President Pierce was asked to recall him. The President did so, and sent Wilson Shannon of Ohio, who was an avowed supporter of slavery, to fill Reeder's place.

The actual settlers in Kansas, who were chiefly from the free-labor States, met in mass convention in September, 1855, and resolved not to recognize the laws passed by the illegally elected legislature, as binding upon them. They called a delegate convention to assemble at Topeka on the 19th of October, at which time and place the convention framed a State constitution which was approved by the legal voters of the Territory, and which contained an article making provision for constituting Kansas a free-labor State. Under this constitution they asked Congress to admit that Territory into the Union as a State. By this action the contest between Freedom and Slavery was transferred from Kansas to Washington, for awhile. The prospect of success for the opponents of slavery, in Kansas, was beginning to appear bright, when President Pierce gave the supporters of the institution much comfort by a message to Congress in January, 1856, in which he declared the action of the legal voters, in adopting a State constitution, to be open rebellion.

Throughout the spring and summer of 1856, armed men from other States roamed over Kansas, committing many excesses under pretext of compelling obedience to the laws of the illegal legislature. There was much violence and bloodshed but during the autumn, the Presidential election absorbed so much of the public attention, that Kansas was allowed a season of rest. At that election there were three parties in the field, each of which had a candidate for the Presidency. One was a party composed of men of all political creeds, who were opposed to slavery. It was called the Republican party, and it assumed powerful proportions at the outset.

Another powerful political organization was known as the American or Know-Nothing party, whose chief bond of union was opposition to foreign influence and Roman Catholicism. The Democratic party, dating its organization at the period of the election of President Jackson in 1828, was then the dominant party in the Union. The Democratic candidate for the Presidency was James Buchanan of Pennsylvania of the Republican party, John C. Fremont of California, and of the American party, Ex-President Fillmore. After an exciting canvass, James Buchanan was elected President, with John C. Breckenridge of Kentucky, as Vice-President.

Chapter CVIII

A New Era - Skirmishes before the Civil War - The Democratic Party - The Dred Scott Decision - Action of the Supreme Court of the United States - Early Efforts to Restrict Slavery - Slaves in England - The Status of Slavery Here - President Buchanan's Course Foreshadowed - Civil War in Kansas and Civil Government There - Lecompton Constitution Adopted and Rejected - Admission of Kansas as a State - A Judicial Decision Practically Reversed - Reopening of the African Slave-Trade and Action Concerning it - Working of the Fugitive-Slave Law - Action of State Legislatures - Troubles with the Mormons.

WHEN James Buchanan, of Pennsylvania, was inaugurated the fifteenth President of the United States on the 4th of March, 1857, and chose, for his constitutional adviser, Lewis Cass, Secretary of State; Howell Cobb, Secretary of the Treasury; John B. Floyd, Secretary of War; Isaac Toucey, Secretary of the Navy; Jacob Thompson, Secretary of the Interior; Aaron V. Brown, Postmaster-General, and Jeremiah S. Black, Attorney General, a new era in that history of Our Country was begun. It was the beginning of a great political and social revolution in our republic which entirely and permanently changed the industrial aspects in many of the States of the Union.

It was during the administration of Mr. Buchanan that the preliminary skirmishes, moral and physical, which immediately preceded the great Civil War, occurred. Both parties were then putting on their armor and preparing their weapons for the mighty struggle. The political organization by which the new President had been elected had, for some time, coalesced with the friends and supporters of the slave-labor system in their efforts not only to extend the public domain so as to allow the almost indefinite expansion of their cherished institution, but to make it national. That coalition and sympathy were manifested in various ways. The two wings of the Democratic party, one of them leaning toward an anti-slavery policy and called the Free- Soil Democracy had been reconciled, and worked together in the national convention at Cincinnati in June, 1856, which nominated Mr. Buchanan for the Presidency. In their resolutions, put forth as a platform of principles, they approved the invasion and usurpation of Walker, in Nicaragua, as efforts of the people of Central America to regenerate that portion of the continent which covers the passage across the inter-oceanic isthmus. They approved the doctrine of the Ostend Manifesto, "by resolving that the Democratic party were in favor of the acquisition of Cuba," and Mr. Buchanan was chosen to be their standard-bearer because of his known sympathy with these movements for the extension of the area and perpetuation of the slave system. Senator A. G. Brown, of Mississippi, one of the committee appointed to call upon Mr. Buchanan and officially inform him of his nomination, wrote to a friend, saying: In my judgment, Mr. Buchanan is as worthy of Southern confidence and Southern votes as ever Mr. Calhoun was.

One of the most vitally important skirmishes before the Civil War actually began occurred at about the time of Mr. Buchanan's accession to the Presidency of the Republic. It was of a moral and not of a physical nature, and is known in our judicial history as "the Dred Scott case."

Dred Scott was a young negro slave of Dr. Emerson, a surgeon in the United States Army, living in Missouri. When the latter was ordered to Rock Island, in Illinois, in 1834, he took Scott with him. There Major Taliaferro, of the army, had a feminine slave, and when the two masters were transferred to Fort Snelling (now in Minnesota) next year, the two slaves were married with the consent of the masters. They had two children born in the free-labor Territory; and the mother had been bought by Dr. Emerson, who finally took parents and children back to Missouri, and there sold them to a New Yorker. Dred sued for his freedom, on the plea of his involuntary residence in a free-labor State and Territory for several years, and the Circuit Court of St. Louis decided in his favor. The Supreme Court of Missouri reversed the decision of the inferior court, and it was carried, by an appeal, to the Supreme Court of the United States, then presided over by Roger B. Taney, a Maryland slave-holder. A majority of that court were in sympathy with the friends of the slave-labor system, and their decision, about to be given in 1856, was, for prudential reasons, withheld until after the Presidential election that year. When it was known that Buchanan was elected, the decision was made against Scott, but it was not promulgated until after the inauguration of the new President of the Republic. The decision, through the Chief Justice, declared that any person "whose ancestors were imported into this country and held as slaves" had no right to sue in any court of the United States; in other words denying any right of citizenship to a person who had been a slave or was the descendant of a slave.

The only legitimate business of the court was to decide the question of jurisdiction in the case; but the Chief Justice, with the sanction of a majority of the court, further declared that the framers and supporters of the Declaration of Independence did not include the negro race in our country in the great proclamation that all men are created equal that the patriots of the Revolution, and their progenitors for more than a century before, "regarded the negroes as beings of an inferior order, and altogether unfit to associate with the white race either in social or political relations; and so far inferior that they had no rights which the white man was bound to respect, and that the negro might lawfully be reduced to slavery for his (the white man's) benefit." The Chief Justice further declared that they were never spoken of except as property; and that in the days of our fathers, even emancipated blacks "were identified in the public mind with the race to which they belonged, and regarded as a part of the slave population rather than the free."

How much at variance with the plain teachings of history were these statements, let our public records testify. In the English-American colonies, the most enlightened men looked on slavery with great disfavor, as a moral wrong, and they made attempts, from time to time, to limit or eradicate it. The utterances and writings of men like General Washington, Henry Laurens, Thomas Jefferson, and other slave-holders, and of Dr. Franklin, John Jay, and many leading patriots of the Revolution, directly refute the assertion of Judge Taney, that in their time Africans by descent were "never thought or spoken of except as property." The Declaration of Independence, framed by a slave-holder, was a solemn protest against human bondage in every form; and in his original draft of that document, Mr. Jefferson made the protest stronger than the Congress finally approved.

Among the public acts of the fathers of the Republic in favor of human freedom and restriction

of the slave-system, was the famous Ordinance of 1787 (see page 1114), adopted before the National Constitution was framed, which was the final result of an effort commenced in the Continental Congress in 1784 to restrict slavery. That effort was made in proposing a plan for the government of a Territory including the whole region west of the old thirteen States, as far south as the thirty-first degree of north latitude, and embracing several of the late slave-labor States. The plan was submitted by a committee, of which Thomas Jefferson was chairman. It contemplated the ultimate division of that Territory into seventeen States, eight of them below the latitude of the present city of Louisville, in Kentucky. Among the rules for the government of that region, reported by Mr. Jefferson, was the following: That after the year 180 of the Christian Era, there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in any of the said States, otherwise than in the punishment of crime, whereof the party shall have been convicted to be personally guilty." On motion of Carolinians, this clause was stricken out. A majority of the States were in favor of it, but as it required the votes of nine States to carry a proposition, it was not adopted. This rule, omitting the words after the year 1800 of the Christian Era," was incorporated in the Ordinance of 1787, above alluded to, and so secured freedom to the territory northward of the Ohio River.

The mother-country, from which a larger portion of the patriots of our Revolution had sprung, had just swept slavery from the dominions of Great Britain when the old war for independence was a-kindling. It was done by a decision of Chief Justice Mansfield in the case of James Somerset, a native of Africa, who was first carried to Virginia and sold as a slave, then taken to England by his master, and there induced, by philanthropic men, to assert his freedom. Chief Justice Mansfield decided that he was a free man.

So early as 1597, it was held by the lawyers in England, that negroes being usually bought and sold among merchants as merchandise, and also being infidels, there might be a property in them sufficient to maintain trover, or the gaining possession of any goods by whatever means. This position was overruled by Chief Justice Holt, who decided that so soon as a negro lands in England, he is free. It was to this decision that Cowper alluded in his lines:

"Slaves cannot breathe in England That moment they are free they touch our country, And their shackles fall."

In 1702, Justice Holt also decided that there is no such thing as a slave by the laws of England but in 1729, an opinion was obtained from the crown-lawyer, that negroes legally enslaved elsewhere might be held as slaves in England, and that baptism was no bar to the master's claim. This was a sort of fugitive slave-law for the benefit of the English-American colonists, that was obeyed until the sweeping decision of Chief Justice Mansfield, which would have abolished slavery here had not the Revolution broken out soon afterward.

After Chief Justice Taney had made his declaration about the feelings of our forefathers concerning the negro as a man, he declared that the Missouri Compromise Act and all other acts for the restriction of slavery were unconstitutional and that neither Congress nor local legislatures had any authority for restricting the spread of the institution all over the Union. The majority of

the Supreme Court sustained not only the legitimate decision, but the extrajudicial opinion of the Chief Justice; and the dominant party who had elected Mr. Buchanan assumed that the decision was final-that slavery was a national institution having the right to exist anywhere in the Union, and that Mr. Toombs might legally call the roll of his slaves on Bunker's Hill. It was assumed by the leaders of that party that, in consequence of the promulgated opinion of five or six fallible men, evidently based upon a perversion of historical facts, the nation was bound to consent to the turning back of the bright tide of Christian civilization into the darker channels of a barbarous age from which it had escaped. To this proposition the conscience of the nation refused acquiescence. Large numbers of the dominant party deserted their leaders, and every lover of freedom was impelled to prepare for the inevitable conflict which this extrajudicial opinion of the highest court in the land would certainly arouse. It being extra-judicial, it was no more binding, in law, upon the people, than was the opinion of any citizen of the Republic.

The new President had been informed of this decision before it was promulgated, and in his inaugural address he foreshadowed his own course in the treatment of the subject. Indeed, that decision was a chief topic of the discourse. He spoke of the measure as one that would speedily and finally settle the slavery question, and he announced his intention to cheerfully submit to it, declaring that the question was wholly a judicial one, which only the Supreme Court of the Republic could settle, and that by its decision the admission or rejection of slavery in any Territory was to be determined by the legal votes of the people thereof. "The whole territorial question," he said, "was thus settled upon the principle of popular sovereignty - a principle as ancient as free government itself." He averred that everything of a practical nature had been settled, and he expressed a sincere hope that the long agitation of the subject of slavery was "approaching its end."

Alas it was only the beginning of the dreadful scenes that marked its end. That decision and opinion of the Chief Justice rekindled the fire spoken of by the Georgian in debate in Congress on the admission of Missouri (see page 1324), which, he said, all the waters of the ocean would not put out, and which only seas of blood could extinguish."

As we have observed, there was actual civil war in Kansas in the earlier portions of 1856. It assumed alarming aspects during the spring and summer of that year, as we have noticed. The actual settlers from free-labor States outnumbered emigrants from elsewhere and a regiment of young men from Georgia and South Carolina, under Colonel Buford, fully armed, went into the Territory for the avowed purpose of making it a slave-labor State at all hazards." They were joined by armed Missourians, and for several months they spread terror over the land. They sacked the town of Lawrence, and murdered and plundered individuals in various places. Steamboats ascending the Missouri River with emigrants from free-labor States were stopped, and the passengers were frequently robbed of their money and persons of the same class, crossing the State of Missouri, were arrested and turned back. Lawlessness reigned supreme in all that region. Justice was bound, and there was general defiance of all mandates of right.

The civil war in Kansas, so begun, was more wasteful than bloody, and there was only one

battle with any semblance of regularity fought there. That conflict took place on an open prairie. It was waged between twenty-eight emigrants, led by John Brown, of Ossawatimie, and fifty-six armed men under H. Clay Pate, of Virginia. Brown was the victor. Finally, John W. Geary, afterward a major-general, and Governor of Pennsylvania, who succeeded Shannon as chief magistrate of Kansas, by judicious administration of affairs there, smothered the flames of civil war, and both parties worked vigorously with moral forces for the admission of Kansas, as a State of the Union, but with ends in view diametrically opposed.

In September, 1857, the friends of the slave-system met in convention at Lecompton, on the Kansas River, and then the Territorial capital, and adopted a State Constitution, in which it was declared that the rights of property in slaves now in the Territory shall in no manner be interfered with," and it forbade any amendment of the instrument until 1864. It was submitted to the votes of the people in December following, but by the terms of the election law then in force, no person could vote against the Constitution. The ballots were endorsed: For the Constitution with slavery" and For the Constitution without slavery." In either case, a constitution that would foster and protect slavery would be voted for. The consequence was that a large portion of the friends of the free-labor system refused to vote, and the Lecompton Constitution was adopted by a very large majority.

R. J. Walker, of Mississippi, had now succeeded Governor Geary, and when an election for a new Territorial Legislature occurred, he assured the people that justice should prevail. Encouraged by these assurances of an honest man, the friends of free-labor generally voted, and the law-makers then elected were composed chiefly of their Political friends. They also elected their candidate for Congress. That Legislature ordered the Lecompton Constitution to be submitted to the people of Kansas for their adoption or rejection, and it was rejected by at least ten thousand majority. The President of the Republic, regardless of this expressed will of the people of Kansas, sent the rejected Constitution into Congress, with a message recommending its ratification. "It has been solemnly adjudged by the highest tribunal known to our laws," said President Buchanan, that slavery exists in Kansas by virtue of the Constitution of the United States. Kansas is, therefore, at this moment as much a slave State as Georgia or South Carolina." Congress did not ratify it, but ordered it to be again submitted to the people of Kansas, when they rejected it by an overwhelming majority. From that hour the controlling political power in Kansas was wielded by the free-labor party. Their strength steadily increased, and at near the close of January, 1861, just as the great Civil War was a-kindling, that Territory was admitted into the Union as a free-labor State. The Republic was now composed of thirty-four States and several Territories. Six years after the decision of Judge Taney and the majority of the Supreme Court, which declared that it was impossible for a black man to become a citizen, that decision was practically set aside by the issuing of a passport by the Secretary of State, William H. Seward, to the descendant of a slave to travel abroad as a "citizen of the United States."

While the struggle for freedom was going on in Kansas, the friends of the slave-labor system, emboldened by the sympathy of the general government, formed plans for its perpetuity. These plans would practically disregard the plain requirements of the National Constitution and the laws

made under it. They resolved to reopen the African slave-trade, which had been closed in 1808 by a provision of the Constitution. Leading citizens of Louisiana prepared to engage in it, under the guise of the African Labor-Supply Association," and captives, as of old, were actually brought across the sea, landed on the shores of the Southern States, and sold into perpetual bondage. Newspapers in the slave-labor States openly defended the measure, and the pulpit uttered its approval.

The President of the Presbyterian Theological Seminary at Columbia, South Carolina, Dr. James H. Thornwell, who died at the beginning of the late Civil War, declared that it was his conviction that the African slave-trade was the most worthy of all missionary societies." The Southern Commercial Convention," held at Vicksburg in May, 1859, resolved that all laws, State or Federal, prohibiting the African slave-trade, ought to be abolished." A grand jury in Savannah, who were compelled by law to indict several persons charged with complicity in the slave-trade, actually protested against the laws they were sworn to support, saying: We feel humbled as men in the consciousness that we are freemen but in name, and that we are living, during the existence of such laws, under a tyranny as supreme as that of the despotic governments of the Old World. Heretofore the people of the South, firm in their consciousness of right and strength, have failed to place the stamp of condemnation upon such laws as reflect upon the institution of slavery, but have permitted, unrebuked, the influence of foreign opinion to prevail in their support." A Mississippi newspaper, the True Southron, in its earnestness for the cause, suggested the "propriety of stimulating the zeal of the pulpit by founding a prize for the best sermon in favor of free-trade in negroes," and the proposition was widely copied, with approval; while in many pulpits zeal was exhibited in the service of the slave-holders without the stimulus of an offered prize. And in the United States Senate, John Slidell, of Louisiana, one of the most effective civil leaders among the late Confederates, urged the propriety of withdrawing American cruisers from the coast of Africa, that the slave-traders there might not be molested; and President Buchanan's administration, inspired by men like Slidell, was made to serve the plans of the supporters of the slave-labor system, by protesting against the visitation, by British cruisers, of vessels bearing the American flag, on suspicion that they were slavers." These visitations were made in accordance with a positive agreement between the two governments, that under such circumstances, visits should be made freely by either party.

This arrangement had been made for the purpose of more effectually suppressing the slave-trade then about to be opened by the African Labor- Supply Association and in the summer of 1858, the British cruisers in the Gulf of Mexico were unusually vigilant. In the course of a few weeks they boarded about forty suspected American vessels. It was this activity which promised to be an effectual bar to the reviving trade in slaves, that gave a pretext for the President to enter his protest. There was a cry raised against the odious British doctrine of the right of search," and the British government, for prudential reasons," put a stop to it. In this case it was only the end that "justified the means."

The Fugitive Slave-Law now began to bear bitter fruit, and it soon became one of the most prolific causes of the continually increasing controversies between the upholders and opposers of

the slave-labor system. It was made more offensive by the evident intention of the friends of the institution everywhere to nationalize slavery; and the perversion of the obvious meaning of the vital doctrine of the Declaration of Independence, by the judicial branch of the government, while the executive branch was ready to lend his tremendous power in giving practical effect to the system, awakened in the breasts of the people of the free-labor States a burning desire to wipe the stain of human bondage from the escutcheon of the Republic. Seizures under the Fugitive-Slave Law were becoming more and more frequent, with circumstances of increasing injustice and cruelty. The business of arresting, and remanding to hopeless slavery, men, women, and children, was carried on all over the free-labor States, and the people stood appalled. By that dreadful law, every man was compelled to become a slave-hunter, under certain conditions; and every kind-hearted woman who might give a cup of cold water or the shelter of a roof to a suffering sister fleeing from intolerable bondage, incurred the penalty of a felony!

This law became a broad cover under which the kidnapping of free persons of color was extensively carried on; and scores of men, women, and children, born free, were dragged from their homes and consigned to hopeless bondage. Our public legal records are stained with the revolting details of the workings of the law and the newspapers of the day contained accounts of many stirring events connected with the execution of it. The following facts will suffice as an illustration:

On a cold day in January, 1856, two slaves, with their wives and four children, all thinly clad, escaped from Kentucky into Ohio. They crossed the frozen river to Cincinnati, closely pursued by the master of three of them, on horseback. In Cincinnati, they were harbored by a colored man. Their retreat was discovered by the pursuing master, who repaired to the house with the United States marshal and his assistants, and demanded their surrender. They refused and after a desperate struggle, the door was broken open and the fugitives were secured. They had resolved to die rather than be taken back into slavery. The mother of the three children, in despair, tried first to kill her offspring, and then herself. When she was seized, she had already slain one of her children with a knife - a beautiful little girl, nearly white in complexion - and had severely wounded the other two. A coroner's jury was called, who decided that the frantic mother had killed her child, and it was proposed to hold her for trial under the laws of Ohio. But it was discovered that the Fugitive-Slave Law had been made so absolute by the terms of its enactment and the opinion of the Chief Justice of the United States, that a State law could not interfere with it; so the mother and her surviving companions were remanded into slavery. They were taken across the Ohio River, and all traces of them were lost.

When the hideous character of the Fugitive-Slave Law, in all its aspects, became fully manifest, the public conscience was aroused to action, and righteous men and women all over the slave-labor States, shocked by a spectacle that disgraced a free people pretending to be civilized, protested as loudly as they dared and the legislatures of several of the free-labor States adopted measures for relieving their citizens from the penalties imposed upon those who should refuse to become slave-catchers.

By the terms of the Fugitive-Slave Law, the sacred right of trial by jury was denied to the man who was alleged to be a slave, and he had no redress. This was logical, for the Chief Justice of the United States had declared that the black man had no rights which the white man was bound to respect. He had also declared that no State law could interfere with the operations of the Fugitive-Slave Act, or with slavery itself. This opinion was directly adverse to the letter and spirit of a statute in the code of the State of New York, which declared the immediate freedom of any slave when brought involuntarily within its borders. The Legislature of that State determined to sustain that statute, and boldly denounced the opinion of the Chief Justice, which denied citizenship to men of color who had descended from slaves. Ohio took similar action, and Maine, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Michigan, and Wisconsin took strong ground in favor of the freedom of the slaves within their borders, without assuming an attitude of actual resistance to the obnoxious act which every citizen was bound to obey so long as it remained unrepealed.

This movement in the Northern States naturally exasperated the slave-holders, and it was used by the politicians among them to create hot indignation in the hearts of the people in the slave-labor States. This, according to the testimony of a personal friend of the author of the Fugitive-Slave Act (James M. Mason, of Virginia,) was precisely what the peculiarly offensive features of that act were intended to effect. It was calculated that it would finally cause resistance to the measure on the part of the people of the free-labor States, and so give a plausible pretext for disunion, rebellion, and civil war, if necessary, on the part of the friends of the slave-labor System. This testimony was given to me orally, while standing among the ruins of Mr. Mason's house at Winchester, in 1866.

The public mind was diverted from the absorbing topic of slavery for awhile by trouble with the Mormons in the Territory of Utah. Early in 1857, these people, incensed because their Territory was not admitted into the Union as a State, commenced revolutionary proceedings. Under the instructions of Brigham Young, the successor of Joseph Smith, and their spiritual head and appointed governor, they destroyed the records of the United States Court in their district. They also resolved to set up an independent government, and looked to Young for all laws, in defiance of those of the United States. President Buchanan resolved to enforce the latter, and depriving Young of the office of governor of the Territory, he put Colonel Alfred Cumming, a superintendent of Indian affairs on the Upper Mississippi, in his place. He also appointed Judge Eckles chief justice of the Territory, and sent twenty-five hundred armed men, with experienced officers, to protect them in the discharge of their duties. Young at first determined to resist the National Government. He issued a proclamation denouncing the army as a mob, forbidding it to enter the Territory, and calling the people of Utah to arms to repel its advance. When it entered the Territory early in the autumn, it was assailed by mounted Mormons, who destroyed several supply trains and seized eight hundred of the oxen at the rear of the army. The little force, thus crippled, and caught among the snows in the mountains, went into winter quarters. Colonel A. Sidney Johnston was in command of them; and Governor Cumming proclaimed the Territory of Utah to be in a state of rebellion. Finally, in the spring of 1858, a pacification took place. The President offered pardon to all Mormons who should submit to the national authority, and Brigham Young, evidently believing discretion to be the better part of valor, received the new

governor courteously. Young, although deposed from his executive position by the appointment of Cummings, continued to exercise great influence in the Commonwealth until his death in 1877.

In 1862, the Federal Government enacted a law against polygamy, then openly practiced by the Mormons; but little attention was paid to it, and it was seldom enforced. The Mormons were then 300,000 strong. In 1884, the constitutionality of the Federal law was affirmed by the U. S. Supreme Court, and more than 1,000 men were sent to the penitentiary under conviction for bigamy. Hundreds of others fled, or went into hiding, and the "plurality of wives was, from that time, both dangerous and unpopular. In 1890, Wilfred Woodruff, the Mormon president, issued a manifesto against polygamy, denouncing it in the name of the Church.

Utah became a State in 1896. In 1898, Brigham Henry Roberts was nominated for Congress by the Democrats of Utah but owing to a charge made against him that he was living a polygamous life, this case was submitted to a committee, which recommended that he be not allowed to take his seat in Congress.

At present, the reorganized Mormon church is more aggressive in its fight against polygamy than any other organization. The reorganized nonpolygamous church has a membership of about 50,000.

Chapter CIX

Public Quiet Broken by John Brown's Raid - Incidents of that Raid and Its Effects - The Republican Party - A Pretext for Revolution - Convention of Democrats at Charleston - Disruption of the Democratic Party - Incidents of the Plan - Nominations for President - Principles of the Parties - Lincoln Elected - Action of the Southern Politicians - Yancey's Mission - Fatal Power of the Politicians.

IN the fall of 1859, the feverishness in the public mind, excited by the vehement discussion of the topic of slavery, had somewhat subsided; the Mormons were quiet difficulties which had occurred between our Government and that of Paraguay, in South America, had been settled troubles with the Indians on the Pacific coast were drawing to a close, and the filibustering operations of Walker in Nicaragua were losing much of their interest. The summer had passed away in public quietude, and the topics of a Pacific Railway, Homestead and Soldiers' Pension bills, and other measures for the promotion of peace and national prosperity, were engaging the attention of the people. The equinoctial gales had swept over the land and sea, when suddenly a rumor went out of Baltimore, as startling as a thunder peal on the genial October air, that the Abolitionists had seized the Government Armory and Arsenal at Harper's Ferry, at the junction of the Shenandoah and Potomac rivers, and that an insurrection of the slaves in Virginia was imminent.

The rumor was true. John Brown, of Ossawatamie, who had fought and won a battle on the Kansas prairie in 1856, had struck a blow at slavery, on Sunday evening, the 16th of October. Brown was a native of Connecticut, in the sixtieth year of his age, and had espoused the cause of the Abolitionists (as the opponents of the slave-labor system, who wished to abolish it, were called) in early life. He was enthusiastic, fanatical, and brave. He had been active in the midst of the troubles in Kansas, and had suffered much and he believed himself to be the destined liberator of the slaves in our Republic. With a few white followers and twelve slaves from Missouri, he went into Canada West, and at Chatham a convention of sympathizers was held in May, 1859, whereat a Provisional Constitution and Ordinances for the People of the United States was adopted, not, as the instrument declared, "for the overthrow of any government, but simply to amend and repeal." This was part of a scheme for promoting the uprising of the slaves for obtaining their freedom.

Brown spent the summer of 1859 in preparation for his work. He hired a farm a few miles from Harper's Ferry, where he was known by the name of Smith." There, one by one, a few followers congregated stealthily; and pikes and other weapons were gathered, and ammunition was provided, with the intention of striking the first blow in Virginia, and arming the insurgent slaves. Under cover of profound darkness, Brown, at the head of seventeen white men and five negroes, entered the village of Harper's Ferry on that fatal Sunday night, put out the street lights, seized the Armory and the railway bridge, and quietly arrested and imprisoned in the Government buildings the citizens found here and there in the streets at the earliest hours of the next morning, each one ignorant of what had happened. The invaders had seized Colonel Washington, living a

few miles from Harper's Ferry, with his arms and horses, and liberated his slaves and at eight o'clock on Monday morning, the 17th of October, Brown and his few followers (among whom were two of his sons) had full possession of the village and Government works. When asked what was his purpose and by what authority he acted, Brown replied, To free the slaves, and by the authority of God Almighty." He felt assured that when the blow should be struck, the negroes of the surrounding country would rise and flock to his standard. He sincerely believed that a general uprising of the slaves of the whole country would follow, and that he would win the satisfaction and the honors of a great liberator. He was mistaken.

The news of this alarming affair went speedily abroad, and before Monday night Virginia militia had gathered at Harper's Ferry in large numbers. Struggles between these and Brown's little company ensued, in which the two sons of the leader perished. The invaders were finally driven to the shelter of a fire-engine house, where Brown defended himself with great bravery. With one son dead by his side, and another shot through, he felt the pulse of his dying child with one hand, held his rifle with the other, and issued oral commands to his men with all the composure of a general in his marquee, telling them to be firm and to sell their lives as dearly as possible.

On Monday evening, Colonel Robert E. Lee arrived at Harper's Ferry, with ninety United States marines and two pieces of artillery. The doors of the engine-house were forced open, and Brown and his followers were captured. He was speedily indicted for murder and treason was found guilty, and on the 3rd of December (1859) he was hanged at Charlestown, not far from the scene of his exploits. The most exaggerated reports of this raid went over the land. Terror spread throughout Virginia. Its governor (Henry A. Wise) was excited almost to madness, and declared that he was ready to make war on all the free-labor States. In a letter to President Buchanan, written on the 25th of November, he declared that he had authority for believing that a conspiracy to rescue John Brown existed in Ohio, Pennsylvania, New York, and other States.

Brown was suspected of being an emissary of the Abolitionists, and attempts were made to implicate leaders of the Republican party and the inhabitants of the free-labor States generally in a scheme for liberating the slaves. A committee of the United States Senate, with the author of the Fugitive-Slave Law (James M. Mason) at its head, was appointed to investigate the subject. The result was positive proof that Brown had no accomplices and only about twenty-five followers.

John Brown's attempt to free the slaves was a crazy one in itself and utterly failed, but it led to events that very soon brought about the result he so much desired. His bitterest enemies acknowledged that he was sincere, and a real hero, and he became, in a manner, the instrument of deliverance of millions from bondage. His effort aroused the slumbering party spirit of the combatants for and against slavery to great activity, and at the beginning of 1860, a remarkable and growing strength of the Republican party was everywhere manifested. Its central idea of universal freedom attracted powerful and influential men from all other political parties, for it bore a standard around which persons differing in other things might gather in perfect accord. The elections held in 1858 and 1859 satisfied the opponents of this party that they were rapidly passing to the position of a hopeless minority, and that the domination in the National Councils

which the friends of the slave-system had so long enjoyed would speedily come to an end.

The sagacious leaders of the pro-slavery party in the South, who had been for years forming plans and preparing a way for a dissolution of the Union, so as to establish the great slave-empire of their dreams within the Golden Circle (to be noticed presently), believed that they would not be able to elect another President of their choice, and that the time had come for the execution of their destructive scheme. A pretext more plausible than that of the violations of the Fugitive-Slave Act at the North afforded them, must be had, for that act had become too odious in the estimation of righteous men and women in all parts of the Union to inspire them with a desire for its maintenance. No such pretext existed, and the politicians in the slave-labor States deliberately prepared to create one, which, they knew, would be powerful. At that time they were in full alliance with the Democratic party of the North, which was then in power. If it should remain a unit and the fraternal relations with the Southern wing of the party should continue undisturbed, there might be a chance for the supremacy of the coalition awhile longer. But there were omens already of a speedy dismemberment of the Democratic party, for the Fugitive-Slave Law and the attempt to nationalize slavery had produced wide-spread defection in their ranks. A large portion of that party, led by Senator Stephen A. Douglas, showed a proclivity toward independent action, and even of affiliation with the Republican party on the subject of slavery; and the hopes of the friends of that system, of the undivided support of the Northern Democracy, vanished.

In view of this impending crisis, the Southern politicians deemed it expedient to destroy absolutely all unity in the Democratic party and make it powerless, when the Republicans might elect their candidate for the Presidency in the fall of 1860. Then would appear the pretext for a revolution - the election of a sectional President. Then the plausible war cry might be raised - "No sectional President! No Northern domination Down with the Abolitionists!" This would appeal to the hearts and interests of the Southern people, especially to the slave-holding class, fire the Southern heart, and produce, as they believed, a solid South in favor of breaking up the old Republic and forming an empire whose corner-stone should be slavery. With this end in view, leading politicians in the South, who afterward appeared conspicuous among the confederated enemies of the National Government during the Civil War, entered the Democratic National Convention assembled at Charleston, South Carolina, on the 23rd of April, 1860, for the purpose of nominating a candidate for the Presidency of the United States and setting forth an embodiment of political principles.

On the appointed day, almost six hundred chosen representatives of the Democratic party assembled in Convention in the hall of the South Carolina Institute, in Charleston, and chose Caleb Cushing, of Massachusetts, their chairman. It was evident from the first hour after the organization of the Convention that the spirit of Mischievous was there enthroned and observing ones soon discovered omens of an impending tempest which might topple from its foundations the organization known as the Democratic party.

The choice of Mr. Cushing as chairman was very satisfactory to the friends of the slave-system

in the Convention. He was a statesman of great experience, and then sixty years of age a scholar of wide and varied culture, and a sagacious observer of men. Because he had joined the Democratic party at the time of Mr. Tyler's defection had been a conspicuous advocate of the war with Mexico and other measures for the extension and perpetuation of the system of slavery, he was regarded by the Southern men in the Convention as their fast political friend and coadjutor; but when they made war upon the unity of the Republic the next year, he gave his influence in support of the National Government.

Mr. Cushing, in his address on taking the chair in the Convention, declared it to be the mission of the Democratic party to reconcile popular freedom with constituted order and to maintain the sacred reserved rights of the sovereign States." He declared that the Republicans were laboring to overthrow the Constitution and aiming to produce in this country a permanent sectional conspiracy - a traitorous sectional conspiracy - of one-half of the States of the Union against the other half; who, impelled by the stupid and half insane spirit of faction and fanaticism, would hurry our land on to revolution and to civil war." He declared it to be the "high and noble part of the Democratic party of the Union to withstand - to strike down and conquer - these banded enemies of the Constitution."

These utterances were warmly applauded by the Convention, excepting by the extreme pro-slavery wing. They did not wish to "strike down" the Republican party. They had a more important scheme to foster. It was their wish to strike down the Democratic party, for the moment, by dividing it. They had come instructed to demand from the Convention a candidate and an avowal of principles which should promise a guaranty for the speedy recognition by the National Government and the people, in a practical way, of the system of slavery as a national institution. They knew that the most prominent candidate before the Convention, for the nomination, was Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois, who was committed to an opposing policy, and that he and his friends would never vote for such a platform - such an avowal of principles. They also knew that his rejection by the representatives of the slave-holders would split the Democratic party, and they resolved to act in accordance with these convictions. They held the dissevering wedge in their own hands, and they determined to use it with effect.

A committee composed of one delegate from each State was appointed to prepare a platform of principles for the action of the Convention. A member from Massachusetts (Mr. Butler) proposed in that committee to adopt the "Cincinnati Platform" agreed to by the Convention that nominated Mr. Buchanan, and which committed the Democratic party to the doctrine of Popular Sovereignty that is to say, the doctrine of the right of the people of any Territory of the Republic to decide whether slavery should or should not exist within its borders. Now was offered the opportunity for entering the dissevering wedge, and it was applied. When the vote was taken on the proposition of Mr. Butler, it was rejected by seventeen States (only two of them free-labor States) against fifteen. This was followed on the part of the majority by an offer to adopt the "Cincinnati Platform," with additional resolutions declaring, in the spirit of Judge Taney's opinion, that Congress nor any other legislative body had a right to interfere with slavery anywhere, or to impair or destroy the right of property in slaves by any legislation. This proposition virtually

demanding of the Democratic party the recognition of slavery as a sacred, permanent, and national institution.

It was now clearly perceived that the politicians of the slave-labor States were united, evidently by pre-concert, in a determination to wring from the people of the free-labor States further and more revolting concessions to the greed of the pro-slavery faction for political domination. The manhood of the minority was evoked, and they resolved that the limit of concession was reached, and that they would yield no further. That minority, composed wholly of delegates from the free-labor States, and representing a majority of the Presidential electors (172 against 127), offered to adopt the "Cincinnati Platform," and a resolution expressing a willingness to abide by any decision of the Supreme Court of the United States on questions of Constitutional law. They also offered to adopt another resolution, denouncing the laws passed by Northern legislatures in opposition to the Fugitive Slave Act. Mr. Butler opposed making even these concessions to their arrogant demands. The consequence was, the committee went into the Convention with three reports - a majority and minority report, and a report from Mr. Butler.

The debate upon these reports was opened by the chairman of the majority committee (Mr. Avery of North Carolina), who assured the Convention that if the doctrine of Popular Sovereignty should be adopted as the doctrine of the Democratic party, the members of the Convention from the slave-labor States and their constituents, would consider it as dangerous and subversive of their rights, as the adoption of the principle of Congressional interference or prohibition. The debate continued until the 29th (April, 1860), and on the morning of the 30th the vote was taken in the presence of an immense audience with which the hall was packed. Mr. Butler's report was first acted upon, and rejected. Then the minority report was presented by Mr. Samuels of Iowa, and adopted by a decided majority. Preconcerted rebellion immediately lifted its head, and the delegates from Alabama, led by L. Pope Walker (afterward the Confederate Secretary of War), seceded and left the Convention. This secession was followed by delegates from the other slave-labor States, and they all reassembled at St. Andrew's Hall to prepare for an independent political organization. The disruption of the Democratic party represented in the Convention was now complete. The slavery question had split it beyond hope of restoration; an event which had been provided for, in secret, by the politicians. When D. G. Glenn, of the Mississippi delegation, announced the secession of the representatives from that State, he said: I tell Southern members, and, for them, I tell the North, that in less than sixty days you will find a united South standing side by side with us." These utterances called forth long and vehement cheering, especially from the South Carolinians; and that night Charleston was the theatre of great rejoicings, for the leaders there comprehended the significance of the movement.

On the following day, the seceders, with James A. Bayard of Delaware at their head, organized what they called a Constitutional Convention sneered at the body they had left, as a Rump Convention," and on the 3rd of May adjourned to meet in Richmond, Virginia, in June. The regular Convention also adjourned, without making a nomination, to meet at Baltimore on the 18th of June.

The seceders reassembled in Richmond on the 11th of June. Robert Toombs and other Congressmen had issued an address from Washington city, urging the Richmond Convention to refrain from all important action there, but to adjourn to Baltimore, and there re-enter the Convention from which they had withdrawn, and, if possible, defeat the nomination of Mr. Douglas. This high-handed measure was resorted to; and when the Richmond Convention adjourned, most of the delegates hastened to Baltimore, and claimed the right to re-enter the Convention from which they had formally withdrawn. The South Carolina delegates remained in Richmond to watch the course of events and manage the scheme.

At the appointed time the regular Convention assembled at Baltimore, with Mr. Cushing in the chair. The question arose as to the right of the seceders to re-enter the Convention. Some were favorable to their admission; others proposed to admit them provided they would pledge themselves to abide by the decision of the majority. A stirring time ensued, and the matter was referred to a committee, a majority of whom reported in favor of admitting Douglas delegates from the slave-labor States in place of the seceders. In the course of a vehement debate that ensued, a slave-trader from Georgia warmly advocated the policy of reopening the African slave-trade, and his sentiments were loudly applauded. The majority report was adopted, when a large number of delegates from the border slave-labor States withdrew. This was followed the next morning (June 23, 1860) by the withdrawal of Mr. Cushing and a majority of the Massachusetts delegation. "We put our withdrawal before you," Mr. Butler said, upon the simple ground, among others, that there has been a withdrawal, in fact, of a majority of the States; and further (and that perhaps more personal to myself) upon the ground that I will not sit in a convention where the African slave trade, which is piracy by the laws of my country, is approvingly advocated."

Vice-President Tod, of Ohio, now took Mr. Cushing's place at the head of the Convention, which proceeded to nominate Stephen A. Douglas, of Illinois, for President by an almost unanimous vote. Herschel V. Johnson of Georgia was afterward nominated for Vice-President. Meanwhile the seceders, young and old, had reassembled, called Mr. Cushing to the chair, denominated their body the National Democratic Convention, and proceeded to nominate John C. Breckenridge of Kentucky for President, and Joseph Lane of Oregon for Vice- President. A recent political organization calling themselves the National Constitutional Party had already nominated (May 9, 1860) John Bell of Tennessee for President, and Edward Everett of Massachusetts for Vice- President. A week later (May 16) a vast concourse of Republicans assembled in an immense building erected for the purpose in Chicago, and called the "Wigwam," nominated Abraham Lincoln of Illinois for President, and Hannibal Hamlin of Maine for Vice President.

By a series of resolutions, the Republican Convention took a position in direct antagonism to the avowed principles of the friends of the slave- system: and the extra-judicial opinion of Chief-Justice Taney. They declared that each State had absolute control over its own domestic affairs that the new political dogma, averring that the National Constitution, of its own force, carried slavery into the Territories of the Republic, was a dangerous political heresy, revolutionary

in its tendency, and subversive of the peace and harmony of the country; that the normal condition of all the territory of the United States is that of freedom, and that neither Congress, nor a Territorial legislature, nor any individuals have authority to give legal existence to slavery in any Territory of the Union; and that the reopening of the African slave-trade, then recently commenced in the Southern States, as we have seen, under cover of the National flag, was a crime against humanity, and a burning shame to our country and age.

There were now four candidates for the Presidency in the field. The Democratic party was hopelessly split in twain. The Douglas wing made no positive utterances concerning the status of slavery in the Territories; and the party led by Bell and Everett, declined to express any opinions upon any subject. Their motto was - The Constitution of the Country, the Union of the States, and the Enforcement of the Law's. Only the earnest and determined wing of the Democratic party led by Breckenridge, and of the Republican party led by Lincoln, showed a really aggressive spirit born of absolute convictions. The Southern portion of the former had resolved to nationalize slavery or destroy the Union the latter declared that there was an irrepressible conflict between freedom and slavery," and that the Republic could not exist "half slave and half free." This was the real issue and after one of the most exciting political campaigns ever witnessed in our country, from June until November, Mr. Lincoln was elected Chief Magistrate of the United States by a large majority over the other candidates, with Mr. Hamlin as Vice-President. An analysis of the popular vote showed that three-fourths of the whole number were given to men opposed to the extension of slavery. This significant fact notified the friends of the slave-system that the days of their political domination in the councils of the nation had ended, perhaps forever, and they acted accordingly.

Such is a brief outline history of the conspiracy of Southern politicians to divide the Democratic party give victory to the Republican party; cause the election of a "sectional President," and so afford a plausible pretext for a premeditated attempt to dissolve the Union and destroy the Republic. Thus far their schemes had worked to their satisfaction it now remained for them to "fire the Southern heart" and produce a "solid South" in favor of emancipation from what they were pleased to call the tyranny of a "sectional party" led by a sectional President." This accomplished, they would be ready to raise the arm to give the fatal blow to the existence of the Republic.

The leading men who brought upon the Southern people and those of the whole country the horrors of a four-years Civil War, with all its terrible devastation of life, property and national prosperity, were few in number, but wonderfully productive of their kind. They were then, or had been, connected with the National Government, some as legislators and others as cabinet ministers. They were not so numerous at first, said Horace Maynard, a loyal Tennessean, in a speech in Congress, "as the figures on a chess-board. There are those within reach of my voice," he said, "who also knew them, and can testify to their utter perfidy; who have been the victims of their want of principle, and whose self-respect has suffered from their insolent and overbearing demeanor. No Northern man was ever admitted to their confidence, and no Southern man unless it became necessary to keep up their numbers; and then not till he was thoroughly known by them,

and known to be thoroughly corrupt. They, like a certain school of ancient philosophers, had two sets of principles or doctrines - one for outsiders and one for themselves the one was Democratic principles for the Democratic party, the other was for their own and without a name. Some Northern men and some Southern men were, after a fashion, petted and patronized by them, as a gentleman throws from his table a bone, or a choice bit, to a favorite dog and they imagined they were conferring a great favor thereby, which would be requited only by the abject servility of the dog. To hesitate, to doubt, to hold back, to stop, was to call down a storm of wrath that few men had the nerve to encounter, and still fewer the strength to withstand. Not only in political circles, but in social life, their rule was inexorable, their tyranny absolute. God be thanked for the brave men who had the courage to meet them and bid them defiance, first at Charleston in April, 1860, and then at Baltimore, in June To them is due the credit of declaring war against this intolerable despotism."

During the canvass in the summer and autumn of 1860, pro-slavery politicians traversed the free-labor States and disseminated their views without hindrance. Among the most daring and outspoken of these was William L. Yancey of Alabama, who was a fair type of politicians in other Southern States who, by vehemence of manner and sophistry in argument, misled the people. He was listened to with patience by the people of the North, and was treated kindly everywhere; and when he returned to the South, he labored incessantly with tongue and pen to stir up the people to rebellion, saying in substance, as he had written two years before: Organize committees all over the Cotton States fire the Southern heart instruct the Southern mind; give courage to each other; and at the proper moment, by one organized, concerted action, precipitate the Cotton States into revolution."

The "proper moment" was near at hand. Mr. Lincoln was elected by a large majority over each candidate, and was chosen in accordance with the letter and spirit of the National Constitution yet, because he received nearly a million of votes less than did all of his opponents combined, the cry was raised by the Southern politicians, that he would be a usurper when in office because he had not received a majority of the aggregate votes of the people that his antecedents, the principles of the Republican platform, the fanaticism of his party and his own utterances, all pledged him to wage an unrelenting warfare upon the system of slavery and rights of the slave-labor States, with all the powers of the National Government at his command. They said, in effect, to the people, through public oratory, the pulpit, and the press, Your rights and liberties are in imminent danger - to your tents, O Israel!

While these alarming assertions were fearfully stirring the inhabitants of the Southern States, the politicians were rejoicing because their plans were working so admirably, and they immediately set about the execution of their long-cherished scheme for the dissolution of the Union. All active loyalty to the Government was speedily suppressed by an organized system and the promise of a North Carolina Senator (Clingman), that Union men should be hushed by "the swift attention of Vigilance Committees," was speedily fulfilled. In this work the Press and the Pulpit were powerful auxiliaries and by these accepted oracles of wisdom and truth, thousands of men and women were led into an attitude of rebellion against their government. To quiet their

scruples the doctrine of State Supremacy had been, for a long time, vehemently preached by the politicians and their allies, and the people were made to believe that their allegiance was primarily due to their respective States, and not to the National Government. Perhaps there never was a people," wrote a resident of a slave-labor State in the third year of the Civil War that ensued, more bewitched, beguiled and befooled, than we were when we drifted into this rebellion."

Chapter CX

The Pretext for Disunion - True Reasons - State-Rights Associations - Desires for a Royal Government and Aristocratic Privileges - Early Preparations for Disunion - Secret Conferences - Sentiments of Virginians - Congratulatory Despatches on Lincoln's Election - Excitement in Charleston - Public Offices Abdicated - A State Convention Authorized - Secret Doings of Secessionists - Movements in South Carolina - State Supremacy and Its Effects - Events in Georgia - Toombs and Stephens - Movements Towards Secession in Various States - Southern Methodists - Initial Steps for Disunion in South Carolina - Dishonorable Propositions - Vigilance Committees - Secession Assured.

THERE is direct evidence to prove that the politicians of South Carolina and elsewhere had been making preparations for revolt many years, and that the alleged violations of the Fugitive-Slave Act and the election of Mr. Lincoln were made only pretexts for stirring up the "common people" to support and do the fighting for them. The testimony of speakers in the Convention at Charleston that declared the secession of that State from the Union, was clear and explicit. "It is not an event of a day," said Robert Barnwell Rhett, one of the most violent declaimers of his class it is not anything produced by Mr. Lincoln's election, or by the non-execution of the Fugitive-Slave Law. It is a matter which has been gathering head for thirty years. In regard to the Fugitive-Slave Law, I myself doubted its constitutionality, and doubted it on the floor of the Senate when I was a member of that body. The States, acting in their sovereign capacity, should be responsible for the rendition of slaves. This was our best security." Another member of the Convention (Francis S. Parker) said: It is no spasmodic effort that has come suddenly upon us; it has been gradually culminating for a long period of thirty years." John A. Inglis, the chairman of the committee that drew up the South Carolina Ordinance of Secession, said: Most of us have had the matter under consideration for the last twenty years." And Lawrence M. Keit, one of the most active of the younger politicians, declared: I have been engaged in this movement ever since I entered political life."

When President Buchanan, in his annual message in December, 1860, declared that the long-continued and intemperate interference of the Northern people with the question of slavery in the Southern States" had produced the estrangement which had led to present troubles, the assertion was claimed by the politicians in the slave-labor States to be untrue. Senator Hammond, of South Carolina, had declared in a speech in October, 1858, that the discussion of slavery at the North had been very useful to them. After speaking of the great value of slavery to the cotton States, he observed: "Such has been for us the happy results of the Abolition discussion. So far our gain has been immense from this contest, savage and malignant as it has been. Now we have solved already the question of emancipation [from connection with the Northern States] by this re-examination and exposition of the false theories of religion, philanthropy, and political economy, which embarrassed the fathers in their days. At the North and in Europe, they cried havoc, and let loose upon us all the dogs of war. And how stands it now? Why, in this very quarter of a century, our slaves have doubled in numbers, and each slave has more than doubled in value." In July, 1859, Alexander H. Stephens, of Georgia, said he was not one of those who

believed that the South had sustained any injury by these agitations. So far," he said, from the institution of African slavery in our section having been weakened or rendered less secure by the discussion, my deliberate judgment is that it has been greatly strengthened and fortified." Earl Russell, the British Premier, in a letter to Lord Lyons at Washington, in May, 1861, said that one of the Confederate commissioners told him that "the principal of tile causes which led to secession was not slavery, but the very high price which, for the sake of protecting Northern manufactures, the South was obliged to pay for the manufactured goods which they required.

De Boa's Review was the acknowledged organ of the slave interest. In its issue for February, 1861, George Fitzhugh, a leading publicist of Virginia, commenting on the President's message, said: It is a gross mistake to suppose that Abolition is the cause of dissolution between the North and the South. The Cavaliers, Jacobites, and the Huguenots who settled the South, naturally hate, condemn, and despise the Puritans who settled the North. The former are master races the latter a slave race, the descendants of the Saxon serfs." Mr. Fitzhugh added: Our women are far in advance of our men in their zeal for disunion. They fear not war, for every one of them feels confident that when their sons or husbands are called to the field, they will have a faithful body-guard in their domestic servants. Slaves are the only body-guard to be relied on. They [the women] and the clergy lead and direct the disunion movement." The Charleston Mercury, edited by a son of Barnwell Rhett, and the chief organ of the conspirators of South Carolina, scorning the assertion that anything so harmless as Abolition twaddle had caused any sectional feelings, declared, substantially, that it was an abiding consciousness of the degradation of the chivalric Southrons being placed on an equality in government with "the boors of the North" that made Southern gentlemen desire disunion. It said, haughtily, We are the most aristocratic people in the world. Pride of caste, and color, and privilege makes every man an aristocrat in feelings." It was by men of this cast of mind that Southern Rights" associations were formed, and were fostered for nearly thirty years before the Civil War, with disunion as their prime object. The feeling of contempt for the Northern masses among the chivalric Southrons was more intense in South Carolina than elsewhere. The self-constituted leaders of the people there, who hated democracy and a republican form of government, who yearned for the pomps of royalty and the privileges of an hereditary aristocracy, and who had persuaded themselves and the "common people" around them that they were superior to all others on the continent as patterns of gentility, refinement, courtly manners, grace, and every characteristic of the highest ideal of chivalry, had for many years yearned for separation from the vulgar North. William H. Trescott, who was Assistant Secretary of State under Buchanan, and one of the most active members of the Southern Rights Association of South Carolina (the avowed object of which was the destruction of the unity of the Republic), said, in an address before the South Carolina Historical Society in 1859: More than once has the calm self-respect of old Carolina breeding been caricatured by the consequential insolence of vulgar imitators."

This was the common tone of thought among the leading South Carolinians. Dr. Russell, writing to the London Times at the close of April, 1861, said: Their admiration for monarchical institutions on the English model, for privileged classes, and for a landed aristocracy and gentry, is undisguised and apparently genuine. Many are they who say, We would go back to-morrow, if

we could. An intense affection for the British connections, a love of British habits and customs, a respect for British sentiment, law, authority, order, civilization, and literature, preeminently distinguish the inhabitants of this State, who, glorying in their descent from ancient families on the three islands, whose fortunes they still follow, and with whose members they maintain, not infrequently, familiar relations, regard with an aversion which it is impossible to give an idea of to one who has not seen its manifestations, the people of New England and the population of the Northern States, whom they regard as tainted beyond cure with the venom of Puritanism." There was a prevailing voice, Dr. Russell wrote, that said, If we could only get one of the royal race of England to rule over us, we should be content." That sentiment, he wrote, varied a hundred ways, has been repeated to me over and over again.

So early as May, 1851, when there were active preparations in South Carolina for revolt, Muscoe R. H. Garnett, of Virginia, wrote to Mr. Trescott, then a leader of the Southern Rights Association" in the first-named State, expressing his fears that Virginia would not consent to engage in the movement. The Legislature did not favor it, but he expressed the hopeful opinion that the law-makers did not reflect the sentiments of the people of the State. In the East, at least," he said, "the great majority believe in the right of secession, and feel the deepest sympathy with Carolina in opposition to measures which they regard as she does. But the West - West Virginia - here is the rub - only sixty thousand slaves to four hundred and ninety-four thousand whites! When I consider this fact, and the kind of argument which we have heard in this body, I cannot but regard with the greatest fear the question, whether Virginia would assist Carolina in such an Issue. I must acknowledge, my dear sir, that I look to the future with almost as much apprehension as hope. You will object to the term Democrat. Democracy, in its original philosophical sense, is incompatible with slavery and the whole system of Southern society. I do not hesitate to say that if the question is raised between Carolina and the Federal Government, and the latter prevails, the last hope of Republican government and, I fear, of Southern civilization is gone."

The restless spirits of South Carolina continued to confer secretly with the politicians of the slave-labor States on the subject of disunion and finally, in November, 1859, the Legislature of that State openly resolved that the commonwealth was ready to enter, together with other slave-holding States, or such as desire prompt action, into the formation of a Southern Confederacy." The Carolinians were specially anxious to secure the cooperation of the Virginians and in January following, at the request of the Legislature, the governor of the State sent C. G. Memminger as a special, commissioner to Virginia, for the purpose of enlisting its representatives in the scheme of disunion. With protestations of attachment to the Union, Mr. Memminger invited the Virginians to co-operate in a convention of delegates from slave-labor States to take action for their defence; in other words, to secede from the Union. He made an able plea, addressed to their reason, their passions, and their prejudices, and concluded by saying, I have delivered into the keeping of Virginia the cause of the South." But the Virginians did not desire a Southern Confederacy wherein free-trade in African slaves would prevail, for it would seriously interfere with the profitable inter-state traffic in negroes. So they hesitated and in an autograph letter before me, Mr. Memminger wrote to the editor of the Charleston Mercury, that the

Democratic party in Virginia was not a unit," that Federal politics made that great State comparatively powerless," and that he saw "no men who would take the position of leaders in a revolution."

I have cited these few utterances from speakers and writers who were participants or contemporaries with the actors in the events of the late Civil War, that the reader may have a key to the real causes which brought about that war. These seem to have been chiefly a desire on the part of the slave-holders to be freed from social and political contact with the people of the free-labor States (whom they regarded as less cultivated, refined, chivalric, and civilized than themselves), with perfect freedom to extend and perpetuate the system of slave labor and revive, without hindrance, the African slave-trade. Notwithstanding the Charleston Mercury, at the beginning, gave greater prominence to the first-named cause, after more than three years of war (February, 1864), it was constrained to say South Carolina entered into this struggle for no other purpose than to maintain the institution of slavery. Southern independence has no other object or meaning. Independence and slavery must stand or fall together."

When the election of Mr. Lincoln was certified, the political leaders in South Carolina were eager to begin the contemplated revolution. To be prepared for immediate action, an extraordinary session of the Legislature was assembled at Columbia on the 5th of November; and as the news of the result of the election went over the land, the governor of the State received congratulatory despatches from other commonwealths wherein the politicians were in sympathy with the Secessionists. North Carolina will secede," a despatch from Raleigh said. A large number of Bell men have declared for secession the State will undoubtedly secede," said another from the capital of Alabama. Another from Milledgeville, Georgia, said:

The hour for action has come. This State is ready to assert her rights and independence. The leading men are eager for the business." There is a great deal of excitement here," said a despatch from Washington city several extreme Southern men, in office, have donned the palmetto cockades and declared themselves ready to march South." A despatch from Richmond said: "If your State secedes, we will send you troops and volunteers to aid you." Placards are posted about the city," said a message from New Orleans, calling a convention of those favorable to the organization of a corps of minute-men." A second message from Washington said: "Be firm a large quantity of arms will be shipped South from the Arsenal here to-morrow. The President is perplexed. His feelings are with the South, but he is afraid to assist them openly."

So was revealed the fact that simultaneous action in favor of disunion had been preconcerted. As these despatches came, one after the other, to Columbia, and were immediately forwarded to Charleston, a blaze of pleasurable excitement was kindled among the citizens of the latter place. The palmetto flag, the emblem of the sovereignty of the State, was everywhere displayed. From the thronged streets went up cheer after cheer for a Southern Confederacy. All day long on the 7th of November, when it was known that Mr. Lincoln was elected, the citizens were harangued in the open air and in public halls, the speakers portraying the glories of State independence. Flags and banners, martial music, and the roar of cannon attested the general joy; and that night blazing

bonfires and illuminations lighted up the city. Multitudes of palmetto cockades (made of blue silk ribbon, with a button in the centre bearing the figure of a palmetto tree) were worn in the streets of Charleston. Public offices under the Government of the United States were closed, or transferred to the sovereign State of South Carolina, in the most formal manner. On the 7th of November, Judge McGrath, of the United States District Court, solemnly resigned his office, saying to the jurors: For the last time I have, as judge of the United States, administered the laws of the United States within the limits of South Carolina. So far as I am concerned, the temple of justice raised under the Constitution of the United States is now closed." He then laid aside his judicial gown and retired. The collector of customs at Charleston resigned at the same time so also did the attorney-general. So it was that before a convention to consider the secession of the State from the Union had been authorized, the Secessionists, with plans matured, acted as if disunion had been already accomplished.

The Legislature of South Carolina assembled at Columbia on the day after Mr. Lincoln's election, when joint resolutions of both houses providing for a State Convention to consider the withdrawal of the State from the Union were offered. Some of the more cautious members counselled delay, but they were overborne by the more fiery zealots, who did not wish the popular excitement caused by the election to cool before the decisive step should be taken. One of the latter (Mr. Mullins, of Marion), in a speech against delay and waiting for the co-operation of other States, revealed the fact that an overwhelming majority of the inhabitants of the State were opposed to the schemes of the politicians. He also revealed the important fact that emissaries had been sent to Europe to prepare the way for aid and recognition by foreign governments of the contemplated Southern Confederacy.

"We have it from high authority," he said, "that the representative of one of the imperial powers of Europe [France], in view of the prospective separation of one or more of the Southern States from the present Confederacy, has made propositions in advance for the establishment of such relations between it and the government about to be established in this State, as will insure to that power such a supply of cotton for the future as their increasing demand for that article will require." He urged the importance of immediate action. "If we wait for co-operation," he said, "Slavery and State rights will be abandoned; State sovereignty and the cause of the South lost forever." James Chestnut, a member of the United States Senate, recommended immediate secession; and W. W. Boyce, of the National House of Representatives, said: I think the only policy for us is to arm as soon as we receive authentic intelligence of the election of Lincoln. It is for South Carolina, in the quickest manner and by the most direct means, to withdraw from the Union."

Other members of the Legislature were equally vehement and on the 12th of November (1860) an act was passed authorizing a Convention. The Legislature also formulated the doctrine of State Sovereignty or State Supremacy, in a resolution that declared that a Sovereign State of the Union had a right to secede from it, adopting as its own the doctrine that the States of the Union are not subordinate to the National Government; were not created by it, and do not belong to it that they created the National Government from them it derives its powers to them it is

responsible, and when it abuses the trust reposed in it, they, as equal sovereigns, have a right to resume the powers respectively delegated to it by them. This is the sum and substance of the doctrine of State Supremacy ("State Rights" as it was adroitly called) which dwarfs patriotism to the narrow dimensions of a single State, denationalizes the American citizen, and opposes the fundamental principles upon which the founders of the Republic securely built our noble superstructure of a free, powerful and sovereign Commonwealth. And it perverts the plain meaning of the Preamble to the National Constitution, which declares that the people (not States) of the whole country had given vitality to that fundamental law of the land, and to the nation. James Madison, one of the founders of the Republic, in a letter to Edmund Randolph in April, 1787, wrote: I hold it for a fundamental point, that an individual independence of the States is utterly irreconcilable with the idea of aggregate sovereignty." And Washington wrote in a letter to John Jay, in March, 1787, on the subject of the National Constitution: "A thirst for power, and the bantling - I had liked to have said the monster - sovereignty, which have taken such fast hold of the States individually, will, when joined by the many whose personal consequence in the line of State politics will, in a manner, be annihilated, form a strong phalanx against it."

The politicians in other slave-labor States followed the example of South Carolina in immediate preparations for secession. Robert Toombs, then a National Senator, was one of the chief conspirators against the life of the nation, and by violent harangues aided materially in bringing upon his State (Georgia) the awful calamities of war. In a speech at Milledgeville on the 13th of November, he exclaimed, "Withdraw your sons from the army, from the navy, and from every department of the Federal public service. Keep your own taxes in your own coffers. Buy arms with them, and throw the bloody spear into this den of incendiaries and assassins [the Northern people], and let God defend the right . . . Twenty years of labor, and tails, and taxes, all expended upon preparation, would not make up for the advantage the enemy would gain if the rising sun on the 5th of March should find you in the Union. Then strike while it is yet time." Then he cried: "I ask you to give me the sword; for, if you do not give it to me, as God lives, I will take it myself! In the war that ensued, the sword was given him, with the commission of a brigadier-general and it is on record that Mr. Toombs, acting upon the maxim that Prudence is the better part of valor," was never known to remain longer than he was compelled to in a place of danger to himself. On the following evening, Alexander H. Stephens, a man of conservative views and equal courage, in a speech in favor of the Union, exposed the many misstatements of Mr. Toombs, and touched the fiery Georgian and others to the quick, with the Ithuriel spear of truth, when he said: Some of our public men have failed in their aspirations that is true, and from that comes a great part of our troubles."

The Georgia Legislature followed the example of South Carolina in ordering a Convention to consider secession. So, also, did the Legislatures of Mississippi and Alabama. L. Q. C. Lamar, a representative in Congress of the people of the first-named State, submitted to the inhabitants, before the close of November, a plan for a Southern Confederacy and a few days before the election of delegates to the Alabama Convention, the Conference of the Methodist Church South," sitting at Montgomery, resolved that they believed African Slavery, as it existed in the Southern States of the Republic, to be a wise, humane, and righteous institution, approved of

God, and calculated to promote, in the highest possible degree, the welfare of the slave. They also resolved: Our hearts are with the South and should they ever need our hands to assist in achieving our independence, we shall not be found wanting in the hour of danger."

The politicians of little Florida, with those of Louisiana and Texas, followed in the wake of the leaders in the other four States named, in preparing for secession, all of them asserting the right of their respective States to secede because they had created the National Government." The fallacy of this claim is apparent when we remember that Mississippi, Alabama, Louisiana, Texas and Florida did not exist, even in territorial form, as parts of the Union, when the National Government was created, and that three of them belonged to foreign governments at that time. North Carolina, one of the original thirteen States, joined South Carolina and Georgia, her ancient sisters, in providing for a Convention and the governors of all the slave-labor States, excepting those of Delaware and Maryland, who had been elected by the Democratic party, showed their readiness to act in concert with the Secessionists. It was soon ascertained that the President of the Republic, and a majority of his cabinet, were ready to declare that the National Constitution did not give the Chief Magistrate authority to stay the arm of insurrection or rebellion by coercive measures.

Such is a brief outline history of the preparations by politicians in the slave-labor States, for marshalling a combined host for the overthrow of the Republic. The important initial step was taken by those of South Carolina. When the Legislature authorized a Convention, orators of every grade immediately went out to harangue the people in all parts of the State. Motley crowds of men, women, and children - Caucasian and African - listened, in excited groups, at cross-roads, court-houses, and other usual gathering places. Every speech was burdened with complaints of wrongs suffered by South Carolina in the Union;" her right and her duty to leave it; her power to "defy the world in arms; and the glory that would illumine her whole domain in that near future when her independence of the thralls of the detested Constitution should be secured. Their themes were as various as the character of their audiences. One of their orators, addressing the slave-holders in Charleston, said: "Three thousand millions of property is involved in this question and if you say at the ballot-box that South Carolina shall not secede, you put into the sacrifice three thousand millions of your property. . . . The Union is a dead carcass, stinking in the nostrils of the South. . . . Ay, my friends, a few weeks more, and you will see floating from the fortifications the ensign that now bears the Palmetto, the emblem of a Southern Confederacy." The Charleston Mercury called upon all natives of South Carolina in the army or navy to resign their commissions and join in the revolt. "The mother looks to her sons," said this fiery organ of sedition, to protect her from outrage.

She is sick of the Union - disgusted with it, upon any terms within the range of the widest possibility. This call was responded to by the resignation of the commissions of many South Carolinians; and the leaders in the revolutionary movements in that State, seemingly unable to comprehend the principles of honor and fidelity - the highest virtues of a soldier - boasted that "not a son of that State would prove loyal to the old flag." They were amazed when men like the late Admiral Shubrick, a native of South Carolina, refused to do the bidding of disloyal politicians,

while they commended the action of Lieutenant J. R. Hamilton of the navy, another "son" of South Carolina, who, at Fortress Monroe, issued a circular letter to his fellow Southrons in the marine service, in which, after writing much of honor, counselled them to follow his example, to engage in plundering the Government, in these words: What the South asks of you now is, to bring with you every ship and man you can, that we may use them against the oppressors of our liberties, and the enemies of our aggravated but united people."

Vigilance committees were speedily organized to discover and suppress every anti-secession sentiment and movement in South Carolina and before the close of November these committees were in active operation, clothed with extraordinary powers, as guardians of Southern rights." Their officers possessed full authority to decide all questions brought before them, and their decision was "final and conclusive." The patrols had power to arrest all suspicious white persons, and bring them before the Executive Committee for trial; to suppress all "negro preachings, prayer-meetings, and all congregations of negroes that may be considered unlawful by the patrol companies," the latter having unrestricted authority to "correct and punish all slaves, free negroes, mulattoes and mestizoes, as they may deem proper."

The powers of these vigilance committees were soon felt. Northern men, suspected of feelings opposed to the secession movements, were banished from the State, and some who were believed to be Abolitionists were tarred and feathered. The committees having authority to persecute, soon made the expressed sentiment in South Carolina "unanimous in favor of secession and the Charleston Mercury was justified in saying to the army and navy officers from that State, in the service of the Republic, when calling them home: You need have no more doubt of South Carolina's going out of the Union than of the world's turning round. Every man that goes to the Convention will be a pledged man - pledged for immediate separate State secession, in any event whatever."

This promise was uttered before the members of the Convention had been chosen. Everything had been arranged by the politicians; the people had nothing to do with it. The Southern Presbyterian, a theological publication of wide influence, issued at Columbia, said, on the 15th of December, that it was well known that every member of the Convention was pledged to pass an ordinance of secession, and added: It is a matter for devout thankfulness that the Convention will embody the very highest wisdom and character of the State private gentlemen, judges of her highest legal tribunals, and ministers of the Gospel." Even almost the very day when the ordinance of secession would be adopted was known to those who were engaged in the business. In a letter to me, written on the 13th of December, the late William Gilmore Simms, the distinguished South Carolina scholar, said: In ten days more South Carolina will have certainly seceded and in a reasonable interval after that event, if the forts in our harbor are not surrendered to the State, they will be taken."

Chapter CXI

Secession Convention in South Carolina - Proceedings of the Convention - Ordinance of Secession Adopted - Public Excitement - Signing the Ordinance - Anxiety of the Loyal People - Secretary Cobb's Schemes - President's Message: Its Tone and Reception - The Attorney-General's Opinion - Movements of the People and the Clergy - Proceedings in South Carolina - Declaration of Independence - Nationality of South Carolina Proclaimed - Events in Charleston Harbor - Secretary Floyd's Treachery - Transfer of Troops to Fort Sumter - the Secessionists Foiled - Floyd Succeeded by Holt.

ON the 3rd of December, 1860, delegates to the State Convention of South Carolina were chosen. They met at Columbia, the capital, on the 17th, and chose David F. Jamison president of their body. When he was about to administer an oath to the delegates, a serious difficulty was presented. The Constitution of the State of South Carolina provided that, on such occasions, an oath to support the Constitution of the United States must be taken. That requirement was like a cobweb before the leaders in the movement; and the difficulty was swept away by ex-Governor Adams, who said: We have come here to break down a government, not to support one." The delegates were all of one mind concerning the object of their assemblage; so they proceeded without the solemnity of an oath of any kind, conscious that the fundamental law of their State declared them to be an unlawful body, and their acts not binding upon any one.

President Jamison briefly addressed the Convention on taking the chair, and closed by saying: I cannot offer you anything better, in inaugurating this movement, than the words of Danton at the commencement of the French Revolution: To dare! and again to dare! and without end to dare! These brave words were followed by considerable excitement in the Convention, for intelligence came that the small-pox was raging as an epidemic in Columbia. It was immediately proposed to adjourn to Charleston. One of the delegates (W. P. Miles) begged them not to flee. "We shall be sneered at," he said and exclaimed, Is this the chivalry of South Carolina? But chivalry was not proof against fear of the loathsome disease, and by the first railway train the next morning, the delegates all fled to Charleston, and reassembled the same afternoon at Institute Hall.

The Convention proceeded to business by appointing several committees to consider various subjects, such as the relations of South Carolina to the United States in regard to public property within the limits of that State, and commercial relations also their connection with the people of other slave-holding States. A committee was also chosen, with John A. Inglis as chairman, to report the form of an ordinance of secession. After debating some questions, and proposing a provisional government for the States that might follow the example of South Carolina in seceding; to send commissioners to Washington city to negotiate with the National Government for the cession of its property within the State of South Carolina, and to elect delegates to meet others from slave-labor States for the purpose of forming a Southern Confederacy, the proper committee reported an ordinance of secession in the following words, in accordance with the theory of State supremacy:

"We, the people of the State of South Carolina, in convention assembled, do declare and ordain, and it is hereby declared and ordained, that the ordinance adopted by us in convention, on the 23rd day of May, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-eight, thereby the Constitution of the United States was ratified, and also all acts and parts of acts of the General Assembly of the State, ratifying amendments of the said Constitution, are hereby repeated, and the Union now subsisting between South Carolina and other States, under the name of the United States of America, is hereby dissolved."

It was noon on the 20th of December, 1800, when this ordinance was submitted. At a quarter before one o'clock, it was adopted by the unanimous voice of the Convention, one hundred and sixty-nine delegates voting in the affirmative. They were then assembled in St. Andrew's Hall. It was proposed that the members should walk in procession to Institute Hall, and there, at seven o'clock in the evening, in the presence of the constituted authorities of the State and of the people, to sign it - "the great Act of Deliverance and liberty."

The cry at once went forth, "The Union is dissolved!" It was echoed and re-echoed in the streets of Charleston, and was sent upon the wings of the lightning all over the Republic. Placards announcing the fact were posted throughout the city of Charleston, and again the people of that town were almost wild with excitement. All business was suspended, and huzzahs for a Southern Confederacy filled the air. Women appeared in the streets with secession bonnets, the invention of a Northern milliner in Charleston. Flags waved; church-bells pealed merrily, and cannon boomed; and some enthusiastic young men went to the grave of John C. Calhoun, in St. Philip's churchyard, and forming a circle around it, made a solemn vow to devote their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor to the cause of South Carolina independence.

Before night the ordinance of secession was engrossed on a sheet of parchment and at the appointed time, in the evening, Institute Hall was crowded with eager spectators to witness the signing of the instrument. Back of the president's chair was suspended a banner of cotton cloth, on which was painted a significant device. At the bottom was a mass of broken and discolored blocks of hewn stones, on each of which were the name and arms of a free-labor State. Rising from this mass were two columns made of perfect blocks of stone, each bearing the name and arms of a slave-labor State. The keystone of an arch that crowned the two columns had the name and arms of South Carolina upon it, and it bore a figure of Calhoun. In the space between the columns was a palmetto tree, with a rattlesnake coiled around its trunk, and on a ribbon the words, "Southern Republic." Beneath all, in large letters, were the significant words, "Built from the Ruins."

This flag foreshadowed the designs of the Secessionists to overthrow the Republic and build an empire upon its ruins whose corner-stone should be slavery. To that end the members of the Convention proceeded to sign the ordinance in the presence of the governor of the State, the members of the Legislature, and other dignitaries of the land. When the act was finished there was deep silence. Then the Rev. Dr. Bachman, with white, flowing locks, advanced on the platform whereon the president sat, and with uplifted hands implored Almighty God to bless the

people engaged in the act and to favor the undertaking. Then President Jamison exhibited the instrument to the people, read it, and said: The Ordinance of Secession has been signed and ratified, and I proclaim the State of South Carolina an independent commonwealth." The people shouted their approval; and so closed the first great act in the terrible drama of the great Civil War. A few months afterward, every building in Charleston in which public movements for the destruction of the Union had taken place were accidentally destroyed by fire and late one evening in 1866, after the Confederate States of America, organized in Montgomery early in 1861, had become a thing of the past, I heard the mournful voice of a screech-owl in the blackened tower of the Circular Church which stood within a few rods of the grave of Calhoun in St. Philip's churchyard.

In the meantime, the National capital had become the theatre of stirring events. The proceedings of the Southern politicians had been watched by the loyal people of the country with intense interest and anxiety, especially by the mercantile and manufacturing classes. To these the Southern planters and merchants were indebted to the amount of full two hundred million dollars, and at the middle of November, remittances from the South had almost ceased, owing to various causes. Howell Cobb, one of the most active of the secret enemies of the Republic, was then Mr. Buchanan's Secretary of the Treasury, and had adroitly managed to strike a paralyzing blow at the public credit, months before Mr. Lincoln's election. When he entered the cabinet in 1857, he found the Government coffers so overflowing, that the treasury notes next due were bought in the autumn of 1800, the treasury was empty, and he was in the market as a borrower of money to carry on the ordinary operations of the Government. His management had created such distrust in financial circles, that he was compelled to pay ruinous premiums at a time when money was never more abundant in the country.

This wrecking of the Government by destroying its credit was a part of Cobb's financial scheme for the benefit of his associate Secessionists. Another of his schemes for the supposed benefit of the South was foreshadowed in a letter (the original is before me), written by William H. Trescott, then Assistant Secretary of State, to the editor of the Charleston Mercury, dated "Washington, Nov. 1, 1800." In that letter, by permission of Mr. Cobb, Mr. Trescott gives that gentleman's views concerning the situation. After some remarks about deferring overt acts of rebellion until the 4th of March following, Mr. Trescott wrote: Mr. Cobb desires me to impress upon you his conviction that any attempt to precipitate the actual issue upon this Administration will be most mischievous - calculated to produce differences of opinion and destroy unanimity. He thinks it of great importance that the cotton crop should go forward at once, and that the money should be in the hands of the people, that the cry of popular distress shall not be heard at the outset of this move." Mr. Cobb's motive for his recommendation is made apparent by the fact that it was a common practice for the cotton planter to receive pay for his crops in advance. The crop then to go forward" was already paid for. The money to be received on its delivery was for the next year's crop, which would never be delivered. It was a deliberate scheme to cheat Northern men out of many millions of dollars - a scheme which the honest cotton-growers would not have sanctioned had they been aware of it. But in this, as in all other plans then ripening for a rebellion, the politicians would not trust the people with their secrets.

The meeting of the Thirty-sixth Congress on the 3rd of December, drew the attention of the whole people to the National capital. It was an event of solemn interest to the nation. To the Annual Message of the President the public looked eagerly for a definite expression of the views of the Government on the all-absorbing topic. The people sat down to read it with hope, and arose from its perusal with grievous disappointment. Faintheartedness and indecision appeared in almost every paragraph. After arguing that the election of a President who was distasteful to the people of one section of the country afforded no excuse for the offended ones to rebel, he declared that certain acts of Northern State Legislatures in opposition to the Fugitive-Slave Law, were violations of the Constitution, and if not repealed the injured States, after having first used all peaceful and Constitutional means to obtain redress, would be justified in revolutionary resistance to the Government of the Union." The Secessionists could ask no more.

The President then considered the right of secession, and the relative powers of the National Government. Before preparing this portion of his message, he turned to the Attorney-General (Jeremiah S. Black) for advice. It was given in ample measure on the 20th of November, in not less than three thousand words. It gave much aid and comfort to the enemies of the Union, for it yielded everything to them. It declared, in substance, that any State possessed an inherent right to secede, and when it had seceded, there was no power known to the Constitution to compel it to return to the Union. He argued that by an act of secession a State had virtually disappeared as a part of the Republic and the power of the National Government being only auxiliary to State life and force, National troops would certainly be out of place, and their use wholly illegal." It seemed to the Attorney-General that an attempt to force the people of a State into submission to the laws of the Republic and to desist from attempts to destroy it, would be making war upon them, by which they would be converted into alien enemies, and would be compelled to act accordingly." He counselled the President, virtually, to suffer this concrete Republic to become disintegrated by the fires of faction, or the blows of actual rebellion, rather than to use force legitimately at his disposal, for the preservation of its integrity and life. The weak President, accepting the advice of the Attorney-General, incorporated the doctrine into a portion of his Message; but, apparently conscious of its dangerous tendency, he uttered some brave words against secession as a crime, and State Supremacy as a heresy dangerous to the nationality of the Republic - a doctrine which, if practically carried out, would make "the Confederacy a rope of sand, to be penetrated and dissolved by the first adverse wave of public opinion in any of the States. In this manner," he truly said, our thirty-three States may resolve themselves into so many jarring and hostile republics, each one retiring from the Union without responsibility, whenever any sudden excitement might impel them to such a course. By this process a Union might be entirely broken into fragments in a few weeks, which cost our fathers many years of toil, privation, and blood to establish."

Seemingly alarmed at his own outspoken convictions, and the offence it might give his Southern friends, the perplexed President proposed to conciliate them by allowing them to infuse deadly poison into the blood of their intended victim, which would more slowly but as surely accomplish their purpose. To do this he proposed an "explanatory amendment" to the Constitution on the subject of slavery, which would give to the enemies of the Union everything

which they demanded, namely, the elevation of the slave- system to the dignity of a National institution, and thus sap the very foundations of our free Government. This amendment was to consist of an express recognition of the right of property in slaves in the States where slavery then existed or might thereafter exist of the recognition of the duty of the National Government to protect that right in all the Territories throughout their territorial existence the recognition of the right of the slave-owner to every privilege and advantage given him in the Fugitive-Slave Law and a declaration that all the State laws impairing or defeating that law were violations of the Constitution, and consequently null and void.

This Message, so indecisive and inconsistent, alarmed the people and pleased nobody. When a motion was made in the National Senate for its reference, it was spoken lightly of by the friends and foes of the Union. Senator Clingman, of North Carolina, who first sounded the trumpet of disunion in the Upper House, declared that it fell short of stating the case then before the country. Senator Wigfall, of Texas, said he could not understand it and in the course of debate a few weeks afterward, Senator Jefferson Davis said that it had all the characteristics of a diplomatic paper, for diplomacy is said to abhor certainty, as nature abhors a vacuum and," he continued, "it is not within the power of man to reach any fixed conclusion from that Message. When the country was agitated, when opinions are being formed, when we are drifting beyond the power ever to return," he said, this is not what we have the right to expect from a Chief Magistrate. One policy or the other he ought to have taken. . . either of a Federalist, that every State is subordinate to the Federal Government, and he was bound to enforce its authority or as a State Rights Democrat, which he professed to be, holding that the Constitution gave no power to the Federal Government to coerce a State. The President should have brought his opinion to one conclusion or another, and, to-day, our country would have been safer than it is."

Senator Hale, of New Hampshire, said that if he understood the meaning of the Message on the subject of secession, it was this: "South Carolina has just cause for seceding from the Union - that is the first proposition. The second is, that she has no right to secede. The third is, that we have no right to prevent her from seceding." He goes on to represent this as a great and powerful country, and that "no State has a right to secede from it but the power of the country, if I understand the President, consists in what Dickens makes the English constitution to be - a power to do anything at all. Now I think it was incumbent on the President of the United States to point out definitely and to recommend to Congress some rule of action, and to tell us what he recommended us to do. But, in my judgment, he has entirely avoided it. He has failed to look the thing in the face. He has acted like the ostrich, which hides her head, and thereby thinks to escape danger."

So thought the people, who perceived that no reliance could be placed upon the arm of the Executive in defending the integrity of the Union. Had they then comprehended the fearful proportions of the imminent danger, they would have almost despaired. Patriotic men wrote to their representatives in Congress, asking them to be firm, yet conciliatory and clergymen of every sect exhorted their people to be firm in faith, patient in hope, careful in conduct, and trustful in God. More than forty of the leading clergymen of various denominations in New York, New

Jersey, and Pennsylvania, united in sending forth a Circular Letter on New Year's day, 1861, making an appeal to the Churches. We cannot doubt," they said, that a spirit of candor and forbearance, such as our religion prompts, and the exigencies of the times demand, would render the speedy adjustment of our difficulties possible, consistently with every Constitutional right. Unswerving fealty to the Constitution justly interpreted, and a prompt return to its spirit and requirements whenever these may have been divergent from either, would seem to be the first duty of citizens and legislators. It is our firm, and, we think, intelligent conviction, that only a very inconsiderable fraction of the people of the North will hesitate in the discharge of their Constitutional obligations and that whatever enactments are found to be in conflict therewith, will be annulled." This well-meant missive operated only as the mildest soothing syrup; the disease was too malignant and widespread to be touched by anything but the probe and cautery.

While the National Legislature were tossing upon the suddenly raised surges of disunion, and the people of the free-labor States were listening with breathless anxiety to the roar of the tempest at the Capitol, the noise of the storm in the far South was like the portentous bellowing of distant thunder. It was raging vehemently in South Carolina. The Convention at Charleston, after passing the Ordinance of Secession, appointed commissioners to proceed to Washington to treat for the possession of public property within the limits of South Carolina. They also issued an Address to the people of the other slave-labor States, and a Declaration of the causes which impelled South Carolina to leave the Union. In the former, they said: "South Carolina desires no destiny separate from yours. To be one of a great slave-holding Confederacy, stretching its arms over territory larger than any power in Europe possesses, with a population four times greater than that of the whole United States when they achieved their independence of the British empire; with productions which make our existence more important to the world than that of any other people inhabiting it; with common institutions to defend and common dangers to encounter, we ask your sympathy and confederation. . . . All we demand of other people, is to be let alone to work out our own high destinies. . . . United, we must be a great, free and prosperous people, whose renown must spread throughout the civilized world, and pass down, we trust, to the remotest ages. We ask you to join in forming a Confederacy of Slave-holding States." In their declaration of causes for the separation, they failed to point out a single act of wrong on the part of the Government they were intending to destroy, and it consisted chiefly of complaints that the Northern people did not look upon slavery with favor; were opposed to the Fugitive-Slave Law, and did not believe a decision of the Supreme Court of the United States was superior in authority to the Divine Law.

On the day when that Declaration was adopted, the governor of South Carolina (Pickens) issued a proclamation declaring the sovereignty, freedom and independence of that State, and that it was vested with national functions. The proclamation closed with the words - "Given under my hand, the 24th of December, 1800, and in the eighty-fifth year of the sovereignty and independence of South Carolina." Then, with perfect consistency, the Charleston newspapers published intelligence from the other States of the Union, under the head of Foreign News." A small medal was struck to commemorate the secession of the State, and a banner for the new empire was adopted, composed of red silk, bearing a blue silk cross with fifteen white stars, the

number of the slave-labor States. The Convention appointed one commissioner to each of the States to invite the politicians to send delegates to meet those of South Carolina at Montgomery, Alabama, to form a Southern Confederacy; authorized Governor Pickens, as chief magistrate of the new nation, to receive ambassadors, consuls, etc., from foreign countries, and took other measures for organizing a national government. The governor chose cabinet ministers, and the South Carolina nation began its brief career.

"A nationality! exclaimed the London Morning Star, when commenting upon this Declaration of the sovereignty of South Carolina. "Was there ever, since the world began, a nation constituted of such materials - a commonwealth founded on such a basis? The greatest empire of antiquity is said to have grown up from a group of huts, built in a convenient location by fugitive slaves and robber huntsmen. But history nowhere chronicles the establishment of a community of slave-holders solely upon the alleged right of maintaining and enlarging their property in man. Paganism at least protected the Old World from so monstrous a scandal upon free commonwealths, by shutting out the idea of a common humanity, and of individual rights derivable from inalienable duties."

Charleston harbor now became the theatre of stirring events. John B. Floyd of Virginia, one of the leading conspirators, was then Secretary of War, and was secretly weakening the physical power of the Government by stripping the arsenals of the North of their arms and ammunition, and strengthening the Secessionists by filling the arsenals of the South with an abundance of weapons. Of course he paid no attention to the words of General Winfield Scott, the chief of the army, when, so early as the close of October, he observed signs of incipient insurrection in South Carolina, and recommended the strengthening of the forts near Charleston. And when, at the close of the same month, Colonel Gardiner, in command of the fortifications near that city, attempted to increase his supply of ammunition, Floyd removed him, and in November placed Major Robert Anderson, a meritorious officer in the war with Mexico, in his place. That loyal Kentuckian at once perceived, by various acts, the designs of the Secessionists to seize the fortifications in the harbor, and he urged his Government to strengthen them with men and munitions of war, especially Fort Moultrie, in which he was placed with a feeble garrison. But his constant warnings were unheeded, even when he wrote: "The clouds are threatening, and the storm may burst at any moment. I need not say to you how anxious I am, indeed determined, as far as honor will permit, to avoid collision with the people of South Carolina. Nothing will, however, be better calculated to prevent bloodshed, than our being found in such an attitude that it would be madness and folly to attack us." He continually begged the War Department to give him more strength, and send him explicit instructions; and when he found his warnings treated with contemptuous silence, he wrote: Unless otherwise directed, I shall make future communications through the regular channel - the General-in-Chief."

Anderson did not know that he was addressing an enemy and not a protector of his Government, who was working with all his might to destroy the Republic. On the very day when the patriotic Major wrote to Floyd, the treacherous Secretary sold ten thousand Government muskets to an agent of the Secessionists of Georgia. Eight days before he had sold five thousand

to the State of Virginia; and vast numbers were sent to other slave-labor States. The Mobile Advertiser, the organ of the Secessionists in Alabama, exultingly declared that within twelve months one hundred and thirty-five thousand muskets had been quietly transferred from the Northern Arsenal at Springfield (Mass.) alone, to those in the Southern States.

We are much obliged to Mr. Floyd," said the Advertiser, for the foresight he has thus displayed in disarming the North and equipping the South for this emergency. There is no telling the quantity of arms and munitions which were sent South from other arsenals. There is no doubt but that every man in the South who can carry a gun, can now be supplied from private or public sources." Floyd also attempted to supply the Secessionists with heavy guns, but loyal men prevented the outrage.

Secretary Floyd found Anderson too loyal for his purpose, but it was too late to displace him, so he left him to his own feeble resources, satisfied that the military companies then in process of organization in South Carolina, would be able to seize the forts in Charleston harbor in good time. Moultrie was weak, and many of the little garrison in Sumter were known to be disloyal. The latter fort was by far the stronger and more important work; and as evidence hourly increased, especially after the passage of the Ordinance of Secession, that the South Carolinians intended to seize Fort Sumter, Anderson, being commander of all the forts in the harbor, resolved to transfer the garrison in Fort Moultrie into that of Sumter, and abandon the former. It was a delicate undertaking, for the Secessionists had watch-boats out upon the waters.

Anderson revealed his secret to only three or four of his most trusted officers. Then he resorted to stratagem to get the women and children first into Fort Sumter. They were taken in a vessel, with ample provisions, to Fort Johnson on James Island, where, under pretext of difficulty in finding quarters for them, they were detained on board until evening. Three guns fired at Fort Moultrie was to be the signal for consigning them immediately to Fort Sumter. The movement was regarded by the people of Charleston as a natural and prudent measure of Anderson, who, they knew, believed they were about to attack Fort Moultrie, and so all suspicion was allayed.

At the close of that evening, while the almost full-orbed moon was shining brightly, the greater portion of the little garrison at Moultrie embarked for Sumter. The three guns were fired; the women and children were quickly taken from before Fort Johnson to Sumter, and the movement was successful. Two or three officers remained at Fort Moultrie to spike the cannon, to destroy the gun-carriages, and to cut down the flag-staff that no secession banner might float from the peak from which the National flag had so long fluttered. When the soldiers and their families and many weeks provision were safely within the granite walls of Fort Sumter, Major Anderson wrote to the Secretary of War" I have the honor to report that I have just completed, by the blessing of God, the removal to this fort, of all my garrison except the surgeon, four North Carolina officers, and seven men."

The telegraph conveyed from the Secessionists to Floyd the astounding intelligence long before Anderson's despatch reached him. It flashed back the angry words of the dismayed and

foiled conspirator: Intelligence has reached here this morning [December 27] that you have abandoned Fort Moultrie, spiked your guns, burnt the carriages, and gone to Fort Sumter. It is not believed, because there is no order for any such movement. Explain the meaning of this report." Anderson calmly replied by telegraph:

The telegram is correct. I abandoned Fort Moultrie because I was certain that if attacked my men must have been sacrificed, and the command of the harbor lost. I spiked the guns and destroyed the carriages to keep the guns from being turned against us. If attacked, the garrison would never have surrendered without a fight."

The soldiers in Sumter wished to fling out the National ensign defiantly before the dawn next morning; but Anderson, who was a devout man, wishing to impress upon his followers the lesson that upon God alone they were to rely in the great trial that was evidently before them, would not consent to the act until the return of the absent chaplain. He came at noonday, when the whole company in the fort gathered around the flagstaff not far from a huge cannon. The commander, with the halyards in his hand, knelt at the foot of the staff, when the chaplain earnestly invoked the sustaining power of the Almighty. A loud Amen! fell from the lips of many; and then the brave Major hoisted the flag to the top of the staff. It was greeted with hearty cheers, and the band saluted it with the air of "Hail Columbia."

A boat now approached the fort from Charleston. It conveyed a messenger who bore to Major Anderson a demand from Governor Pickens, that the former should immediately leave Fort Sumter, and return to Fort Moultrie. The demand was courteously refused; and Anderson was denounced as a traitor to the South," he being a native of Kentucky, a slave-labor State. The conspirators in Charleston and Washington were enraged. At the very moment when the flag was flung to the breeze over Sumter, Secretary Floyd, in cabinet meeting, was demanding of the President permission to withdraw Anderson from Charleston harbor. The President refused. A storm suddenly arose which produced a disruption in the cabinet, and Floyd was succeeded by Joseph Holt, a loyal Kentuckian, who wrote to Major Anderson that his movement in transferring the garrison from Moultrie to Sumter, "was in every way admirable, alike for its humanity and patriotism as for its soldiership." Words of cheer came for the Major from other quarters. The Legislature of Nebraska, sitting two thousand miles away from Fort Sumter, telegraphed to him "A Happy New Year;" and cannon were fired in several places in honor of the event.

Chapter CXII

Heroism of Major Anderson - His Wife and Peter Hart - Robbery in the Interior Department - Flight of Secretary Floyd - Cabinet Changes - South Carolina Commissioners in Washington - Attempt to Reinforce and Supply Fort Sumter - Inauguration of Civil War at Charleston - Language of the Politicians - The People Bewildered - Fate of Leaders - "Secession" in Other States - Seizure of Public Property - Northern Sympathizers - Plan of the Secessionists - Dix's Order - Action in the Border States - Concessions - Peace Convention - Adam's Proposition - Convention at Montgomery - Establishment of a Southern Confederate Government.

MAJOR ANDERSON and his little band of soldiers were in extreme peril from the hour when they entered Fort Sumter. His friends knew that he was exposed to treachery within and fierce assault from without, and were very anxious. His devoted wife, daughter of General Clinch of Georgia, was an invalid in New York. She resolved to go to her husband with a faithful servant whom he might trust, if she could find him. It was Peter Hart, who had been a sergeant with Anderson in Mexico, and was warmly attached to his person. After much search Mrs. Anderson found he was attached to the police force in New York, and she sent for him. He came, accompanied by his wife. "I have sent for you," said Mrs. Anderson, "to ask you to do me a favor." "Anything Mrs. Anderson wishes, I will do," was Hart's prompt reply. "But it may be more than you imagine," Mrs. Anderson said. Hart again replied, "Anything Mrs. Anderson wishes." "I want you to go with me to Fort Sumter," she said. Hart looked at his wife a moment, and then promptly responded, "I will go, madame." Then the earnest woman said, "But, Hart, I want you to stay with the major. You will leave your family, and give up a good situation." Again Hart glanced inquiringly toward his wife, and perceiving consent in her expression, he quickly replied, "I will go madame." "But Margaret," said Mrs. Anderson, turning to Hart's wife, "what do you say? Indeed, ma'am, and its Margaret's sorry she can't do as much for you as Pater can," was the reply of the warm-hearted woman.

Twenty-four hours after this interview, Mrs. Anderson, contrary to the advice of her physician, started by railway for Charleston, accompanied by Peter Hart in the capacity of a servant. From Thursday night until Sunday morning, when she arrived at Fort Sumter, she neither ate, drank, nor slept. In the cars in southern Virginia and through the Carolinas, her ears were frequently assailed by curses of her husband and threats of violence against him, by men to whom the delicate, pale-faced woman, the wife of the man they hated, was a stranger. On Sunday morning, after some difficulty, she procured permission to visit Fort Sumter, with Peter Hart. As the little boat touched the wharf of the fortress near the sallyport, and the name of Mrs. Anderson was announced to the sentry, the major, informed of her presence, rushed out, and clasped her in his arms with the exclamation, in a vehement whisper intended for her ear only, "My glorious wife I have brought you Peter Hart," she said. The children are well I return tonight. She then partook of refreshments, and after resting a few hours, she was on her way back to New York, where she was threatened with brain fever a long time. She had given her husband the most faithful friend and assistant, under all circumstances, in the fort, during the three months of severe trial that ensued. She had done what the Government would not or dared not do - not sent but took a

most valuable reinforcement to Fort Sumter.

While excitement was vehement in Washington because of events in Charleston harbor, it was intensified by a new development of bad faith or crime in the Department of the Interior, of which Jacob Thompson, of Mississippi, was chief. The safe of the Department was rifled of bonds to the amount of \$800,000, which composed the Indian Trust Fund. The wildest rumors prevailed as to the amount abstracted, making it millions. It was known that Cobb had impoverished the Treasury, and the public was inclined to believe that plunder was a part of the business of the cabinet, for Secretary Floyd was deeply implicated in the Bond robbery. The public held Floyd and Thompson responsible for the crime. The grand jury of Washington city indicted Floyd for malfeasance in office, complicity in the abstraction of the Indian Trust Fund, and conspiracy against the Government and a committee of the House of Representatives mildly reported that Floyd's conduct was irreconcilable with purity of motives, and faithfulness to public trusts." But before the action of the grand jury and the report of the committee were known, the offending Secretary of War had fled to Virginia, where he was received with open arms by the Secessionists, and made a military leader with the commission of brigadier-general. His place in the cabinet was filled, as we have observed, by Joseph Holt, a loyal Kentuckian.

General Cass, the Secretary of State, had resigned, and Mr. Black, the Attorney-General, took his place, when the last-named office was filled by Edwin M. Stanton, afterward the efficient Secretary of War. John A. Dix, a staunch patriot of New York, was called to the head of the Treasury Department, and Secretary Thompson left the Department of the Interior and returned to Mississippi to help his fellow Secessionists make war on the Republic. These changes in the cabinet caused the loyal people of the country to breathe freer and indulge in hope.

At the same time there was another cause for excitement in the National capital. R. W. Barnwell, James H. Adams and James L. Orr, appointed commissioners by the Convention of South Carolina to treat for the disposition of the property of the National Government within the borders of that State, arrived at Washington, took a house for the transaction of diplomatic business, and made Wm. H. Trescott their Secretary. With the formality of foreign ministers, they announced their presence to the President of the Republic, and set forth the objects of their mission in haughty language, and prepared for a long line of negotiations. The business was cut short by the refusal of the President to receive them in any other capacity than as private gentlemen. Their demands had been uttered in a manner so insulting, that the President was justly indignant, and wrote them a letter, courteous in tone but severe in its facts, which called from them a most insolent rejoinder. This communication was returned to them, indorsed with these words: "This paper, just presented to the President, is of such a character that he declines to receive it." Thus ended the diplomatic correspondence" between the President of the Republic and the ambassadors from a State which its politicians had placed in an attitude of rebellion against the National Government. These ambassadors, after occupying their ministerial residence ten days, left it and returned home to engage in the work of the Secessionists with all their might, excepting Mr. Orr.

With more loyal elements composing his cabinet, President Buchanan now seemed to act more decidedly in support of the National authority; and listening to the counsels of Generals Dix and Scott, and other patriotic men, he determined to send reinforcements and supplies to Fort Sumter. The *Star of the West*, a merchant steamship, was employed for the purpose; and, in order to mislead spies in New York, she was cleared from that port for Savannah and New Orleans. But the secret of her destination, revealed to Secretary Thompson while he was writing his resignation, was telegraphed by him to Charleston and when, on the morning of the 9th of January, 1861, she entered that harbor with the National flag flying, she was fired upon from redoubts which the Secessionists, now become insurgents, had erected on the shores. Her commander displayed a large American ensign, but the assailants had no respect for the insignia of the Union; and after receiving seventeen shots, chiefly in her rigging, and being unarmed with artillery, the *Star of the West* turned about, put to sea, and returned to New York. This movement had been watched by the garrison at Fort Sumter, with eager curiosity at first, until it was evident that the steamship was in the Government employ bringing relief to the fort, when the guns of the fortress, all shotted, were brought to bear on the batteries of the insurgents. Anderson was not aware of the changed condition of affairs at Washington, and, restrained by positive orders not to act until attacked, he withheld fire. Had he known that his act would have been approved by his Government, he would have silenced the hostile batteries and received the soldiers and supplies on board the *Star of the West* into Fort Sumter. This overt act of the insurgents was the beginning of the terrible Civil War that followed.

The South Carolinians struck the first blow (which rebounded so fearfully), and gloried in it. The commander of the battery on Morris Island (Major Stevens) that caused the *Star of the West* to put to sea, loudly boasted of his feat in humbling the flag of his country. The Legislature of the State resolved that they had learned "with pride and pleasure of the successful resistance of the troops of the State, acting under orders of the governor, to an attempt to reinforce Fort Sumter. The *Charleston Mercury* exclaimed: Yesterday, the 9th of January, will be remembered in history. Powder has been burnt over the decree of our State, timber has been crashed, perhaps blood spilled. The expulsion of the *Star of the West* from Charleston harbor yesterday morning was the opening of the ball of revolution. We are proud that our harbor has been so honored. We are more proud that the State of South Carolina, so long, so bitterly, so contemptuously reviled and scoffed at, above all others, should thus proudly have thrown back the scoff of her enemies. Entrenched upon her soil, she has spoken from the mouth of her cannon and not from the mouths of scurrilous demagogues, fanatics, and scribblers. Condemned, the sanctity of her waters violated with hostile purpose of reinforcing enemies in our harbor, she has not hesitated to strike the first blow full in the face of her insulters. Let the United States Government bear, or return it at its good will, the blow still tingling about its ears the fruit of its own bandit temerity. We would not exchange or recall that blow for millions! It has wiped out half a century of scorn and outrage. Again South Carolina may be proud of her historic fame and ancestry, without a blush upon her cheek for her own present honor. The haughty echo of her cannon has ere this reverberated from Maine to Texas, through every hamlet of the North, and down along the great waters of the southwest. The decree has gone forth. Upon each acre of the peaceful soil of the South, armed men will spring up as the sound breaks upon their ears; and it will be found that

every word of our insolent foe has been, indeed, a dragon's tooth sown for their destruction. And though grizzly and traitorous ruffians may cry on the dogs of war, and treacherous politicians may lend their aid in deceptions, South Carolina will stand under her own palmetto-tree, unterrified by the snarling growls or assaults of the one, undeceived or deterred by the wily machinations of the other. And if that red seal of blood be still lacking to the parchment of our liberties, and blood they want - blood they shall have - and blood enough to stamp it all in red. For, by the God of our fathers, the soil of South Carolina shall be free!"

Such was the language of the Declaration of War against the Union by the politicians of South Carolina - arrogant, boastful, savage. Unmindful of the wisdom of the injunction of the king of Israel, "Let not him that girdeth on his harness boast himself as he that putteth it off," they proceeded in hot haste, in the spirit of their Declaration, to inaugurate Civil War, and to drag the peaceful inhabitants of the other slave-labor States into its horrid vortex. The people, whose rights they had violated and whose sovereignty they had usurped, were stunned and bewildered by the violence of these self-constituted leaders, and they found themselves and their millions of property at the mercy of madmen who, as the sequel proved, were totally unfit to lead in the councils of a free, intelligent, and patriotic community. Four years after the war so boastfully begun by these political leaders in South Carolina, Charleston was a ghastly ruin, in which not one of these men remained. Columbia, the capital of the State, was laid in ashes; every slave within the borders of the Republic was liberated; society in the slave-labor States was wholly disorganized; the land was filled with the mourning of the deceived and bereaved people; and a large number of those who signed the Ordinance of Secession and so brought the curse of war's desolation upon the innocent inhabitants of most of the Southern States, became fugitives from their homes, utterly ruined. I would gladly draw the veil of oblivion over the folly and wrong-doing of these few crazy leaders, for they were citizens of our common country; but justice to posterity requires that their actions should be made warning beacons to others who, in like manner, contemplate rebellion against the divine law of the Golden Rule, and a total disregard of the rights of man.

The South Carolina politicians now made frantic appeals to those of other slave-labor States to follow their example, and bind the people hand and foot by ordinances of secession. During the first thirty days of the year 1861, the politicians in six of the other States responded by calling conventions and passing ordinances of secession, in the following order: Mississippi, on the 9th of January; Florida, on the 10th; Alabama, on the 11th; Georgia, on the 19th; Louisiana, on the 26th, and Texas on the first of February. At the same time the Secessionists of Virginia were anxious to enroll their State among the seceders and under the control of ex-Governor Henry A. Wise, and of others in Maryland under leaders unknown to the public, large numbers of Minute-men were organized and drilled for the special purpose of seizing Washington city and the Government Buildings and archives - a prime object of the conspirators against the life of the nation. Acting upon the suggestions of the politicians of South Carolina, those of other States caused the seizure of forts, arsenals, and other property of the United States within the borders of the slave-labor States. In Louisiana the Arsenal, Mint, Custom-house and Post-office, with all their contents, were seized and turned over to the State authorities, while the President, evidently bound by ante-election pledges, dared not interfere. The insurgents everywhere were encouraged by the

leaders of the Administration party in the North, by language such as was used at a large Democratic meeting held in Philadelphia on the 16th of January, 1861, when one of the resolutions adopted, echoing the sentiments of the decision of the Attorney-General, declared: We are utterly opposed to any such compulsion as is demanded by a portion of the Republican party; and the Democratic party of the North will, by all constitutional means, and with its moral and political influence, oppose any such extreme policy, or a fratricidal war thus to be inaugurated." And a Democratic State Convention held at the capital of Pennsylvania, on the 22nd of February, 1861, said by a resolution: "We will, by all proper and legitimate means, oppose, discountenance and prevent any attempt on the part of the Republicans in power, to make any armed aggressions upon the Southern States, especially so long as laws [meaning those concerning the Fugitive-Slave Act] contravening their rights shall remain unrepealed on the statute books of Northern States, and so long as the just demands of the South shall continue to be unrecognized by the Republican majorities in those States, and unsecured by proper amendatory explanations of the Constitution."

Such moral "aid and comfort" everywhere given by Northern politicians, made the insurgents believe that there would be such a fatally divided North" that their schemes might be consummated with ease, and they did not pause in their mad career. They at once set about executing, with boldness and energy, their preconcerted plans as set forth in the following words by one of them: "We intend to take possession of the army and navy, and of the archives of the Government not allow the electoral votes to be counted; proclaim Buchanan provisional president if he will do as we wish if not, choose another; seize the Harper's Ferry Arsenal and the Norfolk Navy-yard simultaneously, and sending armed men down from the former and armed vessels up from the latter, take possession of Washington city and establish a new government." Many seizures were made; and the value of the public property thus appropriated to the use of the insurgents, before the close of Buchanan's administration, was estimated at \$30,000,000.

A defiant spirit now prevailed all over the South. When General Dix, the loyal Secretary of the Treasury, sent a special agent of his department to secure from seizure revenue cutters at New Orleans and Mobile, with special orders for their commanders, the captain (Breshwood) of one of them at the former port, haughtily refused to obey. When the agent telegraphed to the Secretary a notice of this disobedience, the latter immediately sent his famous despatch Tell Lieutenant Caldwell to arrest Captain Breshwood, assume the command of the cutter, and obey the order through you. If Captain Breshwood, after arrest, undertakes to interfere with the command of the cutter, tell Lieutenant Caldwell to consider him as a mutineer. If any one attempts to pull down the American flag, shoot him on the spot!

This vigorous order was the first sign given by the Executive Government at Washington of a real determination to quell the rising insurrection; and it gave hopes to the friends of the Union who had observed, with great anxiety, the President of the Republic sitting with his hands folded in passive acquiescence while its enemies were preparing to destroy it. But the conspirators in New Orleans, who had control of the telegraph, did not allow the despatch to pass. The revenue cutter fell into the hands of the insurgents; and two days afterward the National Mint and

Custom-house at New Orleans, with all the coin and bullion they contained, amounting to \$536,000, were seized by the Secessionists, and the precious metals were placed in the coffers of the State of Louisiana.

While events in the slave-labor States, in the month of January, 1861, were tending more and more toward armed rebellion against the National Government, the people of the free-labor States became fully aroused to the impending danger to the Union. The Border States were also deeply agitated, at the same time, by conflicting sentiments, for there was a very large class of Unionists in each of them. But these were speedily overborne by the violence of the Secessionists; and Virginia, Tennessee and Missouri were finally arranged under the banner of the Southern Confederacy, by their politicians, and these, with Kentucky, bore the brunt of the dreadful conflict that ensued. Kentucky and Maryland were in a doubtful position at one time. The patriotic Governor Hicks kept the latter fast to her moorings among the loyal commonwealths; but Governor Magoffin of Kentucky, who was an adroit politician, failing to drag that State into secession, procured for it an attitude of so-called "neutrality" that was far worse for the inhabitants than a positive position on one side or the other. Governors Letcher of Virginia, Harris of Tennessee and Jackson of Missouri, with their associate politicians, formally committed their respective States to the fortunes of the enemies of the Union.

Meanwhile the loyal people of the Northern States were holding public meetings and counteracting, as far as they might, the revolutionary proceedings of their opponents North and South. They loved peace and desired friendship, and were willing to make almost any concessions to the enemies of the Government that did not involve their honor. When, as the politicians in State after State adopted ordinances of secession, and their respective representatives in both Houses of Congress abdicated their seats and hurled defiance and threats in the face of the Government and its supporters, the latter patiently yielded, and showed a willingness to conciliate the arrogant leaders of the Secessionists. So early as the 27th of December, Charles Francis Adams, a representative of Massachusetts - a commonwealth against which the fiercest maledictions of the slave-holders had been hurled for years - offered a resolution in the House of Representatives, That it is expedient to propose an amendment to the Constitution, to the effect that no future amendments of it in regard to slavery shall be made unless proposed by a slave State, and ratified by all the States." And so eager were the loyal men for reconciliation, that when the authorities of Virginia proposed a General Convention at the National capital (which was called a Peace Conference), they readily agreed to the measure and appointed delegates to it, albeit many wise men doubted the sincerity of the proposers and regarded it as a plan to gain time for the perfecting of plans for seizing Washington city.

The Peace Conference assembled at the National capital on the 4th of February, 1861, in which delegates from twenty-one States appeared. Ex- President John Tyler of Virginia was appointed chairman of the Convention. Your patriotism," he said, in taking the chair, will surmount the difficulties, however great, if you will but accomplish one triumph in advance, and that is triumph over party. And what is party, when compared to the work of rescuing one's country from danger? Do this, and one long, loud shout of joy and gladness will resound

throughout the land."

The Convention heartily reciprocated these patriotic words. Efforts were made in the Convention to have an amendment to the National Constitution adopted, that would nationalize slavery. It failed, and a compromise was effected by adopting an article that should preserve slavery. With this compromise, Mr. Tyler and his Virginia friends professed to be satisfied. I cannot but hope," he said, in his closing speech before the Convention, that the blessing of God will follow and rest upon the result of your labors, and that such result will bring to our country that quiet and peace which every patriotic heart so earnestly desires. It is probable that the result to which you have arrived is the best that, under all the circumstances, could be expected. So far as in me lies, therefore, I shall recommend its adoption." The politicians at Richmond seem not to have responded kindly to this sentiment, and Mr. Tyler was compelled to change his views; for, thirty-six hours after the adjournment of the Convention, in a speech in the Virginia capital, he denounced the Peace Convention, and declared that "the South" had nothing to hope from the Republican party. Thenceforth he gave his whole influence for the promotion of the cause of disunion. Wise men had some reason for doubting the absolute sincerity of the Virginia politicians.

On the day when the Peace Convention assembled at Washington city, a band of men, professing to represent the people of six of the "seceded States," met at Montgomery, in Alabama, to form a Southern Confederacy. They were chosen by the Secession Conventions of South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Florida and it is a notable fact that the people of these States were not allowed to act in the matter. The politicians would not trust them, and took the whole management of public affairs into their own hands. Not a single ordinance of secession was ever submitted to the people for ratification or rejection and the delegates that met at Montgomery, forty-two in number, assembled wholly without the sanction of the people. Nevertheless they proceeded as if they were a body of representatives, legally chosen by the inhabitants to perfect their plans. Howell Cobb, of Georgia, was chosen to preside, who, in a short speech, declared that they represented sovereign and independent States; that the separation was a fixed and irrevocable fact - perfect, complete, and perpetual. With a consciousness of the justice of our cause," he said, "and with confidence in the guidance and blessings of a kind Providence, we will this day inaugurate for the South a new era of peace, security, and prosperity."

It was soon found that perfect harmony could not be expected to prevail in that Convention. There were too many ambitious men there to promote serenity of thought and manner, and the sweetness of concord. They were nearly all aspirants for high positions in the new empire about to be formed and each felt himself like Bottom the Weaver, capable of sustaining any character, from that of a "Lion" to "Moonshine." The South Carolina politicians were particularly clamorous for honors and emoluments. Their State, they said, had taken the lead - struck the first blow - in the revolution, and they deserved the highest seats. Judge McGrath, who laid aside his official robes at Charleston, sent word that he would like to put them on again at Montgomery as Attorney-General. R. Barnwell Rhett, one of the most violent of the politicians, thought himself

particularly fitted to be Secretary of War and because his claims were not allowed, he wrote complaining letters to his son, the editor of the Charleston Mercury, some of the originals of which are now before me, and are rich in revelations of disappointed ambition. On the 16th of February, Rhett said in a letter, written at Montgomery: They have not put me forward for office, it is true. I have two enemies in the [South Carolina] delegation. One friend, who, I believe, wants no office himself, and will probably act on the same principle for his friend - and the rest, personally, are indifferent to me, whilst some of them are not indifferent to themselves. There is no little jealousy of me by a part of them, and they never will agree to recommend me to any position whatever under the Confederacy. I expect nothing, therefore, from the delegation, lifting me to position. Good-bye, my dear son." Rhett and men of his way of thinking had counselled violence and outrage from the beginning, but they were restrained in the Convention by more sensible men like Stephens and Hill of Georgia, Brooks of Mississippi, and Perkins of Louisiana.

The sessions of the Convention were mostly held in secret. A committee of thirteen was appointed, with C. G. Memminger as chairman, to report a plan for a provisional Confederate government, and it was agreed to call the Convention a Congress." The Legislature of Alabama voted a loan of half a million dollars to enable the Secessionists to set the new government in motion and on the same day (February 7, 1861,) the committee reported a plan, the basis of which was the National Constitution with some important modifications. They gave the name of the government organized under it the Confederate States of America. This was a misnomer; for no States as States were parties to the affair; it was only a confederation of politicians without the sanction of the people.

The constitution of the provisional government was adopted by the unanimous vote of the States" on the 8th of February. On the following day, the members of the Convention took the oath of allegiance to the Confederate States of America, and then they proceeded to elect Jefferson Davis of Mississippi, provisional president, and Alexander H. Stephens of Georgia, vice-president of the Confederacy. The vast multitude who thronged the State-House received the announcement of the election with vehement applause, and the same evening Mr. Stephens was serenaded. In a brief speech he predicted a glorious career for the Confederacy, if it should be supported by the virtue, intelligence, and patriotism of the people." Alluding to the slave-system, he said: With institutions, so far as regards their organic and social policy, in strict conformity to nature and the laws of the Creator, whether read in the Book of Inspiration or the great Book of Manifestations around us, we have all the natural elements essential to the highest attainment in the highest degree of power and glory. These institutions have been much assailed, and it is our mission to vindicate the great truths on which they rest, and with them exhibit the highest type of civilization which it is possible for human society to reach."

Having appointed standing committees, the Convention proceeded to choose a committee to report a form for a permanent government for the Confederacy, and they and the members warmly discussed the subject of a proper national flag and seal. Almost daily, various devices were sent in and finally they decided that the national flag should consist of two red and one white stripe of equal width, running horizontally, with a blue union spangled with seven white stars, for,

since the beginning of their session, Texas had joined the Confederacy, making seven States in their union. This flag, under which the insurgent hosts rushed to battle, was first displayed over the State-House at Montgomery on the 4th of March, 1861. The Confederate government never possessed a seal, the emblem of sovereignty. One which they had ordered from England arrived at Richmond just as the Confederacy was broken up, in April, 1865, and was never used.

When Jefferson Davis was apprised, at his home near Vicksburg, of his election to the presidency, he hastened to Montgomery, where he was received with great enthusiasm, on the 15th of February. He was welcomed with the thunder of cannon and shouts of a great multitude; and at the railway station he made a speech, in which he briefly reviewed the then position of the South. He declared that the time for compromises had passed. "We are now determined," he said, "to maintain our position, and make all who oppose us smell Southern powder and feel Southern steel. We will maintain our rights and our government at all hazards. We ask nothing; we want nothing; and will have no complications. If the other States join our Confederacy, they can freely come in on our terms. Our separation from the old Union is complete, and no compromise, no reconciliation can now be entertained." He was inaugurated on the 18th, when he chose for his constitutional advisers, Robert Toombs, Secretary of State; Charles G. Memminger, Secretary of the Treasury; Le Roy Pope Walker, Secretary of War; Stephen R. Mallory, Secretary of the Navy, and John H. Reagan, Postmaster-General. Judah P. Benjamin was appointed Attorney-General. So was inaugurated the government known as the Confederate States of America, which carried on war against the life of our Republic for more than four years.

Chapter CXIII

Lunacy - Yielding to Necessity - Wild Dreams of the Future - Boasting - The Confederates Prepare for War - Permanent Constitution Adopted - Adjournment of the Montgomery Convention - Principles of the New Government Expounded - Lincoln and Davis - Lincoln's Journey to the Capital - Narrative of His Escape - His Inauguration and Inaugural Address - Duties of the Administration - Condition of the Army and Navy - Benton's Prophecy - Confederate Commissioners at the Capital - The Virginians - Attempt to Relieve Fort Sumter and the Result.

THERE were symptoms of real lunacy among some of the leaders in the revolutionary movement, especially in South Carolina. When that new nation was only nine days old, a correspondent of the Associated Press wrote that it had been proposed to adopt for it a new system of civil time, to show its independence. Only a week after the organization of the Southern Confederacy at Montgomery, the editor of the Charleston Courier wrote: The South might, under the new Confederacy, treat the disorganized and demoralized Northern States as insurgents, and deny them recognition. But if peaceful division ensues, the South, after taking the Federal Capitol and archives, and being recognized as the government de facto by all foreign powers, can, if they see proper, recognize the Northern Confederacy or Confederacies, and enter into treaty stipulations with them. Were this not done, it would be difficult for the Northern States to take a place among the nations, and their flag would not be respected or recognized." There was much wild talk of that sort and the venerable James L. Pettigru of Charleston, who remained a firm friend of the Union in spite of the madmen around him, was justified when, on being asked by a stranger in the streets of the city, "Where is the lunatic asylum?" he said, as he pointed alternately to the east, "It is there to the west, It is there to the north, It is there and to the south, It is there - the whole State of South Carolina is a lunatic asylum."

Notwithstanding the same arrogant and world-defying spirit was superficially manifested in the councils of the Confederacy at Montgomery, they were compelled to bow to the behests of prudence and expediency, and, abandoning the position that they would have free trade with all the world whereby the riches of the earth would fall at their feet, they proceeded not only to impose a tariff upon imports, but regarding "King Cotton" immortal and omniscient, they even went so far as to propose an export duty on the great staple of the Gulf States. Howell Cobb, who proposed it, said I apprehend that we are conscious of the power we hold in our hands, by reason of our producing that staple so necessary to the world. I doubt not that power will exert an influence mightier than armies or navies. We know that by an embargo we could soon place not only the United States, but many of the European powers, under the necessity of electing between such a recognition of our independence as we require, or domestic convulsions at home." Of this supposed omnipotent power, and the superior courage and prowess in arms of the people of the slave-labor States, the leaders were continually boasting. Senator Hammond, of South Carolina, a wealthy Slave-holder and a son of a New England schoolmaster, writing to a feminine relative in Schenectady, New York, on the 5th of February, 1861, after alluding to the dissolution of the Union, and saying, We absolve you, by this, from all the sins of slavery, and take upon

ourselves all its supposed sin and evil, openly before the world, and in the sight of God," remarked: Let us alone. Let me tell you, my dear cousin, that if there is any attempt at war on the part of the North, we can soundly thrash them on any field of battle." "One Southron is equal to five Yankees in a fight!" exclaimed Yancey, in a speech at Selma. And the Convention at Montgomery proceeded to prepare for testing the relative strength of the two sections.

President Davis was authorized to accept one hundred thousand volunteers for six months, and to borrow \$15,000,000 at the rate of eight per cent interest a year. Provision was made for a navy and a postal revenue; and Davis was authorized to assume control of all military operations between the Confederate States" or any of them, and powers foreign to them. The Convention recommended the several States to cede the forts and all other public establishments within their limits to the Confederate States; and P. G. T. Beauregard, a Louisiana creole, who had abandoned his flag, was appointed brigadier-general and ordered from New Orleans to the command of the insurgents at Charleston. Early in March a permanent constitution for the Confederacy was adopted; and a commission was appointed to proceed to Washington and make a settlement of all questions at issue between the "two governments," while the Confederate secretary of the treasury prepared to establish custom-houses along the frontiers of the Confederate States. After agreeing, by resolution, to accept a portion of the money belonging to the United States which Louisiana had unlawfully seized, the Convention adjourned. Their proceedings were never published, but constitute a part of the Confederate archives in the possession of the National Government.

Meanwhile Mr. Stephens, the vice-president of the Confederacy, had assumed the office of expounder of the principles upon which the new government was founded. In a speech at Savannah, on the 21st of March, 1861, he declared that the immediate cause of the rebellion was African Slavery - the rock, he said, on which Mr. Jefferson declared the Union would split but he doubted whether Mr. Jefferson understood the truth on which that rock stood. He believed the founders of the Republic held erroneous views on the subject of slavery, and that it was a false assumption of the fathers, put forth in the Declaration of Independence, that "all men are created equal." He declared that the corner-stone of the new Confederacy rested upon the great truth, that the negro is not equal to the white man; that slavery - subordination to the superior race - is his natural and normal condition. It is upon this truth," he said, on which our fabric is firmly planted and I cannot permit myself to doubt the ultimate success of a full recognition of this principle throughout the civilized world." Then, to give strength to his declaration that slavery was the corner-stone of the new fabric, he rather irreverently quoted the words of the Apostle applied to Christ, saying: "This stone that was rejected by the first builders, is become the chief stone of the corner in our new edifice."

While there were preparations in the South for destroying the Union, there were preparations in the North for preserving it. In the former section, they were chiefly material in the latter, they were chiefly moral, for it was difficult to persuade the loyal people that the Southern politicians would really organize an armed rebellion. At the time when Jefferson Davis was moving from his home in Mississippi to be inaugurated president of the Southern Confederacy at Montgomery, and

to declare "all who oppose us shall smell Southern powder and feel Southern steel," Abraham Lincoln was moving from his home in Illinois to the National capital, to be installed Chief Magistrate of the whole undivided Republic, with sublime faith in justice, and to say to the North and the South, in his inaugural address "We are not enemies, but friends. We must not be enemies. Though passion may have strained, it must not break our bonds of affection. The mystic chords of memory, stretching from every battle-field and patriot grave to every living heart and hearthstone all over this broad land, will yet swell the chorus of the Union, when again touched, as surely they will be, by the better angels of our nature."

Jefferson Davis was then about fifty-four years of age Abraham Lincoln was fifty-two. Mr. Davis was, in person, sinewy and light, a little above the middle height, and erect in posture; Mr. Lincoln was tall, thin, large-boned, and six feet four inches in height. He was sinewy, easily lifting five hundred pounds. His legs and arms were disproportionately long, and there was no grace in his movements. The features of Davis were regular and well defined; his face was thin and much wrinkled; one eye was sightless, and the other was dark and piercing in expression. Lincoln's features were angular; his forehead was high; his eyes were dark grey and very expressive, alternately sparkling with fun and subdued into sadness.

These men were both natives of Kentucky, but in early life Davis was taken to Mississippi. Raised in ease and comparative luxury, he was educated at the West Point Military Academy. He served in the army in Mexico under his father-in-law, General Zachary Taylor; held a distinguished place in the National Congress, and was President Pierce's Secretary of War. Lincoln was born in obscurity; passed his early days in poverty, laboring with his hands on a farm, in the forest, or as a flat-boatman on the Mississippi. He had settled with his father in Illinois, where he, self-taught, studied law and rose to distinction at the bar, and in the esteem of his fellow-citizens. Davis was a keen politician calm, reticent, audacious, polished, cold, sagacious, rich in experience in the arts of the partisan and the affairs of state-craft, possessed of great concentration of purpose, an imperious will, abounding pride, and much executive ability. Lincoln was as open as the day; loved truth supremely, and country above party; abhorred trickery and deception; possessed great firmness of will and a child-like reliance upon God; read the Bible and Shakespeare more than any other books; with extraordinary conversational powers and exuberant mirthfulness manifested in sparkling jests, stories and anecdotes, at appropriate times. He was, at one time, a representative in the National Congress; and on all occasions appeared as a representative American, illustrating by his own career, in a most conspicuous and distinguished manner, the beneficent and elevating operations of republican government and institutions. His last words, when he parted from his home at Springfield, Illinois, after alluding to Washington, whose seat he was about to occupy: "I feel that I cannot succeed without the same Divine aid which sustained him, and on the same Almighty Being I place my reliance for support; and I hope you, my friends, will all pray that I may receive that Divine assistance without which I cannot succeed, but with which success is certain."

On his journey to the National capital by way of New York, Philadelphia and Harrisburg, Mr. Lincoln was everywhere greeted with affection and respect. He was in Philadelphia on

Washington's birthday, and with his own hands raised the American flag high above the consecrated old State-House, in the presence of a vast assemblage of people. There, where the Declaration of Independence was adopted and proclaimed, he made an extraordinary speech, in which he expounded his views of the moral power of that great instrument, and declared his belief that by the principles of justice enunciated in it, our Republic might be saved from ruin. But," he exclaimed, "if this country cannot be saved without giving up this principle, I was about to say I would rather be assassinated on this spot than surrender it. My friends, I have said nothing but what I am willing to live by, and, if it be the pleasure of Almighty God, die by." A little more than four years afterward, his body lay in state in Independence Hall. He had been assassinated because he had firmly supported the principles of the Declaration of Independence!

A plot had been formed in Baltimore to murder Mr. Lincoln while he should be passing through that city. General Scott and others at Washington were so well satisfied of the existence of such a plot, that they sent a messenger to meet Mr. Lincoln and warn him of his danger. The story of his escape was given by the President's own lips to the writer in December, 1864, and was substantially as follows, though in much greater detail: He arrived in Philadelphia on the 21st of February, where he agreed to stop over night, and hoist the flag on Independence Hall the next morning. That evening an intimate friend of his from Chicago (Mr. Judd) invited Mr. Lincoln to his room in the Continental Hotel, where he met Mr. Pinkerton, a shrewd detective from Chicago. They told Mr. Lincoln of the plot. Mr. Pinkerton had been engaged several days in Baltimore in ferreting it out. It was fully discovered, but he could not learn the names of the conspirators. Mr. Lincoln had made arrangements to go to Harrisburg from Philadelphia, to meet the Pennsylvania Legislature there, and from that capital to proceed through Baltimore to Washington. His friends urged him to go on that night through Baltimore to the capital, and so evade the murderers but he determined to adhere to his engagements, for he could not believe there was a conspiracy to kill him.

When returning to his room at the Continental, Mr. Lincoln met a son of Senator Seward, the messenger sent to give him warning. He said the Washington police had discovered the plot, but they were not aware of the work of Mr. Pinkerton. Then Mr. Lincoln was satisfied that there was danger. After hoisting the flag at the State-House the next morning, he went to Harrisburg, in company with Mr. Sumner and others, dined, and waited for the time to return to Philadelphia, for he determined to go back to that city, and immediately on to Baltimore, instead of leaving Harrisburg the next morning for that place, according to the public arrangements. Mr. Judd, meanwhile, had obtained such control of the telegraph at Harrisburg, that no communication could pass to Baltimore and give the conspirators a knowledge of the change in arrangements. In New York Mr. Lincoln had been presented with a fine beaver hat, and in it had been placed a soft wool hat. He had the hats in a box in his room. He had never worn a soft wool hat in his life so, after making arrangements for Mr. Lamon (afterward marshal of the District of Columbia), whom nobody knew, and Mr. Judd, to accompany him, Mr. Lincoln put on an old overcoat he had with him, and with the soft hat in his pocket, he walked out the back door of the hotel where he was stopping, bareheaded, without exciting any special curiosity. "Then I put on the soft hat and joined my friends," said Mr. Lincoln, for I was not the same man." They returned to Philadelphia,

where they found a despatch from Pinkerton, at Baltimore, that it was doubtful whether the conspirators had courage to execute their scheme; but as the arrangements had been made, they went on in a special train. "We were a long time in the station at Baltimore," said the President. I heard people talking around, but no one particularly observed me. At an early hour on Saturday morning, at about the time I was expected to leave Harrisburg, I arrived in Washington."

Mr. Lincoln was warmly welcomed by his friends in Washington city, and when, at an early hour after his arrival (February 23, 1861), he called on President Buchanan, the latter could hardly believe his eyes. He gave the President-elect a cordial welcome. So also did General Scott, who, the Secessionists thought, would join them because he was a Virginian; but he was loyal to the core, and had filled Washington city with troops in such numbers, it was supposed, that serious interference with Mr. Lincoln's inauguration was made impossible. That ceremony took place on Monday, the 4th of March, 1861. Chief Justice Taney administered the oath. There was no disturbance. The scheme of the Secessionists to prevent Mr. Lincoln's inauguration had been frustrated, but the plan of the Confederates to ultimately seize the National capital was still a cherished one. Only about six hundred troops were there, but as they had been gathered in small numbers at a time from various points, and kept concealed, the Secessionists believed there were many thousands of them; and when the small number was revealed on the first of March, it was too late to call together the minute-men of Maryland and Virginia. Meanwhile President Buchanan had been greatly harassed by the Secessionists. Governor Pickens had demanded of Major Anderson the surrender of Fort Sumter. Anderson refused; whereupon the governor sent J. W. Hayne, the attorney-general of South Carolina, to Washington, to make the same demand. The President's course was vacillating and in this, as in other matters, he resolved to cast the responsibility upon his successor. The Secessionists had failed to accomplish, through the arts of diplomacy, a recognition by the National Government of the sovereignty of any States; and their efforts ceased early in February. Mr. Buchanan left the chair of state for private life a deeply humiliated and sorrowing man. On bidding Senator Fitzpatrick good-bye, and with the consciousness of rare opportunities for winning glory and renown as a patriot forever lost, he said: The current of public opinion warns me that we shall never meet again on this side the grave. I have tried to do my duty to both sections, and have displeased both. I feel isolated in the world."

President Lincoln, standing at the east front of the Capitol, like Saul among the prophets, head and shoulders above other men, read his inaugural address in a clear, loud voice, in the ears of a vast multitude of people, who heard him distinctly, and who greeted its sentences with cheer after cheer. It had been waited for by the loyal people of the land with the greatest anxiety, for it was expected to foreshadow the policy of the new administration. And so it did. It gave no uncertain sound. To the people of the slave-labor States he first addressed a few assuring words, in which he said: I have no purpose, directly or indirectly, to interfere with the institution of slavery in the States where it exists. I believe I have no lawful right to do so, and I have no inclination to do so." He read a resolution of the Republican Convention that nominated him, which declared that the rights of the States, in order that they might control their own institutions, should be maintained inviolate, and denouncing as a high crime the invasion by an armed force of any State

or Territory, no matter under what pretext." He reiterated these sentiments as his own assured the people that the prosperity, peace, and security of no section were to be in any wise endangered by the new incoming Administration," and that every section of the Union should have equal protection.

Mr. Lincoln then discussed the political structure and character of the Republic, showing that the Union is older than the Constitution; that it is necessarily perpetual, that there is no inherent power in the whole or in part to terminate it, and that the secession of a State was impossible. Assuming that the Republic was unbroken, he declared that, to the extent of his ability, he should take care, as the Constitution required him to do, that the laws should be executed in all the States, performing that duty as far as practicable, unless his rightful masters, the American people," should withhold the requisite means, or, in some authoritative manner, direct the contrary. I trust this will not be regarded as a menace," he continued, "but only as the declared purpose of the Union that it will constitutionally defend and maintain itself. "In doing this," he added, "there need be no bloodshed or violence; and there shall be none, unless it be forced upon the National authority." He declared that the power confided to him should be used "to hold, occupy, and possess the property and places belonging to the Government, and to collect the duties and imposts."

So, in a frank, generous, kindly manner, did Mr. Lincoln avow his determination to perform the duties of the Chief Executive of the nation, according to his convictions and his ability. He had said in a speech at Trenton, on his way from New York to Philadelphia: I shall do all that may be in my power to promote a peaceful settlement of all our difficulties. The man does not live who is more devoted to peace than I am - no one who would do more to preserve it but it may be necessary to put the foot down firmly." The Springfield Journal, published at the home of Mr. Lincoln, and his accredited organ," had said weeks before: If South Carolina violates the law [by obstructing the collection of the revenue], then comes the tug of war. The President of the United States, in such an emergency, has a plain duty to perform. Mr. Buchanan may shirk it, or the emergency may not exist during his administration. If not, then the Union will last through his term of office. If the overt act, on the part of South Carolina, takes place on or after the 4th of March, 1861, then the duty of executing the laws will devolve upon Mr. Lincoln." So felt all the loyal people of the land and they were strengthened by hope, given in the promise of his inaugural address that he should faithfully do his duty.

In that address, the President also declared that he should endeavor, by justice, to reconcile all discontents; and he asked the enemies of the Government to point to a single instance where "any right, plainly written in the Constitution," had ever been denied. He then showed the danger of the precedent established by secession, for it might lead to infinite subdivisions by discontented minorities. Plainly," he said, the central idea of secession is anarchy." He referred to the impossibility of a dissolution of the Union, physically speaking; and contemplating a state of political separation of the sections, he asked, significantly, Can treaties be more faithfully enforced among aliens than laws can among friends?" He reminded them that their respective territories must remain face to face that they could not fight always," and that the causes of feuds would

continue to exist. He begged his countrymen to take time for serious deliberation. Such of you," he said, as are now dissatisfied, still have the old Constitution unimpaired, and, on the sensitive point, the laws of your own framing under it; while the new Administration will have no immediate power, if it would, to change either. In your hands, my dissatisfied fellow countrymen, and not in mine, is the momentous issue of Civil War. The Government will not assail you. You can have no conflict without being yourselves the aggressors. You have no oath registered in Heaven to destroy the Government whilst I shall have the most solemn one to preserve, protect, and defend it.

The Secessionists would listen to no words of kindness, of justice, or of warning; they had resolved to destroy the Union at all hazards; and the prophecy of Thomas H. Benton, uttered in 1857, was speedily fulfilled. He knee their schemes, for they had long tried to enlist him in them. So long as the people of the North," he said to Senator Wilson, shall be content to attend to commerce and manufactures, and accept the policy and rule of the disunionists, they will condescend to remain in the Union but should the Northern people attempt to exercise their just influence in the nation, they would attempt to seize the Government or disrupt the Union; but, he said, with terrible emphasis, God and their own crimes will put them in the hands of the people."

Mr. Lincoln chose for his constitutional advisers, Wm. H. Seward of New York, Secretary of State; Salmon P. Chase of Ohio, Secretary of the Treasury; Simon Cameron of Pennsylvania, Secretary of War; Gideon Welles of Connecticut, Secretary of the Navy; Caleb Smith of Indiana, Secretary of the Interior; Montgomery Blair of Maryland, Postmaster-General and Edward Bates of Missouri, Attorney-General. With these men Mr. Lincoln began his eventful administration. With the close of the "Inauguration Ball," the night before these appointments were made, ended the poetry of his life after that it was all the prose of care, anxiety, and incessant labor incident to the daily life of a conscientious head of a nation in a state of civil war. The plain meaning of his inaugural address was distorted by the Confederates to inflame the minds of the people in the slavelabor States. It was misrepresented and maligned, and the people were bewildered. Meanwhile the President and his cabinet went calmly at work to ascertain the condition of the ship of state. Means were planned for replenishing the exhausted Treasury and to strengthen the public credit. The condition of the Army and Navy was contemplated with great solicitude, for it was evident that the Confederates had resolved on war. Of the twenty forts in the slave-labor States, all but four had been seized by them. Every arsenal there was in their possession. The entire regular force of the Republic, in soldiers, was sixteen thousand men, and these were mostly on the Western frontiers, guarding the settlers against the Indians and of this small number, General David E. Twiggs had treacherously surrendered between two and three thousand, with munitions of war, into the hands of the Texan insurgents, so early as the middle of February.

The little National navy, like the army, had been placed far beyond the reach of the Government, for immediate use. It consisted of ninety vessels of all classes, but only forty-two were in commission. Twenty-eight, carrying an aggregate of nearly nine hundred guns, were lying in ports, dismantled, and could not be made ready for sea, some of them, in several months. Most of those in commission had been sent to distant seas and the entire available force for the defence

of the whole Atlantic coast of the Republic was the Brooklyn, 25, and the store-ship Relief, of two guns. The Brooklyn drew too much water to enter Charleston harbor, where war had begun, with safety; and the Relief had been ordered to the coast of Africa with stores for the squadron there. Many of the naval officers were born in slave-labor states, so also were those of the army; and many of both arms of the service deserted their flag at the critical moment, and joined the enemies of their Government. The amazing fact was presented that Mr. Buchanan's Secretaries of War and Navy had so disposed the available military forces of the Republic that it could not command their services at the critical moment when the hand of its enemy was raised to destroy its life. The public offices were swarming with disloyal men, and for a full month the President, knowing the importance of having faithful instruments to work with, was engaged in relieving the Government of these unfaithful servants. He wisely strengthened his arm by calling to his aid loyal men, before he ventured to strike a blow in defence of the threatened National authority.

We have observed that the Convention at Montgomery appointed commissioners to treat with the National Government upon matters of mutual interest. Two of these (John Forsyth and Martin J. Crawford) arrived in Washington city on the 5th of March (1861), and asked for an unofficial interview with the Secretary of State. It was declined, when they sent him a sealed communication setting forth the object of their mission as representatives of a government perfect in all its parts, and endowed with all the means of self-support, and asking for an opportunity to present their credentials at an early day. This communication - this adroit attempt to obtain a recognition of the sovereignty of the Confederate States from the National Government, failed. In a "memorandum" which he sent to them, the Secretary referred to the principles laid down in the inaugural address, and, like Mr. Lincoln, he declared the doctrine that no State as a State had seceded or could secede, and that, consequently, the Confederate States government" had no legal existence. The commissioners remained more than a month in Washington, and then, after giving the Secretary (Mr. Seward) a lecture on the theory of government, they left for home on the day when the South Carolinians proceeded to attack Fort Sumter.

Among the first questions that demanded the attention of the new Administration was, "Shall Fort Sumter be reinforced and supplied?" They were anxious for peace, and the question was kept in abeyance until late in March, when Gustavus V. Fox (afterward the efficient Assistant Secretary of the Navy) was sent to Charleston harbor to ascertain the exact condition of things there. He found that Major Anderson had sufficient supplies to last him until the 12th of April, and it was understood between them that if not supplied, he must surrender or evacuate the fort at noon on that day. On his return to Washington Mr. Fox reported to the President that if succor was to be afforded to Anderson, it must be before the middle of April. The President, anxious for peace, and not to bring on a collision with the South Carolina insurgents, had listened favorably to urgent advice to abandon Sumter and not precipitate hostilities. The Virginia State Convention was then in session considering the propriety of leaving the Union. Mr. Lincoln sent for a professed Union man in that body, and said to him, "If your Convention shall adjourn, instead of staying in session menacing the Government, I will immediately direct Major Anderson to evacuate Fort Sumter." Had the Virginia politicians wanted peace, this request would have been complied with. On the contrary, this professed Virginia Unionist replied, "Sir, the United States

must instantly evacuate Fort Sumter and Fort Pickens, and give assurances that no attempt will be made to collect revenue in the Southern ports."

This virtual demand for the President to recognize the Southern Confederacy as an independent nation, caused him to "put the foot down firmly." He ordered an expedition to be sent to Charleston harbor immediately, under the direction of Mr. Fox (who had offered a plan for such action), with provisions and troops for Fort Sumter. Fox sailed from New York with a squadron of eight vessels, on the 9th of April, but only three reached the vicinity of Charleston harbor, which they could not enter because of a terrible storm that was sweeping over the ocean in that region. While these vessels (the Baltic, carrying the troops, and the Pawnee and Harriet Lane) were buffeting the tempest, the insurgents attacked Fort Sumter with bomb shells and solid shot, with great fury. For three months after the expulsion of the Star of the West, Anderson had been kept in suspense by the temporizing policy of his Government. He had seen forts and batteries piled around Fort Sumter for its destruction, and had been compelled to keep his own great guns muzzled, waiting for an attack. Nearly all that time he was menaced daily with hostilities; abused by the Southern press; misrepresented by the Northern newspapers, and yet was forced to passively endure his situation until his supplies were exhausted. He had sent away the women and children to New York, in February, and had calmly awaited the course of events.

Meanwhile the leaders in the revolutionary movement were impatient to begin the destructive work. They were vehemently urging Virginia and other Border States to openly and practically espouse their cause. They feared the cooling effects of delay and hesitation, and anxiously sought a pretext for firing the first gun. The crisis was reached on the morning the 8th of April, when President Lincoln, with the most generous fairness, telegraphed to Governor Pickens that he was about to send relief to Fort Sumter. It produced the most intense excitement in Charleston. Beauregard, who was in command of the armed insurgents there, sent the message to Montgomery, to which L. Pope Walker, the Confederate Secretary of War, replied on the 10th, ordering him to demand the evacuation of the fort. If this is refused," he said, "proceed, in such manner as you may determine, to reduce it." Beauregard replied, "The demand will be made tomorrow."

Chapter CXIV

Virginians in Charleston - A Cry for Blood - Events in Charleston - Siege of Fort Sumter - Incidents of the Struggle - Evacuation of the Fort - Joyful Feelings in Charleston - Gratitude of the Loyal People Displayed - Honors to Major Anderson - Attempts to Capture Fort Pickens - Honors to Lieutenant Slemmer - President's Call for Troops - Responses to the Call - Uprising of Loyal People - Boastings of the Northern Press - A Fatal Mistake - Interpretations of the Scripture - Proclamations and Counter-Proclamations - Privateering Recommended to the Confederates - Action of the Confederate Congress - Privateers Commissioned.

THE hesitation of Virginia to join the Confederacy, gave the leaders in South Carolina many misgivings as to her patriotism but two of her sons, who were in Charleston at this crisis, gave them assurance of her "fidelity to the cause." These were Edmund Ruffin, a gray-haired old man, and Roger A. Pryor, a young lawyer, who had served a term in the National Congress. Pryor was serenaded on the evening of the 10th of April (1861), and in response to the compliment he made a characteristic speech. Gentlemen," he said, I thank you especially that you have at last annihilated this cursed Union, reeking with corruption and insolent with excess of tyranny. Thank God it is at last blasted and riven by the lightning wrath of an outraged and indignant people. Not only is it gone, but gone forever. . . . Do not distrust Virginia. As sure as to-morrow's sun will rise upon us, just so sure will Virginia be a member of the Southern Confederacy. And I will tell you, gentlemen," said Mr. Pryor with great vehemence of manner, "what will put her in the Southern Confederacy in less than an hour by Shrewsbury clock - strike a blow! The very moment that blood is shed, old Virginia will make common cause with her sisters of the South."

This cry for blood was telegraphed to Montgomery, when a member of the Alabama Legislature (Mr. Gilchrist) said to Davis and his cabinet: "Gentlemen, unless you sprinkle blood in the faces of the people of Alabama, they will be back in the old Union in less than ten days." Beauregard was at once ordered to shed blood if necessary, and so "fire the Southern heart." That officer sent a deputation to Major Anderson to demand the immediate surrender of Fort Sumter. The supplies for the garrison were nearly exhausted, and Anderson replied: "I will evacuate the fort in five days if I do not receive controlling instructions from my Government." Davis knew better than Anderson that vessels were on their way with supplies for the fort, and he instructed Beauregard to act accordingly. So, at a little past three o'clock in the morning of the 12th of April, that officer announced to Anderson, that within one hour the batteries, which then formed a semi-circle around Sumter, would open upon the fort. The military in Charleston had been summoned to their posts early in the evening, in anticipation of this movement, and a call was made by telegraph to the surrounding country to send four thousand men into the city.

At the appointed hour the heavy booming of a cannon on James Island awakened the sleepers in Charleston, and the streets were soon thronged with people. From the broad throat of a mortar a fiery bomb-shell sped through the black night and exploded over Sumter. After a brief pause, another heavy gun at Cumming's Point, on Morris Island, sent a large round-shot that struck against the granite wall of the fort with fearful force. That gun was fired by the white-haired

Virginian (Ruffin), who had begged the privilege of firing the first shot against Sumter. He boasted of the deed so long as he lived. In the early summer of 1865, when he was over seventy years of age, he deliberately blew off the top of his head with his gun, declaring in a note which he left - "I cannot survive the liberties of my country." His shot was followed by a tempest of shells and balls from full thirty cannons and mortars which opened at once upon the fort, but which elicited no response until about seven o'clock in the morning. Then, by a judicious arrangement of the little garrison, the great guns of Sumter were enabled to play upon all the hostile batteries at the same time, under the skillful directions of Captain Doubleday, Surgeon Crawford, and Lieutenant Snyder. Doubleday and Crawford afterward became distinguished major-generals. But it was evident, after four hours of hard and skillful labor at the guns, that Fort Sumter could not seriously injure the works opposed to it. On Cumming's Point was an iron-plated battery that was absolutely invulnerable to missiles hurled upon it from Fort Sumter.

A fearful contest had now begun. The walls and parapets of the fort were soon shattered; its barbette guns were dismounted, and its barracks and officers' quarters were set on fire. News of the relief squadron had reached the garrison, and Surgeon Crawford bravely ascended to the parapet to look for it. He distinctly saw the three ships struggling with the storm outside the bar. Their near presence nerved the hearts and muscles of the soldiers, but their hopes were vain. The little squadron was compelled to leave the band of brave men in Sumter without relief.

All that day the assault continued, and all that night, which was dark and stormy, a sluggish bombardment of the fort was kept up and when, on the following morning (April 13, 1861), on which the sun rose in unclouded splendor, it was renewed with increased vigor, the wearied garrison of not more than seventy men, found their supplies almost exhausted. In three days they must be starved out. On that morning the last parcel of rice had been cooked, and nothing but salted pork was left to be eaten. Red-hot shot were making havoc among the wooden structures of the fort. The flames spread, and the heat was intolerable. The fire threatened the magazine, and ninety barrels of powder were rolled into the sea. The smoke and heat were so stifling, that the men were often compelled to lie upon the ground with wet cloths over their faces to enable them to breathe. The old flag was kept flying until a shot cut its staff, and it fell to the ground a little past noon. It was caught up, carried to the ramparts, and there replanted by Sergeant Peter Hart, Major Anderson's faithful servant and friend.

When the flag of Sumter fell, the insurgents shouted, for they regarded its downfall as a token of submission. A boat instantly shot out from Cumming's Point, bearing an officer who held a white handkerchief on the point of his sword as a flag of truce. He landed at the wharf at Fort Sumter, and, hurrying to the nearest port-hole, begged a soldier to let him in. The faithful man refused. I am General Wigfall, of Beauregard's staff and want to see Major Anderson he cried. The soldier said, Stand there until I can call the commander." For God's sake," cried Wigfall, let me in ! I can't stand out here in the firing." He ran around to the sallyport, but was there confronted by its blazing ruins. Then the poor fellow, half dead with fright, ran around the fort waving his white handkerchief toward his fellow insurgents, to prevent their firing; but it was in vain. At last, out of sheer pity, he was allowed to crawl into a port-hole, after giving up his

sword, where he was met by some of the officers of the fort. He told them who he was; that he had been sent by Beauregard to stop the firing, and begged them piteously to raise a white flag. "You are on fire," he said, and your flag is down." He was interrupted by one of the officers, who said, Our flag is not down," and Wigfall saw it where Peter Hart had replaced it. Well, well," he said, I want to stop this." Holding out his sword and handkerchief he said to one of the officers, Will you hoist this?" No, sir," was the reply it is for you, General Wigfall, to stop them." "Will any of you hold this out of the embrasure?" he asked. No one offering the service, he said, May I hold it there? If you wish to," was the cool reply. Wigfall sprang into the embrasure and waved the handkerchief several times, when a shot striking near him, he scampered away. He then begged some one else to hold it for him. At length consent was given to hoist a white flag over the ramparts, for the sole purpose of holding a conference with Major Anderson, who was sent for. Wigfall repeated his false story that he had come from Beauregard, and on assuring Anderson that the latter acceded to the major's terms - the evacuation of the fort on the 15th - that officer allowed the white flag to be hoisted, and Wigfall left. Seeing this, a deputation came from Beauregard, who informed the commander of the fort that Wigfall had not seen their chief in two days. Indignant because of the foul deception, Anderson declared the white flag should immediately come down, but he was persuaded to leave it until a conference could be held with Beauregard. Wigfall was a National Senator from Texas, and was one of the most insolent and boastful men on the floor of Congress. Soon after this ridiculous display of his mendacity and cowardice, he disappeared from public life, shorn of the confidence and respect of his more honorable associates. He was on Jefferson Davis's staff for awhile.

The conference with Beauregard resulted in an arrangement for the evacuation of Fort Sumter; and on Sunday, the 14th of April, 1861, the little garrison, with their private property, went on board a small steamboat that took them to the Baltic that lingered outside the bar, in which they were conveyed to New York. Major Anderson evacuated the fort, but did not surrender it and he carried away with him the garrison flag, which, just four years afterward, tattered and torn, was again raised by the hands of that gallant officer (then a major-general) over all that remained of Fort Sumter - a heap of ruins.

Governor Pickens had watched the bombardment of the fort on Saturday with a telescope, and that evening he addressed the excited multitude in Charleston, saying: "Thank God the war is open, and we will conquer or perish. We have humbled the flag of the United States. I can here say to you, it is the first time in the history of this country that the Stars and Stripes have been humbled. That proud flag was never lowered before to any nation on the earth. It has triumphed for seventy years; but to-day, the 13th of April, it has been humbled, and humbled before the glorious little State of South Carolina." On the following day, the holy Sabbath, the fall of Fort Sumter was commemorated in the churches of Charleston. The venerable bishop of the diocese of the Protestant Episcopal church was led by the rector of St. Philip's to the sacred desk, where he addressed a few words to the people. Speaking of the battle, he said, "Your boys were there, and mine were there, and it was right they should be there." Bishop Lynch, of the Roman Catholic church, spoke exultingly of the result of the conflict and a Te Deum was chanted in commemoration of the event in the cathedral of St. John and St. Finbar, where he was officiating.

The loyal people of the free-labor States were loud in their praises of Major Anderson and his men for their gallant defence of the fort and their gratitude was shown by substantial tokens. The citizens of Taunton, Massachusetts, and of Philadelphia, each presented Major Anderson with an elegant sword, richly ornamented. The citizens of New York presented a beautiful gold medal, and the authorities of that city gave him the freedom of the corporation in an elegant gold box. The Chamber of Commerce caused a series of medals to be struck in commemoration of the defence, to be presented to Major Anderson and his whole command; and from legislative bodies and other sources he received pleasing testimonials. Better than all, the President of the United States gave the major, by commission, the rank and pay of a brigadier-general in the army.

While hostilities against Fort Sumter were occurring, movements were made for the capture of strong Fort Pickens, on Santa Rosa Island, commanding the entrance to the harbor of Pensacola, in Florida. Near it were two inferior forts (Fort Barrancas, built by the Spaniards, and Fort McRee); and near Pensacola was a navy-yard. The military works were in charge of Lieutenant Adam Slemmer, and the naval establishment was under Commodore Armstrong. Slemmer was informed that an attempt to seize the military works would be made as soon as the Florida politicians should declare the secession of that State; and he took measures accordingly. Perceiving it to be impossible to hold all the works with his small garrison, he, like Major Anderson, abandoned the weaker ones and transferred his people and supplies to the stronger Fort Pickens. That was on the 10th of January, 1861, the day on which the Florida Convention passed the Ordinance of Secession. On the same morning, about five hundred insurgents of Florida, Alabama, and Mississippi appeared at the gate of the navy-yard and demanded its surrender. Armstrong was powerless, for three-fourths of the sixty officers under his command were disloyal. Commander Farrand was actually among the insurgents who demanded the surrender, and Flag-Officer Renshaw immediately ordered the National standard to be pulled down. The post, with ordnance stores valued at \$156,000, passed into the hands of the authorities of Florida and Forts Barrancas and McRee were taken possession of by the insurgents.

Lieutenant Slemmer, deprived of the promised aid of the naval establishment, was now left to his own resources. The fort was one of the strongest on the Gulf coast. There were fifty-four guns in position, and provisions for five months within it; but the garrison consisted of only eighty-one officers and men.

Two days after the seizure of the navy-yard near Pensacola, a demand was made by insurgent leaders for the surrender of Fort Pickens. Lieutenant Slemmer refused compliance. Three days later (January 15) Colonel W. H. Chase of Massachusetts, who was in command of all the insurgents in that region, obtained an interview with Slemmer, and tried to persuade him to avoid bloodshed" by quietly surrendering the fort, saying in conclusion: Consider this well, and take care that you will so act as to have no fearful recollections of a tragedy that you might have avoided but rather to make the present moment one of the most glorious, because Christian-like, of your life." The wily serpent could not seduce the patriot, and Slemmer did make that a glorious moment of his life by refusing to give up the fort. On the 18th, another demand was made for the surrender of the fort and refused, and a siege of that stronghold was begun.

The number of insurgents at Pensacola rapidly increased, and the new Administration resolved to send relief to Fort Pickens. A small squadron was dispatched from New York for the purpose and Lieutenant J. L. Worden of the navy was sent overland to Pensacola, with orders to Captain Adams, in command of some vessels off Fort Pickens, to throw reinforcements into that work immediately. Worden reached Pensacola on the 10th of April, where Colonel Braxton Bragg was in chief command of the Confederates. He had observed great excitement and preparations for war on his journey, and fearing arrest, Worden had made himself well acquainted with the contents of the despatches, and then tore them up. He frankly told Bragg that he was sent by his Government with orders to Captain Adams, and that they were not written, but oral. That officer gave the lieutenant a pass for his destination. His message was timely delivered, for Bragg was on the point of attacking the fort. The reinforcements were thrown in, and the plan was foiled. Worden returned to Pensacola, and was permitted to take the cars for Montgomery, Alabama, when Bragg was informed by a spy that Fort Pickens had been reinforced. Mortified by his stupid blunder in allowing Worden to pass to and from the squadron, he violated truth and honor by telegraphing to the Confederate government at Montgomery that Worden had practiced falsehood and deception in gaining access to the squadron, and recommended his arrest. He was seized on the 15th of April and cast into the common jail, where he was treated with scorn by the Confederates, and kept a prisoner until November following, when he was exchanged. Worden had acted with the utmost frankness and the nicest sense of honor in the whole matter. He was the first prisoner-of-war held by the insurgents.

A few days after the reinforcement of Fort Pickens, two vessels, bearing several hundred troops and ample supplies, under Colonel Harvey Brown, appeared there, when Lieutenant Slemmer and his brave little band, worn down by fatigue and continued watchfulness, were relieved, and sent to Fort Hamilton, near New York, to rest. The grateful people honored them. The President gave Slemmer the commission of major, and afterward of brigadier; and the New York Chamber of Commerce also caused a series of bronze medals to be struck as presents to the commander and men of the brave little garrison. Reinforcements continued to be sent to Fort Pickens; and the number of the insurgents intended to assail it also increased, until, in May, they numbered over seven thousand. But events of very little importance occurred in that vicinity during the ensuing summer.

On Sunday morning, the 14th of April, 1861, the tidings of the dishonoring of the National standard in Charleston harbor, was telegraphed over the land, and created the wildest excitement everywhere, North and South. The loyal people were indignant; the disloyal people were jubilant. I was in New Orleans on that day. The sound of Sabbath-bells was mingled with the martial music of fife and drum. Church-goers and troops in bright uniforms were seen in almost every street, the latter gathering for an immediate expedition against Fort Pickens. All faces beamed with gladness, and the pulpits overflowed with words of loyalty to the Southern Confederacy. At the North, the loyal hearts of the patriotic people beat vehemently with emotion; and everywhere the momentous question was asked, What next? It was not long unanswered, for within twenty-four hours after Major Anderson went out of Fort Sumter, the President of the United States issued a stirring call for seventy-five thousand troops to suppress the rising rebellion. In

that proclamation (April 15, 1861) the President declared that for some time combinations in several of the States (which he named), "too powerful to be suppressed by the ordinary course of judicial proceedings or by the powers vested in the marshals by law," had opposed the laws of the Republic; and therefore, by virtue of power vested in him, he called out the militia of the Union, to the number just mentioned, and appealed to the patriotism of the people in support of the measure. In the same proclamation he summoned the National Congress to meet at Washington city on the 4th day of July next ensuing, to consider the crisis. At the same time the Secretary of War sent a despatch to the governors of all the States excepting those mentioned in the President's proclamation, requesting each of them to cause to be detailed from the militia of his State the quota designated in a table which he appended, to serve as infantry or riflemen for the period of three months, unless sooner discharged.

This call of the President and the requisition of the Secretary of War were responded to with enthusiasm in the free-labor States but in six of the eight slave-labor States not omitted in the call, they were treated with scorn. The exceptions were Delaware and Maryland. In the other slavelabor States, disloyal governors held the reins of power. Governor Letcher of Virginia replied: I have only to say that the militia of this State will not be furnished to the powers at Washington for any such use or purpose as they have in view. Your object is to subjugate the Southern States, and a requisition made upon me for such an object will not be complied with. You have chosen to inaugurate Civil War, and, having done so, we will meet it in a spirit as determined as the Administration has exhibited toward the South." Governor Ellis of North Carolina answered: "Your despatch is received, and if genuine, which its extraordinary character leads me to doubt, I have to say in reply, that I regard the levy of troops made by the Administration for the purpose of subjugating the States of the South, as in violation of the Constitution and a usurpation of power. I can be no party to this wicked violation of the laws of the country, and to this war upon the liberties of a free people. You can get no troops from North Carolina." Governor Magoffin of Kentucky answered: "Your despatch is received. I say emphatically that Kentucky will furnish no troops for the wicked purpose of subduing her sister Southern States." Governor Harris of Tennessee said: Tennessee will not furnish a single man for coercion but fifty thousand, if necessary, for the defence of our rights or those of our Southern brethren." Governor Rector of Arkansas replied, "In answer to your requisition for troops from Arkansas, to subjugate the Southern States, I have to say that none will be furnished. The demand is only adding insult to injury. The people of this Commonwealth are freemen, not slaves, and will defend, to the last extremity, their honor, their lives and property against Northern mendacity and usurpation." Governor Jackson of Missouri responded There can be, I apprehend, no doubt that these men are intended to make war on the seceded States. Your requisition, in my judgment, is illegal, unconstitutional and revolting in its objects, inhuman and diabolical, and cannot be complied with. Not one man will the State of Missouri furnish to carry on such an unholy crusade."

It was reported from Montgomery that Mr. Davis and his compeers received Mr. Lincoln's call for troops with derisive laughter." Mr. Hooper, the Secretary of the Montgomery Convention, in reply to the question of the agent of the Associated Press at Washington, "What is the feeling

there?" said:

"Davis answers, rough and curt, With Paixhan and petard, Sumter is ours and nobody hurt, We tender Old Abe our Beau-regard."

And on the day after the call was made (April 16), the Mobile Advertiser contained the following advertisement in one of its inside business columns: "75,000 COFFINS WANTED."

PROPOSALS will be received to supply the Confederacy with 75,000 black coffins. No proposals will be entertained coming north of Mason and Dixon's line. Direct to JEFF DAVIS, Montgomery, Alabama."

This ghastly joke showed the temper of the political leaders in that region. But this feeling of boastfulness and levity was soon changed to seriousness, for there were indications of a wonderful uprising of the loyal people of the free-labor States in defence of the Union. Men, women, and children shared in the general enthusiasm. Loyalty was everywhere expressed, as if by preconcert, by the unfurling of the National flag. That banner was seen all over the land in attestation of devotion to the Union - in halls of justice and places of public worship. It was displayed from flagstuffs, balconies, windows, and even from the spires of churches and cathedrals. It was seen at all public gatherings, where cannon roared and orators spoke eloquently for the preservation of the Republic and red, white, and blue - the colors of our flag in combination - were the hues of ornaments worn by women in attestation of their loyalty. And when it was evident to the people of the free-labor States that the National capital was in danger, organized military bands were seen hurrying to the banks of the Potomac for the defence of Washington city.

The foolish boastings of the Southern newspapers were imitated by some of the members of the Northern press. The nations of Europe," one said, "may rest assured that Jeff. Davis & Co. will be swinging from the battlements at Washington, at least by the 21st of July. We spit upon a later or longer- deferred justice." Another said: Let us make quick work. The rebellion, as some people term it, is an unborn tadpole. Let us not fall into the delusion, noted by Hallam, of mistaking a local commotion for revolution. A strong, active pull together will do our work effectually in thirty days. And still another said: No man of sense can for a moment doubt that this much-ado-about-nothing will end in a month. The Northern people are simply invincible. The rebels - a mere band of ragamuffins - will fly like chaff before the wind, on our approach." And a Chicago paper, with particular craziness of speech, said: Let the East get out of the way; this is a war of the West. We can fight the battle, and success fully, within two or three months at the farthest. Illinois can whip the South by herself. We insist on this matter being turned over to us. The rebellion will be crushed out before the assemblage of Congress."

Neither section comprehended the earnestness and prowess of the other -the pluck that always distinguished the American people, North and South. Each, in its pride, felt a contempt for the other, each believing the other would not fight. This was a fatal misapprehension, and led to sad results. Each party appealed to the Almighty to witness the rectitude of its intentions, and each

was quick to discover omens of Heaven's approval of its course. When, on the Sunday after the President's call for troops went forth, the first lesson in the morning service in the Protestant Episcopal churches of the land on that day contained this battle-call of the Prophet Proclaim ye this among the Gentiles Prepare for war wake up the mighty men let all the men of war draw near; let them come up: beat your ploughshares into swords, and your pruning-hooks into spears; let the weak say, I am strong," the loyal people of Boston, New York, and Cincinnati said: "See! how Revelation summons us to the conflict! and the insurgents of Charleston, Mobile, and New Orleans answered: It is equally a call for us," adding See how specially we are promised victory in another Scripture lesson in the same church, which says; I will remove off from you the Northern Army, and will drive him into a land barren and desolate, with his face toward the East sea, and his hinder part toward the utmost sea. Fear not, O land be glad and rejoice for the Lord will do great things.

Two days after the President's call was promulgated, the chief of the Southern Confederacy issued a proclamation, in which, after declaring that Mr. Lincoln had announced the intention of invading the Confederate States" for the purpose of capturing its fortresses and thereby subverting its independence, and subjecting the free people thereof to the dominion of a foreign power," he invited all persons who felt so disposed to enter upon a course of legalized piracy called privateering," and to depredate on the commerce of the United States. This proclamation was immediately followed by another from the President, declaring his intention to employ a competent force to blockade all the ports which were claimed to belong to the Southern Confederacy; also warning all persons who should engage in privateering under the sanction of a commission from the insurgent chief, that they would be held amenable to the laws of the United States for the prevention and punishment of piracy.

The Congress of the Confederate States" had been summoned to meet at Montgomery on the 29th of April (1861), and a few days after the session began, an act was passed declaring that war existed between the seven seceded States and the United States, and authorized Mr. Davis to employ the power of their section to meet the war thus commenced, and to issue to private armed vessels commissions or letters of marque and general reprisal, in such form as he shall think proper, under the seal of the Confederate States, against the vessels, goods, and effects of the Government of the United States, and of the citizens or inhabitants of the States and Territories thereof." They also offered a bounty of twenty dollars for each person who might be on board of an armed vessel of the United States that should be destroyed by a Confederate privateer - in other words, a reward for the destruction of men, women, and children. Happily for the credit of humanity," says a historian of the war, this act has no parallel on the statute-book of any civilized nation." Mr. Davis did not wait for this authority, but several days before the assembling of his "Congress," he issued commissions for privateering, signed by himself and Robert Toombs, as secretary. With these hostile proclamations of Mr. Lincoln and Mr. Davis, the great Conflict was fairly begun.

Chapter CXV

The Virginia Convention - Union Sentiments Suppressed by Violence - Ordinance of Secession Passed - Bad Faith - Virginia Annexed to the Confederacy - The People Disenfranchised - The National Capital To Be Seized - Davis's Professions - Poetic Comments on Them - Events at Harper's Ferry and Gosport Navy-Yard - Response to the Call for Troops - Massachusetts Sends Troops to Washington - Attack upon Them in Baltimore - Critical Situation of the Capital - The President and Maryland Secessionists - Prompt and Efficient Action of General Wool - Union Defence Committee - General Butler's Operations in Maryland - He Takes Possession of Baltimore - Events at the Capital - Preparations for the Struggle.

AT this time Virginia had passed through a fiery ordeal and lay prostrate, bound hand and foot by her disloyal sons, at the feet of the Southern Confederacy. A State Convention assembled at the middle of February, and remained in session more than two months. A large majority of the members were animated by a sincere love for the Union, especially those from the mountain districts in Western Virginia; and even so late as a fortnight before its adjournment, an Ordinance of Secession was defeated by a vote of eighty-nine against forty-five. Yet the conspirators persevered with hope, for they saw one after another of weak Union members converted by their sophistry.

The crisis was reached when Edmund Ruffin fired his gun at Fort Sumter. That gun," said a telegraphic despatch from Charleston, "will do more in the cause of secession in Virginia than volumes of stump speeches." So it did. It set bells ringing, and cannon thundering in the Virginia capital, and produced the wildest excitement in and out of the Convention. "The war has begun; what will Virginia do?" asked Governor Pickens, by telegraph. Governor Letcher replied, The Convention will determine." That determination was speedily made. When, on Monday the 15th of April, the President's call for troops to suppress the rising rebellion was read in the Convention, that body was shaken by a fierce tempest of contending passions. Reason and judgment fled, and the stoutest Union men bent before the storm like reeds in a gale. Yet when the Convention adjourned that evening, and the question was pending, Shall Virginia secede at once? there was a strong majority in favor of Union.

The conspirators were now desperate. They perceived that the success of their grand scheme, the seizure of the National capital, depended upon the action of Virginia at that crisis. Richmond was then in the hands of an excited populace ready to do the bidding of the leading politicians, and the latter resolved to act with a high hand. They perceived that the absence of ten Union members from the Convention would give a majority for secession. Accordingly ten of them were waited upon by the conspirators on that evening, and informed that they must choose between three modes of action, namely, to vote for secession, absent themselves, or be hanged. They saw that resistance to these desperate men would be vain, and they absented themselves. These violent proceedings awed other Union men in the Convention, and on Wednesday the 17th of April, 1861, an Ordinance of Secession was adopted. Unlike the conventions of other "seceding" States, it referred the Ordinance to the people to vote on at a future day. But this show of respect

for the popular will was not sincere. A despatch was immediately sent to Jefferson Davis, telling him Virginia was out of the Union and within twenty-four hours after the passage of the Ordinance, and while it was yet under cover of an injunction of secrecy, Governor Letcher set in motion expeditions to capture the Arsenal at Harper's Ferry, and the Navy-yard at Cosport, opposite Norfolk, preparatory to the seizure of the National capital. Davis sent his lieutenant, Alexander H. Stephens, from Montgomery to Richmond, to urge the Convention to violate its faith pledged to the people, and to formally annex Virginia to the Confederacy without their consent. This was done within a week after the passage of the Ordinance of Secession, and a month before the day appointed for the people to vote upon it.

Stephens arrived in Richmond on the evening of the 23rd of April. The Convention appointed a commission, with ex-President Tyler at its head, to treat with this representative of the "Confederacy" for the annexation of Virginia to that league. The act was accomplished the next day. The "treaty" provided that "the whole military force and military operations" of Virginia, "offensive and defensive, in the impending conflict with the United States," should be under the chief control of Jefferson Davis. Then they adopted and ratified the Provisional Constitution of the Confederacy appointed delegates to the Confederate Congress authorized the banks of the State to suspend specie payments; made provision for the establishment of a navy for Virginia; made other provisions for waging war on the Union, and invited the "government at Montgomery" to make Richmond its future seat. All this was done in spite of the known will of the people; and when the day approached for them to express that will by the ballot, they found themselves tied hand and foot by an inexorable despotism. James M. Mason, one of the most active of the Virginia conspirators, issued a manifesto, in which he declared his State to be out of the old Union; that a rejection of the Ordinance of Secession would be a violation of a sacred pledge given to the Confederacy by the politicians; and said, concerning those who could not conscientiously vote to separate Virginia from the Union, "Honor and duty alike require that they should not vote on the question and if they retain such opinions, they must leave the State." Submission or banishment was the alternative. Mason simply repeated the sentiments of Jefferson Davis in another form: All who oppose us shall smell Southern powder, and feel Southern steel."

When the vote was finally taken on the 23rd of May, it was in the face of bayonets. Terror reigned all over Eastern Virginia. Unionists were compelled to fly for their lives before the instruments of the civil and military power at Richmond, for the "Confederate government" was then seated there. By these means the enemies of the Union were enabled to report a majority of over one hundred thousand votes of Virginians in favor of secession, the vote being given by the voice and not by the secret ballot. Then the governor of South Carolina, with selfish complacency, said to his people: "You may plant your seed in peace, for Old Virginia will have to bear the brunt of the battle." And so she did much of the time. Her politicians offered her back to the burden which the Gulf States had rolled from their own shoulders, and a most grievous one it was.

Prodigious efforts were now made for the seizure of the National capital. On his journey to Richmond, Alex. H. Stephens had harangued the people at various points, and everywhere raised the cry, "On to Washington!" That cry was already resounding throughout the slave-labor States.

Troops were marshaling for the service, in Virginia; and already Carolina soldiers were treading its soil. The Southern press, everywhere, urged the measure with the greatest vehemence. On the day when Stephens arrived in Richmond, one of the newspapers of that city said: "There never was half the unanimity among the people before, nor a tithe of the zeal upon any subject, that is now manifested to take Washington and drive from it every Black Republican who is a dweller there. From the mountain tops and valleys to the shores of the sea, there is one wild shout of fierce resolve to capture Washington city, at all and every human hazard." Yet in the face of the universal chorus, "On to Washington", Mr. Jefferson Davis, president of the Southern Confederacy, speaking more to Europe than to his people, said to his congress at Montgomery: "We profess solemnly, in the face of mankind, that we desire peace at any sacrifice save that of honor. . . . In independence we seek no conquest, no aggrandizement, no cession of any kind from the States with which we have lately confederated. All we ask is to be let alone - those who never held power over us, should not now attempt our subjugation by arms." A quaint writer of the day, thus commented on the assertion of Mr. Davis, "All we ask is to be let alone:

"As vonce I valked by a dismal swamp, There sot an old cove in the dark and damp, And at everybody as pass'd that road A stick or a stone that old cove throw'd; And venever he flung his stick or his stone, He'd set up a song of 'Let me alone.' 'Let me alone, for I love to shy These bits of things at the passers by; Let me alone, for I've got your tin, And lots of other traps snugly in; Let me alone - I am rigging a boat To grab votever you've got afloat; In a veek or so I expects to come And turn you out of your house and home. I'm a quiet old cove,' says he with a groan, 'All I axes is, Let me alone."

Harper's Ferry, at the confluence of the Potomac and Shenandoah rivers, where their combined waters flow through the Blue Ridge, in Virginia, had been for years the seat of an Armory and Arsenal of the United States, where almost ninety thousand muskets were usually stored. At the time we are considering, the post was in charge of Lieutenant Roger Jones, with some dismounted dragoons and a few other soldiers. Warned of impending danger, Jones was vigilant; and he prepared for any sudden emergency by laying a train of gunpowder for the destruction of the Government property, if necessary. When, late in the evening of the 18th of April, about two thousand Virginia militia were within a mile of the post and were pressing on to seize it, Jones fired his trains, and in a few minutes the Government buildings were all in flames, and the little garrison of forty men were crossing the covered railway bridge into Maryland, in a successful flight to Carlisle Barracks, in Pennsylvania. The insurgents were foiled in their attempt to secure a large quantity of fire-arms; but they seized Harper's Ferry as an important point for future hostile operations. In May, full eight thousand Confederate troops were there.

The expedition against the Navy-yard at Gosport was more successful. It was situated on the Elizabeth River, opposite Norfolk, and at that time contained two thousand pieces of heavy cannon fit for service, and a vast amount of munitions of war, naval stores, and materials for ship-building. In the waters near and on the stocks were several vessels-of-war, which the Secessionists attempted to secure by sinking obstructions in the river below to prevent their sailing out. This was done on the day before the Virginia Ordinance of Secession was adopted.

The post was in command of Commodore C. S. McCauley, who, soothed and deceived by false professions of loyalty by the officers of Southern birth under him, delayed taking action to protect the Navy-yard and the vessels until it was too late. When the action of the officers at Pensacola was known, these men said to the Commodore, You have no Pensacola officers here we will never desert you we will stand by you until the last, even to the death yet these men all resigned when the Virginia Ordinance of Secession was passed, abandoned their flag, and joined the forces under General Taliaferro, commander of the Virginia troops in that region, who arrived at Norfolk on the evening of the 18th of April to attempt the seizure of the naval station. Believing an immediate effort would be made to seize the vessels, McCauley ordered them to be scuttled and sunk, and this was done. At that critical moment, Captain Paulding of the navy arrived in the Pawnee as the successor of McCauley, and perceiving all the vessels but the Cumberland, beyond recovery, he ordered them and all the public property at the Navy-yard to be burned or otherwise destroyed. This destruction was only partially accomplished. About seven million dollars worth of property disappeared; but the insurgents gained a vast number of heavy guns with which they waged war afterward. They also saved some of the vessels. Among the latter was the Merrimac, which was afterward converted by the Confederates into a powerful iron-clad vessel. This important post was held by the insurgents until early in May the following year, when it was recovered by General Wool.

So secretly had the Confederates prepared for the seizure of the National capital, that the sudden development of their strength was amazing. The Government was made painfully aware that its call for troops had not been made an hour too soon. There was a general impression that Washington city was to be the first point of serious attack, and toward it vast numbers of armed men eagerly pressed to the protection of the President, his cabinet, the Government archives, and the Capitol. Within three days after the call, full one hundred thousand young men had dropped their implements of labor to prepare for war.

Those of Massachusetts were first ready. Early in the year Governor Andrew had put the militia of the State on a sort of war footing, and five thousand volunteers were drilled in armories. He invited the other New England States to do likewise, and they complied, in a degree. When, on the day the President called for seventy-five thousand men, Senator Henry Wilson telegraphed to Governor Andrew to send twenty companies immediately to Washington, they were ready. A few hours later the requisition of the Secretary of War reached the governor, and before sunset four regiments at different points were ordered to muster on Boston Common. They were all there the next day, in charge of Brigadier-General Benjamin F. Butler; and it was arranged for the Sixth Regiment, Colonel Jones of Lowell, to go forward at once to Washington, through New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore.

On the day (April 18) when the insurgents expected to seize the arms at Harper's Ferry, five companies of Pennsylvanians passed through Baltimore for the capital. They were slightly attacked by the mob in that city. They were the first of the loyal troops to reach Washington city, and were quartered in the Capitol. The Secessionists of Maryland were then active, and were determined to place their State as a barrier across the pathway of troops from the North and East.

Their governor (Hicks) was a loyal man, but the mayor of Baltimore was not, and the chief of police (Kane) was an ally of the disloyal leaders. When the Pennsylvanians had passed through the city, rumors came that a regiment from Massachusetts were approaching; and when, on the following day (April 19, 1861), the latter were marching from one railway station to another, in Baltimore, they were violently assailed with missiles of every sort by an excited populace numbering full ten thousand persons. The mayor, alarmed at the furious whirlwind that his political friends had raised, vainly attempted to control it. With a large body of the police, most of whom did not share in the treason of their chief (Kane), he tried to quell the disturbance, but his power was inoperative. The fight in the streets was severe. Three of the troops (the Sixth Massachusetts) were killed or mortally wounded, and in defence of their own lives they slew nine citizens of Baltimore. This tragedy produced intense excitement all over the country. There the first blood was shed in the terrible conflict that ensued. For a moment the indignation of the loyal people was so hot, that the city seemed doomed to swift destruction. A cry went forth, "Lay it in ashes!" and Bayard Taylor wrote:

Bow down in haste thy guilty head! God's wrath is swift and sure; The sky with gathering bolts is red. Cleanse from thy skirts the slaughter shed. Or make thyself an ashen bed, O Baltimore!"

The troops from Pennsylvania and Massachusetts were not too soon in the National capital; for all communication between Washington and the North, by railway and telegraph, was cut off for a week after the affray in Baltimore. On the night of the riot the bridges of the railway running northward from that city were burned, and the telegraph wires were cut, under the sanction of its mayor and chief of police; and the President of the United States and other officers of government, civil and military, at the capital, were virtually prisoners in the hands of the enemies of their country. The capital was swarming with them; and these, with the Minute-men of Maryland, were barely restrained from violence by the Pennsylvania and Massachusetts soldiers in Washington.

The Maryland Secessionists now declared that no more troops should pass through that State to Washington and the mayor of Baltimore, with the sanction of Governor Hicks, sent a committee to President Lincoln to tell him of this decision. The President received them courteously, and yielded much for the sake of peace, proposing to have the troops go by water to Annapolis, and thence march through the sparsely settled country to the capital. The Secessionists would not yield an iota of their demand that no United States soldier should tread the soil of Maryland." Governor Hicks, a sincere Unionist, but not in robust bodily health and almost seventy years of age, was overborne by the violent Secessionists in official position, and was made their passive instrument in some degree. He was induced to make the degrading proposition that Lord Lyons, the British minister at Washington, be requested to act as mediator between the contending parties in our country." In the name of the President, Mr. Seward reminded the governor that when the capital was in danger in 1814, as it was now, his State gladly welcomed the United States troops everywhere on its soil, for the defence of Washington. This mildly drawn but stinging rebuke of the chief magistrate of a State that professed to be a member

of the Union, gave the Secessionists notice that no degrading propositions would, for a moment, be entertained by the Government.

Still another delegation went from Baltimore to the President to give him advice in the interest of the Secessionists. They represented the theological element of Baltimore society, and were led by Rev. Dr. Fuller of the Baptist Church. When that gentleman assured the President that he might secure peace by recognizing the independence of the "seceded" States; that they would never be a part of the Union again, and expressed a hope that no more troops would be allowed to pass through Maryland, the President listened patiently, and then said significantly: "I must have troops for the defence of the capital. The Carolinians are now marching across Virginia to seize the capital, and hang me. What am I to do? I must have troops, I say; and as they can neither crawl under Maryland nor fly over it, they must come across it." The deputation returned to Baltimore, and the Secessionists of that city never afterward gave suggestions or advice to President Lincoln.

The critical situation of the capital created intense anxiety throughout the free-labor States. All communication between Washington and the rest of the world was cut off. General Scott could not send an order anywhere. What was to be done? That question was promptly answered by the veteran General John E. Wool. He hastened from his headquarters in Troy, New York, to the presence of the governor of the State (Morgan) at Albany, and they went immediately to the city of New York. Wool was the commander of the Eastern Department of the Army, which included the whole country eastward of the Mississippi River. He and the governor held a conference with the Union Defence Committee," composed of some of the leading citizens of New York, with General John A. Dix as chairman and William M. Evarts as secretary. A plan of action for the relief of the capital was formed and put into immediate operation. Wool, unable to communicate with the General-in-Chief (Scott), assumed the responsibility of ordering the movements of troops, providing for the safety of Fortress Monroe, and sending forward immediate military relief and supplies for the menaced capital. The governors of a dozen States applied to him for relief and munitions of war, as he was the highest military authority then accessible and he assisted in arming no less than nine States. By his prodigious and judicious labors in connection with the liberal Union Defence Committee of New York, the capital was saved.

The destruction of bridges north of Baltimore prevented troops from passing that way. So the Seventh Regiment of New York, Colonel Ellsworth's New York Fire Zouaves and some Massachusetts troops, under General B. F. Butler, proceeded to Annapolis by water, and saved the frigate Constitution there, which was about to be seized by the Secessionists. Butler took possession of the railway between Annapolis and Washington, and first opened communication with the capital and on the 25th of April he took possession of the Relay House, nine miles from Baltimore, where the Baltimore and Ohio railway turns toward Harper's Ferry. While he was there, over nine hundred men, with a battery, under Colonel F. E. Patterson, sailed from Philadelphia and landed near Fort McHenry, at Baltimore, in the presence of the mayor of the city, Chief of Police Kane and many of his force, and a vast crowd of excited citizens. Latent

Unionism in Maryland was then astir, and shouts of welcome greeted the Pennsylvanians. That was on the 9th of May - three weeks after the attack on the Massachusetts troops in the streets of Baltimore. These were the first troops that had passed through since, and were the pioneers of tens of thousands of Union soldiers who streamed through that city during the war that ensued. Though the Maryland Legislature shielded, by special law, the leaders in the murderous assault on the troops on the 19th of April, from punishment, no such violence was ever attempted afterward.

General Scott had planned a ponderous expedition for seizing and holding Baltimore. It was to consist of twelve thousand men divided into four columns, who were to approach that city from four different points at the same time. General Butler saw that a swifter movement was necessary to accomplish that end. He obtained permission of General Scott to attempt the seizure of some arms and ammunition said to be concealed in Baltimore, and to arrest some Secessionists there. Baltimore was in the Department of Annapolis, of which Butler was commander, and the permission implied the use of troops. Having promised Colonel Jones, of the Sixth Massachusetts Regiment, that his men should again march through Baltimore, he summoned that regiment from the capital to the Relay House. With these and a few other troops, and two pieces of artillery well manned, in all a little more than a thousand men, he entered cars headed toward Harper's Ferry. They ran up the road a short distance, and then backed slowly past the Relay House and into Baltimore early in the evening, just as a heavy thunderstorm burst upon the city. Few persons were abroad, and the citizens were ignorant of this portentous arrival. The mayor was soon afterward apprised of it, and sent a note to General Butler inquiring what he meant by thus threatening the peace of the city by the presence of a large body of troops.

When the mayor's message arrived at the station, Butler and his men had disappeared in the gloom. Well piloted, they marched to Federal Hill, an eminence that commanded the city. The rain fell copiously the rumble of the cannon-wheels was mingled with that of the thunder, and was mistaken for it, and the lightning played around the points of their bayonets. In his wet clothing, at near midnight, General Butler sat down and wrote a proclamation to the citizens of Baltimore, assuring all peaceable citizens full protection, and intimating that a much larger force was at hand to support the Government in its efforts to suppress the rebellion. This proclamation (dated May 14, 1861) was published in a city paper (the Clipper) the next morning, and gave the people of Baltimore the first intimation that their town was in the actual possession of National troops. In a single night, a little more than a thousand men had accomplished, under an audacious leader, what General Scott proposed to do with twelve thousand men in an indefinite time. The jealous pride of the General-in-Chief was offended by the superior action of a subordinate. He reproved him for acting without orders, and demanded his removal from the Department. The good-natured President did remove Butler, but to a more extended field of operations, with a higher commission. From that time, troops were enabled to pass freely through Baltimore from the North; and at the middle of May, the National capital was so well protected that it was regarded as absolutely safe from capture by the insurgents.

The contest had now assumed the dignity of Civil War. The Confederates were putting forth all their energies to meet the forces called to the field by the President of the Republic. Davis

summoned his "congress," as we have observed, to meet at Montgomery on the 29th of April, to take measures for prosecuting the war, offensive and defensive. At that time the Confederates had seized property belonging to the United States valued at \$40,000,000, and had forty thousand armed men in the field, more than one-half of whom were then in Virginia, and forming an irregular line from Norfolk to Harper's Ferry. At the beginning of May they had sent emissaries abroad to seek recognition and aid from foreign governments. They had extinguished the lamps of the light-houses, one hundred and thirty-three in number, all along the coasts of the Republic, from Hampton Roads to the Rio Grande, and had commissioned numerous privateers" to prey upon the commerce of the United States. Encouraged by their success at Charleston, they were then besieging Fort Pickens, as we have observed, and were using prodigious exertions to obtain possession of the National capital.

The magnitude of the disaffection to the National Government was now more clearly perceived and the President, satisfied that the number of militia called for would not be adequate for the required service against the wide- spreading rebellion, issued a proclamation on the 3rd of May, calling for sixty-four thousand volunteers for the army, and eighteen thousand for the navy, to serve during the war." Fortress Monroe, a very important fort in Southeastern Virginia, and Fort Pickens, near Pensacola, were reinforced and the blockade of the Southern ports, from which privateers were preparing to sail, was proclaimed. Washington city was made the general rendezvous of all troops raised eastward of the Alleghany mountains. These came flocking thither by thousands, and were quartered in the Patent-Office building and other edifices, and the Capitol was made a vast citadel. Its legislative halls, the rotunda, and other rooms were filled with soldiery; so also was the great East Room in the President's house. The basements of the Capitol were converted into storerooms for barrels of flour, beef and pork, and other commissary stores. The vaults under the broad terrace on its western front were converted into bakeries, where sixteen thousand loaves of bread were baked each day.

Before the summer of 1861 had fairly begun, Washington was an immense garrisoned town, and strong fortifications were growing upon the hills that surround it. The States westward of the Alleghanies were also pouring out their thousands of armed men, who were gathered at appointed rendezvous; and every department of the National Government was active in preparation for the great conflict of mighty hosts that were to fight, one party for freedom and the other for slavery.

Chapter CXVI

Defection of Colonel Lee - Temptation and Fall - First Invasion of Virginia - Death of Colonel Ellsworth - Blockade of the Potomac - Engagement at Sewall's Point - Loyalty in Western Virginia - Action of the Secessionists - Conventions - Creation and Admission of a New State - Troops from Beyond the Ohio - The First Battle on Land - Attitude of the Border States - Kentucky Unionism - Events in Missouri - General Lyon - The governor of Missouri Raises the Standard of Revolt - Movements in Tennessee - Pillow and Polk - Change in the Confederate Seat of Government - Jefferson Davis in Virginia - His Reception in Richmond.

THE Confederates acquired much strength at the beginning, by the election of Colonel Robert E. Lee, an accomplished engineer officer in the National army, and one who was greatly beloved and thoroughly trusted by the General-in-Chief, Scott. Temptation assailed him in the form of an offer of the supreme command of the military and navy forces of his native State, Virginia. It was rendered more potent by the doctrine of State-supremacy; and it so weakened his patriotism that he yielded to the tempter. And when the Convention of Virginia passed an Ordinance of Secession, he resigned his commission, deserted his flag, and took up arms against his Government, saying, in the common language of men of the State-supremacy school: "I must go with my State." He had lingered in Washington city for a week after the evacuation of Fort Sumter; and received from General Scott, without giving a hint of his secret determination, all information possible from that confiding friend, concerning the plans and resources of the Government, to be employed in suppressing the rebellion. With this precious treasury of important knowledge, Lee hastened to Richmond, and was cordially received there, with marks of great distinction, by the vice-president of the Confederacy and officers of his State, and was informed that the supreme command of the forces of the Commonwealth was committed to his care.

No man had stronger inducements to be a loyal and patriotic citizen than Robert E. Lee. His associations with the founders of the Republic he tried to destroy, were very strong. He was a son of that "Lowland Beauty" who was the object of Washington's first love. His father was glorious "Legion Harry" of the Revolution, whose sword had been gallantly used in gaining the independence of the American people; and he had led an army to crush an insurrection. Colonel Lee's wife was a great-granddaughter of Mrs. Washington. And his beautiful home, called Arlington, near Washington city, inherited from the adopted son of Washington, was filled with plate, china and furniture, that had been used by the beloved Patriot at Mount Vernon. But these considerations, so calculated to expand the generous soul with National pride and make the possession of citizenship of a great nation a cherished honor and privilege, seem to have had no influence with Colonel Lee. The narrow political creed of his class of thinkers, taught no broader doctrines of citizenship than the duty of allegiance to a petty State whose flag is utterly unknown beyond our shores - an insignificant portion of a great Republic whose flag is honored and respected on every sea and in every port of the civilized world. Acting upon these narrow views, Colonel Lee said, "I must go with my State;" and going, he took with him precious information which enabled him to make valuable suggestions to the insurgents concerning the best methods

for seizing the National capital. In time Colonel Lee became the general-in-chief of all the armies in rebellion against his Government, at whose expense he had been educated in the art of war.

Colonel Lee advised the Virginians to erect a battery of heavy guns on Arlington Heights, not far from his own home, which would command the cities of Washington and Georgetown. They were about to follow this advice, when, late in May, their plans were frustrated by the General-in-Chief, who sent National troops across the Potomac to the Virginia shore by way of the Long Bridge at Washington, and the Aqueduct Bridge at Georgetown, to take possession of Alexandria and Arlington Heights. Ellsworth's New York Fire Zouaves went to Alexandria in two schooners, at the same time, to be assisted by a third column that crossed the river at the Long Bridge.

The troops that first passed the Long Bridge constructed a battery at the Virginia end of it, which they named Fort Runyon, in compliment to General Runyon of New Jersey, who was in command of a part of them. The troops that passed Aqueduct Bridge were led by General Irwin McDowell; and upon the spot where Lee proposed to erect a battery of siege-guns, to destroy the capital, the troops erected a redoubt to defend it, which they named Fort Corcoran, in compliment to the commander of an Irish regiment among them. These were the first redoubts constructed by the National troops in the Civil War; and this was the initial movement of the Government forces in opening the first campaigns of that war. It occurred on the morning of the 24th of May, 1861.

The troops sent by land and water reached Alexandria about the same time, and took possession of the city. They seized the Orange and Alexandria railway station and much rolling stock, with some Virginia cavalry who were guarding it. The Secessionists in the city were defiant; and one of them, the keeper of a tavern, persisted in flying the Confederate flag over his house. The impetuous young Ellsworth proceeded to pull it down with his own hands, when the proprietor shot him dead, and was killed, in turn, by one of the Zouaves. This tragedy caused great bitterness in both sections of the country for a time.

Meanwhile the Confederates had erected batteries on the Virginia shored of the Potomac River to obstruct its navigation by National vessels. They had also cast up redoubts near Hampton Roads, not far from Fortress Monroe. Captain J. H. Ward was sent to the Roads with a flotilla of armed vessels. The insurgents then possessed Norfolk, and had erected a battery on Sewall's Point at the mouth of the Elizabeth River, where, on the morning of the 20th of May, when Ward's vessels appeared in the Roads, there were about two thousand Confederate soldiers. Ward opened the guns of his flag-ship (the *Freeborn*) upon the battery. It was soon silenced, and the insurgents were dispersed. Then Ward proceeded immediately up the Potomac toward Washington, after reporting to Commodore Stringham, and patrolled that important stream. At Aquia Creek, about sixty miles below Washington, he encountered some heavy batteries, and a sharp but indecisive engagement ensued on the first of June. Soon afterward, in an attack upon other batteries at Matthias's Point, the flotilla was repulsed, and Captain Ward was killed. At that place and vicinity the Confederates established batteries which defied the National vessels on those waters; and for many months, the Potomac, as a highway for supplies for the army near

Washington, was effectively blockaded by them.

The Union element in the Virginia Secession Convention was chiefly from Western Virginia, a mountain district, where the slave-labor system had not been profitable; and the loyalty of the people there to the old flag, gave the Virginia conspirators much uneasiness. At the very beginning the Confederates perceived the importance of holding possession of that region, and so control the Baltimore and Ohio Railway that traversed it, and connected Maryland with the teeming West. For that purpose troops were sent from Richmond to restrain the active patriotism of the people, when the latter flew to arms under the leadership of Colonel B. F. Kelley, a native of New Hampshire, who set up his standard near Wheeling, where an important political movement had already taken place.

Before the adjournment of the Convention at Richmond the inhabitants of Western Virginia perceived the necessity of making a bold stand for the Union and their own independence of the oligarchy that ruled the State in the interests of the slave-holders. This first meeting was held at Clarksburg, on the line of the Baltimore and Ohio railway, on the 22nd of April. John S. Carlisle, a member of the Convention then sitting at Richmond, offered a resolution at that meeting (which was adopted) calling a Convention of delegates at Wheeling on the 13th of May. Similar meetings were held at other places. One at Kingswood, Preston county, declared that the separation of Western from Eastern Virginia was essential to the maintenance of their liberties. They also resolved to elect a representative to sit in the National Congress; and at a mass Convention held at Wheeling on the 5th of May, it was resolved to sever all political connection with the conspirators at Richmond.

The Convention of delegates met at Wheeling on the 13th of May The National flag was unfurled over the Custom-House there with appropriate demonstrations of loyalty; and in the Convention the chief topic of discussion was the division of the State and the formation of a new Commonwealth composed of forty or fifty counties of the mountain region. It was asserted in the Convention that the slave oligarchy eastward of the mountains, and in all the tide-water counties, wielded the political power of the State, and used it for the promotion of their great interest, in the levying of taxes, and in lightening their own burdens at the expense of the labor and thrift of the citizens of West Virginia. These considerations, and an innate love for the Union, produced such unanimity of sentiment that the labors of the secret emissaries of the conspirators and of the open service of recruiting officers here almost fruitless in Western Virginia. The Convention itself, was an unit in feeling and purpose; but it was too informal in its character to take decisive action upon the momentous question of a division of the State. So, after condemning the Ordinance of Secession, a resolution was adopted, calling a Provisional Convention, at the same place, on the 11th of June, unless the people should vote adversely to that Ordinance, at the appointed time.

The proceedings at Wheeling alarmed the conspirators. They expected an immediate revolt in that region; and Governor Letcher ordered Colonel Porterfield, who was in command of State troops at Grafton, to seize and carry away the arms at Wheeling belonging to the United States,

and to use them in arming such men as might rally around his flag. He also told Porterfield that it was advisable to cut off telegraphic communication between Wheeling and Washington, so that the disaffected at the former place could not communicate with their allies at headquarters." Letcher added: "If troops from Ohio or Pennsylvania shall be attempted to be passed on the railroads, do not hesitate to obstruct their passage by all means in your power, even to the destruction of the road and bridge."

As we have observed, the people in Eastern Virginia, under the pressure of the bayonet, ratified the Ordinance of Secession. The Provisional Convention assembled at Wheeling on the appointed day, when about forty counties were represented. The meeting was held in the Custom-House, with Arthur Boreman president, and G. L. Cranmer secretary. A Bill of Rights, reported by J. S. Carlile, was adopted; all allegiance to the Southern Confederacy was denied; a resolution was passed declaring the determination of the inhabitants of Virginia never to submit to the Ordinance of Secession, but to maintain the rights of the Commonwealth in the Union; and all citizens who had taken up arms against the National Government were exhorted to lay them down and return to their allegiance. An Ordinance was reported and adopted vacating all the offices in the State held by State officers acting in hostility to the General Government, and also providing for a Provisional government and the election of officers for a period of six months also requiring all officers of the State, counties and towns, to take an oath of allegiance to the National Government. This movement, which formally deposed Governor Letcher and all State officers in rebellion against the National Government, but not a secession from the State, was purely revolutionary. The Convention adopted a declaration of independence of the old government of Virginia, which was signed by fifty-six members; and on the 19th a Provisional government was organized by the choice of Francis H. Pierrepont, Provisional governor of the State Daniel Polsley, lieutenant-governor, and an Executive Council of five members. On the following day (June 20, 1861) the necessity of ultimate separation from Eastern Virginia was favored by resolution adopted by unanimous vote.

Mr. Pierrepont was a bold and energetic man. He at once notified the President of the United States that an insurrection in Virginia was too formidable to be suppressed by local power, and called for aid from the National Government to suppress it. He organized the militia, and borrowed money for the public service on the pledge of his own private fortune. He upheld the "restored government" against the extraordinary efforts of the conspirators at Richmond to crush the new organization and enslave the loyal people. A Legislature was chosen, and at its session, begun at Wheeling on the 1st of July, John S. Carlile and Waitman G. Willie were chosen to represent the restored Commonwealth in the National Congress. Finally a convention of delegates, held in November, 1861, adopted a new State constitution, in which Slavery was prohibited; and on 3rd of May following, the people who voted upon it, ratified it.

The Legislature, at a called session, approved of a division of the State, and the establishment of a new Commonwealth. All the legal requirements having been complied with, the western counties, by Act of Congress, organized under a constitution, were admitted into the Union under the title of the State of West Virginia, on the 20th of June, 1863 and Arthur J. Boreman was

chosen governor of the new Commonwealth. At mid-summer, Old Virginia presented the curious political spectacle, of Letcher, at Richmond, claiming authority over the whole State; Pierrepont, at Alexandria, claiming authority over the whole old State excepting West Virginia, and Boreman, at Wheeling, the chief executive of the new Commonwealth, as legal governor.

The Unionists of Western Virginia needed help from the beginning; for the regiment that gathered around Colonel Kelley at Wheeling, though full eleven hundred strong, were too few to withstand the Confederate forces sent against them. Already General George B. McClellan, who had been called to the command of the Ohio troops, was assigned to the head of the Department of the Ohio, which included Western Virginia. With Ohio and Indiana troops he crossed the Ohio River. These, with Kelly's Virginians, moved on Grafton and drove Porterfield and his Confederates to Philippi, closely pursued by his foes. After a sharp engagement at the latter place, on the 2nd of June, the Confederates were dispersed, and, for awhile, matters were quiet in that region. Kelley was severely wounded in the battle at Philippi. That was the first conflict on land after the President's call for troops.

While events in Western Virginia were assuming the character of open warfare between armed forces, others of great importance were occurring westward of the Alleghany Mountains; for, so early as the beginning of June, civil war had begun wherever the system of slavery prevailed. Political leaders in the Border States - slave-labor States bordering on free-labor States - took a position which finally brought great distress upon the inhabitants of those Commonwealths. A large class of these leaders professed to be friends of the Union, but conditionally. They would be its friends so long as the National Government did not interfere with slavery, nor "attempt to bring back the seceded States;" in other words, they were friends of the Republic so long as its Government did not raise a finger for the salvation of its life. When the President's call for troops to suppress the rebellion appeared, the Louisville Journal, the organ of the professed Unionists of Kentucky, hastened to say: "We are struck with mingled amazement and indignation. The policy announced in the proclamation deserves the unqualified condemnation of every American citizen. It is unworthy, not merely of a statesman, but of a man. It is a policy utterly hairbrained and ruinous. If Mr. Lincoln contemplated this policy in his inaugural address, he is a guilty dissembler; if he conceived it under the excitement aroused by the seizure of Fort Sumter, he is a guilty Hotspur. In either case, he is miserably unfit for the exalted position in which the enemies of the country have placed him. Let the people instantly take him and his administration into their own hands, if they would rescue the land from bloodshed, and the Union from sudden and irretrievable destruction." And at a large "Union meeting" at Louisville, over which James Guthrie and other leading men in the State held control, it was resolved that "Kentucky reserved to herself the right to choose her own position; and that, while her natural sympathies are with those who have a common interest in the protection of Slavery, she still acknowledges her loyalty and fealty to the Government of the United States, which she will cheerfully render until that Government becomes aggressive, tyrannical, and regardless of our rights in slave property." They declared that the States were peers of the National Government; and gave the world to understand that the latter should not be allowed to "use sanguinary or coercive" measures to "bring back the seceded States." The "Kentucky State Guard," which the governor had organized

for the benefit of the Secessionists, were commended by this Union meeting as "the bulwark of the safety of the Commonwealth," and its members were enjoined to remember that they were "pledged equally" to fidelity to the United States and Kentucky.

The "Guard" was placed under the command of Captain Simon B. Buckner of the National army, who was then evidently in the secret service of the Confederacy, for he used his position effectively in seducing large numbers of the members of the "Guard" from their allegiance to the old flag, and sending them as recruits to the Confederate armies. It was not long before he led a large portion of them into the camp of the enemy, and he became a Confederate major-general. Then the Louisville Journal, that had so savagely condemned the President, more savagely assailed Buckner with curses, saying: "Away with your pledges and assurances - with your protestations, apologies and proclamations - at once and altogether! Away, parricide! Away, and do penance forever! - be shriven or slain - away! You have less palliation than Attila - less boldness, magnanimity and nobleness than Coriolanus. You are the Benedict Arnold of the day! you are the Catiline of Kentucky! Go, thou miscreant!" And when in February, 1862, Buckner and some of the "State Guard" were captured at Fort Donelson, and he was sent to Fort Warren, Boston, many of those who were deceived by the pretense that the "Guard" were the "bulwark of the Commonwealth," demanded his delivery to the authorities of Kentucky, to be tried for treason against the State. That was after the Legislature of that State had refused to favor the scheme of the disloyal governor, and Kentucky was feeling the effects of its peculiar "neutrality" a sort of Unionism that caused Missouri and Kentucky to become battle-fields, and to suffer untold miseries. Their soil was trodden and ravaged by contending armies, which had no respect for what was known as "Kentucky neutrality," for, in the hands of the Secessionists it was only an adroit scheme to mislead and confuse the people, a large majority of whom were sincerely attached to the Union.

Although the slaves were not more than one-tenth of the population of Missouri and the best interests of the State were allied to free-labor, the Slave power, wielded by the most active politicians, had such potential influence that it controlled the destiny of that State. By these the election of Claiborne T. Jackson, governor of Missouri, was effected, and he was now one of the most active of the Secessionists. His political friends formed a plan for placing the militia of the State under his absolute control for the benefit of the Confederacy. The chief leader in this scheme was D. M. Frost, of New York, a graduate of West Point, who was commissioned a brigadier and placed at the head of that militia. Frost resolved to seize the Arsenal at St. Louis, and hold possession of that chief city of the Mississippi Valley; and for this purpose he formed a camp near the town with the pretext of disciplining the men under his command. At that time the military post at St. Louis was in charge of Captain Nathaniel M. Lyon, who was vigilant and brave; and when he was satisfied of Frost's treacherous designs, he marched out with a large number of volunteers, surrounded the Insurgent camp, and made the leader and his followers prisoners.

It was now late in May, and the Secessionists in Missouri took open issue with the National Government. The latter, satisfied that it was the design of the Confederates to hold military

possession of that State and of Kentucky, fortified Cairo, Illinois, at the confluence of the Ohio and Mississippi rivers. It was made impregnable, and became of immense importance to the Union cause; for there some of the land and naval expeditions which performed signal service in the valley of the Mississippi were fitted out.

General W. S. Harney, a conservative in feeling, was at the head of the Department of the West, with his quarters at St. Louis. He returned to his post, after a brief absence, when the excitement was at its height. Wishing to preserve peace, he made a compact with the insurgent leaders not to employ the military arm so long as they should preserve public order. The loyal people were alarmed, for they would not trust the promises of the Secessionists. Happily for the Union cause, the National Government did not sanction the compact. Appreciating the great services of Lyon, he was commissioned a brigadier, and at the close of May he succeeded Harney with the title of Commander of the Department of Missouri.

Early in June, General Lyon, Colonel Blair and others, held a conference with Governor Jackson and General Price, on the subject of pacification. Jackson demanded the disbanding of the Home Guard, composed of loyal Missourians, and the withdrawal of National troops from the State. Lyon peremptorily refused, when Jackson and Price returned to Jefferson City, the State capital. The Legislature had placed the purse and sword of Missouri in the hands of the governor; and on the 12th of June (1861) he issued a proclamation calling into active service fifty thousand of the militia, and raised the standard of revolt, with General Sterling Price as military leader. At the same time he ordered his son to destroy two important railway bridges, and cut the telegraph wires between St. Louis and the State capital. Then began those movements of troops within the borders of Missouri which continued almost incessantly during the entire period of the war, with the most disastrous results to the peace and prosperity of the State. At the same time the disloyal governor of Tennessee ([sham G. Harris) had placed that State in military relations to the Confederacy, similar to that of Virginia, and was working in concert with Jackson. General Gideon J. Pillow, an indifferent leader, was placed in chief command of the troops of both States, and with these he made an unsuccessful effort to seize Cairo. He was soon superseded by Leonidas Polk, a graduate of West Point, and then Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Louisiana, who had been commissioned a major-general, and became an earnest leader of Confederate armies in the West.

Civil War had now begun in earnest; and in all parts of the Union, North and South, hosts of armed men were marshaling for the dreadful struggle that ensued. The Confederate government, in order to be nearer the National capital, their coveted object, had resolved to leave Montgomery and make their headquarters at Richmond; while their forces, designed for the capture of Washington, were gathering in large numbers, under General Beauregard, at Manassas, about thirty miles from that city. The president of the Confederacy (Jefferson Davis) left Montgomery for Virginia, on Sunday the 26th of May, with the intention, it was said, of taking command of the Confederate troops there, in person. He was accompanied by his favorite aid, General Wigfall of Fort Sumter fame, and by Robert Toombs, his secretary of state. His journey was a continual ovation. At every railway station, men, women, and children greeted him with enthusiasm. A

reporter of the Richmond Enquirer was sent to chronicle the events of the journey, whose admiration of the "presidential party" was very pronounced. He spoke of the "flute-like voice" of Davis, and of the excessive modesty of Wigfall and Toombs. "In vain he [Wigfall] would seek some remote part of the cars," said the chronicler; "the crowd hunted him up, and the welkin rang with rejoicings as he addressed them in his emphatic and fervent style of oratory." Of Toombs, he said: "He, too, sought to avoid the call, but the echo would ring with the name of 'Toombs! Toombs!' and the sturdy Georgia statesman had to respond." On the southern verge of Virginia, some of the State riflemen, designed as an escort to the president, joined the party. With every step the popularity of their chief magistrate seemed to be more and more manifest, for the people felt that the mantle of Washington had fallen gracefully upon his shoulders." At Goldsboro, "the Hall," said the reporter, "was thronged with beautiful girls, and many were decking him with garlands of flowers, while others fanned him. It was a most interesting occasion. Never were a people more enraptured with their chief magistrate."

At Richmond, Davis was received with equal enthusiasm; and at the Fairground he addressed an immense multitude of people. With a consciousness of power, he spoke bitter words against the Government whose kindness he had ever experienced. He flattered the vanity of the Virginians by reminding them that they had been chosen to "smite the invaders; and he assured them there was "not one true son of the South who was not ready to shoulder his musket, to bleed, to die, or to conquer in the cause of liberty here. . . . We have now reached the point," he continued, "where, arguments being exhausted, it only remains for us to stand by our weapons. When the time and occasion serve, we shall smite the smiter with manly arms, as did our fathers before us, and as becomes their sons. To the enemy we leave the base acts of the assassin and incendiary. To them we leave it to insult helpless women to us belongs vengeance upon man." The Virginians were too insane with passion to resent his virtual reiteration of the selfish words of Pickens: "You may plant your seed in peace, for Old Virginia will have to bear the brunt of the battle and they actually rejoiced with pride in the fact that, as he said, upon every hill around their State Capitol were camps of soldiers from every State in the Confederacy." They purchased an elegant residence for the use of their president, and furnished it sumptuously. There he lived, and exercised the powers of his office for almost four years.

Chapter CXVII

Beauregard's Proclamation - Insurgents at Harper's Ferry - Exploits of an Indiana Regiment - Events on the Virginia Peninsula - Battle at Big Bethel - National Troops on the Upper Potomac - The Capital in Danger - A Gunpowder Plot - Action of England and France "Punch's" Epigram - Conduct of Great Britain and the Western European Powers - Russia - Meeting of Congress - Department Reports - Appropriations - Increase of the Navy - Enthusiasm of the People - Women's Work - Miss Dix - United States Sanitary and Christian Commissions - Benevolent Work in Philadelphia.

THE fulfillment of the prediction that Poor Old Virginia will have to bear the brunt of battle," had now begun. Beauregard was in command of a constantly increasing force at Manassas, at the beginning of June, and there was a general belief that under the instruction of President Davis, he would attempt the seizure of the capital. In characteristic words, he sent forth a proclamation calculated to fire the Southern heart." A reckless and unprincipled tyrant," he said, has invaded your soil." He assured them that Lincoln had thrown "Abolition hosts" among them, and were murdering and imprisoning their citizens, confiscating and destroying property, and "committing other acts of violence and outrage too revolting to humanity to be enumerated. All rules of civilized warfare are abandoned, and they proclaim by these acts, if not on their banners, that their war-cry is Beauty and Booty. All that is dear to men - your honor and that of your wives and daughters, your fortune and your lives - are involved in the momentous contest." No man knew better than Beauregard that, at that moment, the only National troops in Virginia, excepting those in the loyal western portion, were the handful of men holding Arlington Heights, the Long Bridge, Alexandria and the village of Hampton near Fortress Monroe, in a merely defensive attitude, against thousands of insurgents who were marshaling under that leader for the avowed purpose of seizing the National capital. He knew that the only "murder" and outrage yet committed by National troops was the single act of killing the assassin of Colonel Ellsworth. The author of the proclamation was noted throughout the war for ridiculous boastings, official mendacity, and conspicuous military failures.

Late in May, Joseph E. Johnston, a captain of Topographical Engineers and a meritorious officer who had deserted his flag and accepted the commission of brigadier-general from its enemies, took command of the insurgent troops at Harper's Ferry and in the Shenandoah Valley. At the same time General Robert Patterson, a veteran of two wars, was gathering troops at Chambersburg, in Pennsylvania, to attack Johnston. He moved forward with fifteen thousand men early in June, under instructions from General Scott to attempt nothing without a clear prospect of success," as the enemy were "strongly posted and equal in numbers." Already, as we have observed, the insurgents had been smitten at Philippi, in Western Virginia; and just as Patterson began his march, an Indiana Zouave Regiment, led by Colonel Lewis Wallace, struck the Confederates a blow at Romney, in that mountain region, which gave them great alarm. That regiment, one of the best disciplined in the field, had been chafing under forced inaction in Southern Indiana, and Wallace urged their employment in active service. He was gratified by being ordered to Cumberland, to report to General Patterson. In less than three days after the

receipt of the order, they had traversed Indiana and Ohio; received their ammunition at Grafton, in Western Virginia, and were at Cumberland. Resting a single day, Wallace proceeded to strike a band of insurgents at Romney; and on the night of the 10th of June, 1861, led by a competent guide, the regiment made a silent march along a rough and perilous mountain-path, but did not reach the vicinity of the insurgents until late in the evening of the 12th. They at once attacked the Confederates with such skill and bravery, that they fled to the shelter of the forests, followed by all the villagers, excepting the few negroes. In the space of twenty-four hours, Wallace and his men had traveled eighty-four miles (forty-six of them on foot), engaged in a brisk skirmish, and returned and what is more," wrote Colonel Wallace in his report, my men are ready to repeat it to-morrow." This dash caused Johnston to evacuate Harper's Ferry, for he believed the assailants to be the advance of a much larger force. He moved up the Valley, and took post near Winchester.

While the campaign was thus opening in Western Virginia, stirring events were occurring near Fortress Monroe. The possession of that post was of the first importance to both parties; and Colonel J. B. Magruder, who had deserted his flag, was sent down the Virginia Peninsula, with a considerable force, to attempt its seizure. General B. F. Butler, who was then in command of the Department of Virginia and North Carolina, with his headquarters at Fortress Monroe, took measures to oppose him. General E. W. Pearce was placed in command of an expedition that was to march in two columns against the insurgents. He was to lead, from near Hampton, Duryea's Fifth (Zouave) New York Regiment, and Townsend's Third, to Little Bethel, where he was to be joined by detachments from Colonel Phelps's command at Newport-Newce. The latter were composed of battalions of Massachusetts and Vermont troops, Bendix's Germans of New York, known as the Steuben Rifle Regiment, and a battery of two light field-pieces in charge of Lieutenant John T. Greble of the regular army, with eleven artillery men.

Both columns marched at about midnight. An order to secure mutual recognition was neglected, and as the columns approached in the gloom, they mistook each other for enemies, and fired, killing and maiming some of the men. The mistake was instantly discovered, and the combined columns pressed on toward Magruder's fortifications at Big Bethel. The noise of the firing had been heard there, which caused the scattered Confederates to concentrate their forces in time to meet the Nationals. A sharp engagement ensued. The Nationals were repulsed; and just as Lieutenant Greble ordered his field-pieces to be made ready for the retreat, a cannonball struck his temple a glancing blow, and he fell dead. So perished, at the very opening of the great Civil War, the first of the officers of the regular army who fell in that conflict. Generous, brave and good, Lieutenant Greble was beloved by all who knew him. His body was carried to Philadelphia, his native city, where it lay in state one day, in Independence Hall, and was buried with military honors in Woodland Cemetery. Major Theodore Winthrop, an accomplished young officer, was also killed at Bethel, while bravely contending with the insurgents. He was a member of General Butler's staff, and his military secretary. When Butler was informed of the action, he proceeded to join the expedition in person, but at Hampton he received tidings of the disaster. It was a result which alarmed and mortified the nation but the public mind was soon absorbed in the contemplation of far greater and more momentous movements. The failure at Bethel was

undoubtedly chargeable more to a general eagerness to do, without experience in doing, than to any special shortcomings of individuals.

For a month after the dash on Romney, Wallace and his men were in a perilous situation; but by boldness and audacity of action, a wholesome fear of the Zouaves was created among the Confederates. By ceaseless activity they guarded the Baltimore and Ohio Railway for more than a hundred miles and so distinguished were their services, unaided, that General Patterson wrote to Wallace: I begin to doubt whether the Eleventh Indiana needs reinforcements." Wallace was soon afterward commissioned a brigadier-general of volunteers.

When Johnston abandoned Harper's Ferry, General Patterson, who had received intimations that he was expected to cross the Potomac, pushed his columns forward from Hagerstown and threw about nine thousand troops across the river at Williamsport, where it was fordable. These were led by General George Cadwallader, who commanded five companies of cavalry. At that moment Scott telegraphed to Patterson to send him all his regular troops and a few others under his command. This order was repeated; and again it was repeated early in the morning of the 17th, when the General-in-Chief said: We are pressed here; send the troops I have twice called for, without delay." Patterson obeyed, but was compelled to call back the remainder of his force into Maryland.

The danger hinted at by the General-in-Chief was great indeed. Beauregard was preparing to move on the capital before the assembling of Congress on the 4th of July. The Confederate government, aided by the Secessionists of Virginia and Maryland, were employing very means in their power to accomplish that end. Washington was swarming with enemies, open and secret. Plotters were at work. The Confederate archives at the capital reveal some ugly facts among others, that the Confederate secretary of war received a proposition to blow up the Capitol with gun-powder that should be conveyed secretly to its crypts, some time between the 4th and 5th of July, when Congress would be in session and possibly the President might be present. The proposition was entertained, and directions were given for a conference between the conspirators and Judah P. Benjamin, the Confederate attorney-general. This scheme for wholesale murder was abandoned then, and Congress assembled quietly at the appointed time.

When Congress met (July 4, 1861) the public welfare demanded immediate and energetic action, and that legislation should be confined to providing means for the salvation of the Republic. Our foreign relations were in a critical state. Confederate emissaries at European courts had created a general impression among statesmen and publicists, that our nation was only a league of States that might be dissolved when a member became dissatisfied. They had magnified the power and unity of the Confederacy, and had made the most tempting offer of free-trade in cotton to Great Britain and France. The belief soon became general that the Republic was hopelessly shattered. Foreign representatives at Washington wrote to their respective governments that the United States were hopelessly dismembered; and leaders of public sentiment in Europe affected to be amazed at the seeming folly of Congress in legislating as if the Union, "one and inseparable," had a future. Some of them were anxious to widen the breach, and

so diminish the power of the United States by disunity; for they were jealous of our expanding greatness as a nation, and regarded our republican form of government as a standing menace of the unstable thrones.

Great Britain and France seemed to be equally anxious for the overthrow of the Union, and they entered into a secret agreement to act in concert. They even went so far as to apprise other European governments of this understanding, with the expectation that the latter would concur with them. So, at the very beginning of our difficulties, these two professedly friendly powers had clandestinely entered into a combination for arraying all Europe on the side of the insurgents, and giving them moral and material aid. Our loyal people could not, at first, comprehend the unfriendly acts and tone of the British government and the chief representatives of the British people, until the touchstone of Montesquieu's assertion was applied: Other nations have made the interests of commerce yield to those of politics; the English, on the contrary, have ever made political interests give way to those of commerce." And the traditional philanthropy of the English in behalf of the slave, made the following notable epigram of the London Punch, appear to us, at first, like a good-natured slander:

"Though with the North we sympathize, It must not be forgotten, That with the South we've stronger ties Which are composed of cotton, Whereof our imports mount unto A sum of many figures; And where would be our calico Without the toil of niggers The South enslaves their fellow-men, Whom we love all so dearly, The North keeps commerce bound again, Which touches us more nearly. Thus a divided duty we Perceive in this hard matter - Free-trade or sable brothers free? O, will we choose the latter?"

This epigram gave the key to the secret motives of the English government. The astute Frenchman, Count Gasparin, clearly perceived them. He knew the seductive influence of the bribe of free cotton on a manufacturing people like those of Great Britain; and nearly two months before her public acts in favor of the insurgents were manifested, he gave this warning: Let England beware! It were better for her to lose Malta, Corfu and Gibraltar, than the glorious position which her struggle against Slavery and the Slave-trade has secured her in the esteem of the nations. Even in an age of armored frigates and rifled-cannon, the chief of all powers, thank God is moral power. Woe to the nation that disregards it, and consents to immolate its principles to its interests! From the beginning of the present conflict the enemies of England, and they are numerous, have predicted that the cause of cotton will weigh heavier in her scales than the cause of justice and liberty. They are preparing to judge her by her conduct in the American crisis. Once more, let her beware!"

The British ministry did not heed the warning. So early as the 9th of May (1861), Lord John Russell, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, said in Parliament, in reply to the question, What position has the government intended to take? "The Attorney and Solicitor-General and the Queen's Advocate and the Government have come to the opinion that the Southern Confederacy of America, according to those principles which seem to them to be just principles, must be treated as a belligerent." This was preparatory to an open recognition of the independence of the

Confederacy, a motion for which was then pending in Parliament. The Queen and her beloved husband, the Prince Consort, felt a real friendship for the Americans, who had treated their son, the Prince of Wales, so kindly only a few months before, but she yielded to ministerial pressure, and on the 13th of May, issued a proclamation of neutrality, in which belligerent rights were accorded to the insurgents, and a virtual acknowledgment of the Confederation as a national power. It was followed in the British Parliament, and among the Tory classes and in the Tory newspapers of the realm, by the most dogmatic assertions that the Republic of the West was hopelessly crumbling into ruins, and was unworthy of respectful consideration.

All this was done with unseemly haste, before Mr. Charles Francis Adams, chosen by the new Administration to represent the United States at the Court of St. James, had presented his credentials. When that event occurred, and the tone of Mr. Adams's instructions was known, the British ministry paused, and took counsel of prudence and expediency. Mr. Adams had been instructed by the American Secretary of State (Mr. Seward) especially to counteract the influence of Confederate agents at court. You will in no case, said the instructions, listen to any suggestions of compromise by this Government under foreign auspices, with its discontented citizens. If, as the President does not at all apprehend, you shall unhappily find her Majesty's government tolerating the applications of the so-called Confederate States, or wavering about it, you will not leave them to suppose, for a moment, that they can grant that application and remain the friends of the United States. You may even assure them promptly, in that case, that if they determine to recognize, they may at the same time prepare to enter into an alliance with the enemies of this Republic. You, alone, will represent your country at London, and you will represent the whole of it there. When you are asked to divide that duty with others, diplomatic relations between the government of Great Britain and this Government will be suspended, and will remain so until it shall be seen which of the two is most strongly entrenched in the confidence of their respective nations and of mankind."

The high position taken by Mr. Seward, in the name of his Government, in that able letter of instructions, was doubtless one of the chief causes for the fortunate delay of the British government in the matter of recognizing the independence of the Southern Confederacy. Its puissance was increased by the manifest opposition of the great mass of the "common people" of Great Britain, to the unfriendly conduct of their government and the ruling classes toward the real Government of the United States. The friendly attitude of Russia toward the United States was another cause for delay. The cautious Emperor of the French followed Great Britain, and on the 17th of June issued a decree according belligerent rights to the Confederates; so also did the Queen of Spain proclaim the neutrality of her government, and entered upon a scheme with Napoleon III for replanting the seeds of monarchical institutions in America now that the great Republic was about to expire. The King of Portugal also recognized the insurgents as belligerents, on the 29th of July; but the enlightened Emperor of Russia (Alexander II.), who was about to strike the shackles from almost forty million slaves in his own dominions, instructed (July 10) his representative at Washington to say: In every event, the American nation may count upon the most cordial sympathy on the part of our most august master during the important crisis which it is passing through at present." The powers of Western Europe, regarding the Russian Emperor

as a promised ally of the Republic of the West, behaved prudently.

It was on Thursday, the 4th of July, 1861, and the eighty-fourth anniversary of the Declaration of Independence, when the Thirty-seventh Congress assembled at the National capital, in extraordinary session. It was a critical time in the history of our country. Civil War was kindling over a quarter of a million square miles of the Republic, and enemies of the nation's life were menacing its Capitol and its archives with utter destruction. Within the sound of great guns, armies were then gathering for that purpose; and secret emissaries of the Confederacy, it was believed, intrusted with errands of deadliest mischief, were prowling about the halls of Congress and the President's house. As promptly as the militia of the country, the members of the National Legislature had responded to the President's call. Twenty-three States were represented in the Senate, and one hundred and fifty-four members of the Lower House were present on the first day of the session, while ten slave-labor States were not represented. In both Houses there was a large working majority of Unionists; yet there was a considerable faction who sympathized with the Confederates in their application of the doctrine of State-supremacy and in opposition to coercive measures.

The President, in his message, after setting forth the causes of trouble, the acts of the insurgents, and the necessity for giving strength to the Executive arm, said "It is now recommended, that you give the legal means for making this contest a short and decisive one; that you place at the control of the Government, for the work, at least four hundred thousand men and four hundred millions of dollars." That number of men constituted only one-tenth of those of proper age for military service in the regions where, apparently, all were willing to engage; and the sum of money asked for, was less than a twenty-third part of the money value owned by the men who seemed willing to devote the whole.

The President's message was accompanied by important reports from three heads of departments. The Secretary of War (Simon Cameron) recommended the enlistment of men for three years; appropriations for extraordinary expenses; the appointment of an Assistant Secretary of War, and an increase of the clerical force in his department. The Secretary of the Treasury (Salmon P. Chase) asked for \$240,000,000 for war purposes, and \$80,000,000 for the current expenses of the Government. He proposed to raise these amounts by three different methods. For the civil service, he proposed to procure a revenue by increased duties on specified articles and a system of internal taxation; for war purposes, by a National loan in the form of Treasury notes bearing an interest of one cent a day on fifty dollars, or in bonds, made redeemable at the pleasure of the Government after a period not exceeding thirty years, and bearing an interest not exceeding six per centum a year. He further recommended the issue of Treasury notes for a smaller amount.

The Secretary of the Navy (Gideon Wells), who had been compelled to resort to extraordinary measures to save the Republic, asked Congress to sanction his acts to authorize the appointment of an Assistant Secretary of the Navy, and to appoint commissioners to inquire into the expediency of using iron-clad steamers or floating batteries.

The suggestions of the President and the heads of departments were followed by prompt action on the part of Congress. They at once made provisions for the sinews of war and to strengthen the arm of the Chief Magistrate of the Republic. They approved of the President's call for militia and volunteers. They authorized the raising of five hundred thousand troops; and they made an appropriation of \$500,000,000 to defray the expenses of the kindling Civil War. They carried out the suggestions of the Secretary of the Treasury concerning methods for procuring the money, by increased taxes and the issue of interest-bearing Treasury notes or bonds. Each House was purged of disloyal members by the expulsion of ten Senators and one Representative. The Secretary of the Navy was upheld by Congress; and, putting forth extraordinary exertions to increase the naval force of the country, he purchased, before the close of the year, and put into commission, no less than one hundred and thirty-seven vessels, and contracted for the building of a large number of substantial steamships for sea service. He called attention to the importance of iron-clad vessels; and so promptly were his requisitions for recruits complied with, that no vessel was ever detained for more than two or three days by want of men. Two hundred and fifty-nine officers had resigned or been dismissed from the service for disloyalty since the 4th of March, and several vessels were sent to sea without a full complement of officers; but the want was soon supplied, for many retired officers, who had engaged in civil pursuits, now came to the aid of their country in its hour of need, and were re-commissioned. Many masters and mates were appointed from the commercial marine. The Naval School and public property at Annapolis had been removed to Newport, Rhode Island, for safety, and the seminary found temporary accommodations in Fort Adams there.

When Congress met, there were about three hundred thousand Union troops in the field, and the enthusiasm of the people in the free-labor States was at fever heat. They contributed men, money and soldiers, with lavish generosity. Women, animated by their natural zeal in labors of mercy, went to work with busy fingers preparing lint and bandages for the wounded, and hospital garments for the sick and maimed. In tens of thousands of households in the land, women and children might be seen engaged in the holy toil: while hundreds of the gentler sex, many of whom had been tenderly nurtured in the lap of ease and luxury, hastened to hospitals in camps and towns, and there, with saintly self-sacrifice, they performed the duties of nurse, night and day, and administered, in every way, with all the tenderness of affectionate mothers and sisters, to the wants of the sick, the wounded, and the dying.

Associated efforts in this benevolent work were first organized by Miss Dorothea L. Dix, a woman extensively known in our country for her labors of love in behalf of the poor, the unfortunate, and the afflicted. Perceiving war to be inevitable, she offered her services to the Government gratuitously, in organizing a system for providing comfort for the sick and wounded soldiers. They were accepted. Only eight days after the President's call for troops, the Secretary of War proclaimed: Be it known to all whom it may concern, that the free services of Miss D. L. Dix are accepted by the War Department, and that she will give, at all times, all necessary aid in organizing military hospitals for the care of all the sick or wounded soldiers, aiding the chief surgeons by supplying nurses and substantial means for the comfort and relief of the suffering; also, that she is fully authorized to receive, control, and disburse special supplies bestowed by

individuals or associations for the comfort of their friends or the citizen soldiers from all parts of the United States." Surgeon-General R. C. Wood, recognizing the ability of Miss Dix for the task she had volunteered to perform, publicly requested all women who offered their services as nurses to report to her.

Like an angel of mercy," says an historian of the war, "this self-sacrificing woman labored day and night throughout the entire war for the relief of the suffering soldiers, without expecting or receiving any pecuniary reward. She went from battle-field to battle-field when the carnage was over; from camp to camp, and from hospital to hospital, superintending the operations of the nurses, and administering with her own hands physical comforts to the suffering, and soothing the troubled spirits of the invalid or dying soldier with a voice low, musical and attractive, and always burdened with words of heartfelt sympathy and religious consolation. . . . Yet she was not the only Sister of Mercy engaged in this holy work. She had hundreds of devoted, earnest, self-sacrificing coworkers of the gentler sex all over the land, serving with equal zeal in the camp and hospitals of National and Confederate armies; and no greater heroism was displayed by soldiers in the field than was exhibited by these American women everywhere."

At near the close of April, a large number of the best women of New York city met at the Cooper Institute and formed The Women's Central Association for Relief, with the late Dr. Valentine Mott as President. Auxiliary associations of women were formed all over the free-labor States; and very soon there was such a perfect system of relief organized, that all demands were promptly met. As the war went on it was discovered that a better system was needed, to have an official connection with the War Department; and after much effort, The United States Sanitary Commission was organized, with Rev. Henry W. Bellows, D.D., as president. Out of this spontaneous movement of the women at the beginning also grew The United States Christian Commission, a sturdy outgrowth of the Young Men's Christian Associations of the country. A brief history of these commissions will be given hereafter.

A great work of Christian benevolence, begun at this time in Philadelphia, went on through the war. That city lay in the pathway of troops going to Washington from the East. They crossed the Delaware at Camden, landed at Washington avenue, and took cars for the South. Many of them, sought in vain for food before leaving on the railway trains. One morning, the wife of a mechanic, living near where the soldiers landed, touched by their condition, went out with her pot of coffee and a cup and distributed its contents among them. The generous hint was a prolific germ of charity. Other women in the neighborhood imitated the example of the mechanic's wife; and very soon they formed a Committee of Relief to give refreshments systematically to passing soldiers. Gentlemen in the neighborhood interested themselves in procuring supplies, and these were distributed in the shade of trees near a cooper-shop. Then the owner (Mr. Cooper) generously gave the use of his shop for a refreshment saloon, and very soon whole regiments were fed there at tables bountifully supplied with food and coffee by the contributions of the citizens of Philadelphia. The room was not spacious enough, and another "saloon" was opened the next day after that at the cooper-shop, and called the Union Volunteer Refreshment Saloon. The generous citizens of Philadelphia supplied these saloons so liberally, that a bountiful meal was furnished to

every soldier who applied, during four years. The number fed at the two saloons was about twelve hundred thousand. Of that number, seven hundred and fifty thousand soldiers were fed at The Union Volunteer Saloon. Full forty thousand had a night's lodging there, and fifteen thousand refugees and freedmen were cared for and employment found for them. A hospital was attached to the saloon, and in it twenty thousand soldiers had their wounds dressed. At all hours of the day and night devoted women were in readiness to prepare meals and wait upon passing soldiers, whenever a little signal-gun, warning them of the approach of troops, was fired. Who can estimate the vast sum of relief afforded during the war by the hands of patriotic, warm-hearted, sympathetic women?

The firemen of Philadelphia also did noble work. When sick and wounded soldiers began to be brought to the Government hospitals in Philadelphia, the Medical Department often found it difficult to provide vehicles to take them from the vessels to their destination, and there was much suffering on account of delays. The sympathetic firemen of the city made arrangements to give a signal when invalid soldiers arrived, when they would turn out with wagons to convey them to the hospitals. Finally, the Northern Liberties Engine Company had a fine ambulance constructed for the purpose. Other fire companies of the city followed the example; and in these ambulances, one hundred and twenty thousand soldiers were conveyed tenderly from vessels to the hospitals, during the war.

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Overview of Our Country: Volume 6

A history of the United States from the discovery of America to the present time (1905). Volume 6 of 8 covers the Confederates in Virginia through reorganization of the Union, the Centennial Exhibition, and the assassination of President Garfield.

Chapter CXVIII

Confederates in Virginia - National Troops in Western Virginia - McClellan's Campaign - Secessionists Repressed in Baltimore - Confederate Privateers - Troops near Washington - Manassas Junction - Petterson Crosses the Potomac - Movements of National Troops - Battle at Blackburn's Ford - Battle of Bull's Run and Its Effects - War in the West - General Lyon's Campaign - Military Operations in Missouri - Death of Lyon - Union Movement - Movements of a Disloyal Governor.

THE gathering of Confederate troops at Manassas, under Beauregard, required prompt and vigorous action on the part of the Government. The main Confederate army was there. Johnston was at Winchester, with a large body, ready to reinforce Beauregard at any moment, unless prevented by General Patterson, who was at Martinsburg early in July, with eighteen thousand Nationals, keenly watching the movements of the Confederates. From their grand encampment at Manassas, the latter had sent out detachments along the line of the Upper Potomac from Georgetown to Leesburg, menacing various points, and foraging. At Vienna they had a severe skirmish (June 17) with an Ohio regiment, and were repulsed; and there the flag of the "Sovereign State of South Carolina" was first seen on a battle-field. The Confederates soon returned and took possession of Vienna and Falls Church Village, and the latter became famous for stirring scenes afterward. It was ten days after this event that Captain Ward of the Freeborn, was killed at Matthias Point.

The Confederates now put forth all their available strength to hold the mountain regions of Virginia. The Baltimore and Ohio Railway was guarded by National troops; and about twenty thousand of these from Ohio, Indiana and Virginia, were at Grafton, under the command of General George B. McClellan, at the beginning of July. Porterfield had been superseded by General R. S. Garnett, in command of the Confederate forces in Western Virginia, with his headquarters at Beverly and outlying posts at Bealington, Philippi, Buckhannon, and Romney. In the Great Kanawha region, a considerable body of Confederates were led by Ex-Governor H. A. Wise, where he was confronted by Ohio troops under General J. D. Cox. At the same time McClellan began offensive operations. He led ten thousand men to attack Garnett at Laurel Hill,

near Beverly; and sent four thousand men under General T. A. Morris toward the same point, by way of Philippi. Another body under General Hill was sent to a point eastward of Philippi, to prevent the escape of the insurgents over the Alleghany Mountains to join Johnston at Winchester.

When the Nationals approached Garnett's position, it was ascertained that Colonel John Pegram, with a considerable body of Confederates, was strongly intrenched in Rich Mountain Gap in the rear of his chief. McClellan immediately dispatched Colonel (afterward General) W. S. Rosecrans, with a body of Ohio and Indiana foot soldiers and a troop of cavalry, in light marching order, to dislodge Pegram. By a circuitous and perilous mountain march in the darkness, and under a heavy rainstorm, they made their way to the top of a ridge of Rich Mountain, above Pegram's camp and only a mile from it (July 11, 1861); but they were not unobserved. Pegram had discovered their approach, and now attacked them furiously with nine hundred men armed with muskets and cannon. A severe engagement ensued. The Confederates were repulsed and for his gallantry on that occasion Rosecrans was commissioned a brigadier-general.

The National troops were in a perilous situation on Rich Mountain, for Pegram confronted them with an overwhelming force. McClellan had heard the sounds of battle, and pushed forward with troops for their relief. Pegram did not wait to be attacked, but stole away in the night, and so uncovered Garnett's rear. Advised of this fact, Garnett also withdrew in the darkness, leaving most of his cannon, tents and wagons behind, and fled toward Huttonsville. Headed off by McClellan, his forces were scattered in the mountains of the Cheat River region. Meanwhile Pegram and six hundred of his followers had surrendered (July 14) to McClellan. The other fugitives were pursued by General Morris, accompanied by Captain H. W. Benham (McClellan's chief engineer), and were overtaken at Carricksford, on a branch of the Cheat River. There a sharp engagement occurred, when Garnett was killed and his forces were dispersed. Another portion of Garnett's troops had fled toward Staunton, pursued to the summit of the Cheat Range, where an Indiana regiment established an outpost. Meanwhile Cox had driven Wise out of the Kanawha region, and at the middle of July (1861) the war in Western Virginia seemed to be at an end. On the 19th, McClellan said, in a despatch to the War Department, "We have completely annihilated the enemy in Western Virginia. Our loss is about thirteen killed and not more than forty wounded; while the enemy's loss is not far from two hundred killed; and the number of prisoners we have taken will amount to at least one thousand. We have captured seven of the guns of the enemy, in all."

The Confederates were not disposed to abandon the granary that would supply Eastern Virginia, without another struggle. General Robert E. Lee succeeded Garnett in the chief command in that region. John B. Floyd, the treacherous National Secretary of War, had succeeded Wise as a leader; but he, too, was now superseded by a better man, and after awhile the war in the mountain region of Virginia was renewed. McClellan had been called to the command of the Army of the Potomac, and was succeeded in Western Virginia by General Rosecrans.

At the beginning of June, it was manifest that a powerful combination of Secessionists in Baltimore were preparing to act with the armed insurgents in Virginia, in efforts to seize the National capital. The Legislature of the State were in sympathy with the Confederates, and a committee of that body assured Jefferson Davis that the people of Maryland were with him in sentiment. The National Government took energetic measures to avert the evil. General N. P. Banks was appointed to the command of the Department of Annapolis, with his headquarters in Baltimore; and he was so satisfied of a conspiracy ripening there, that he sent a force of armed men into the city, who arrested Chief of Police Kane and put him into Fort McHenry. At the same time Banks proclaimed that he had appointed Colonel (afterward General) John R. Kenly, of the First Regiment of Maryland Volunteers, provost-marshal. Kenly was a well-known and highly respected citizen of Baltimore, and acted with wisdom and energy. He was put at the head of the Police Department; but the old Board of Police Commissioners, who were Secessionists, refused to acknowledge him and defied the Government. They were arrested and sent as prisoners of State to Fort Warren in Boston harbor, and very soon afterward the Unionists of Maryland were encouraged to assert their loyalty. Banks withdrew the troops, and thereafter Maryland was justly counted one of the loyal States of the Union yet for three years the Confederates were deceived by a belief that the people were Secessionists at heart. But the delusion was dispelled when, in 1863, General Lee invaded the State, set up his standard, and expected thousands would rally around it. On the contrary, he lost manifold more men by desertion than he gained by recruiting.

We have observed that Jefferson Davis issued commissions to privateers, and that a Confederate naval bureau was established. The first vessel of the Confederate navy was named the Lady Davis; and when the National Congress assembled on the 4th of July, there were no less than twenty Confederate armed vessels afloat and depredating upon the commerce of the United States. So early as the 1st of June they had sent twenty vessels, captured on the sea, into the port of New Orleans alone, as prizes. One of these privateers (the Savannah) was captured, and her crew were tried and condemned as pirates; but the Government found it expedient to treat them as prisoners of war. Another (the Petrel) went out of Charleston harbor and mistaking the United States frigate Lawrence for a richly-laden merchantman, attempted to capture her. She opened her ports, and instantly the Petrel became a wreck. A flash of fire, a thunder-peal, the crash of timbers and engulfment in the sea, was the experience of a minute for her crew, four of whom were drowned, while the vessel went swiftly to the bottom of the ocean. Other privateers active during the war will be noticed hereafter.

It was now midsummer, 1861. A large body of troops were gathered around the National capital. General Irwin McDowell was in command of the Department of Virginia, with his headquarters at Arlington House. At Manassas Junction, about half way between the eastern range of the Blue Ridge and the Potomac at Alexandria, and thirty miles from Washington, were about forty thousand Confederate troops. It was considered the strongest military position between Washington and Richmond, and is connected with the capital of Virginia and the fertile Shenandoah Valley by railways. It was fortified by strong redoubts on which were mounted heavy Dahlgren guns, which the insurgents had seized at the Gosport Navy-yard, and these were managed by naval officers who had deserted their flag. At Winchester, Johnston had almost as

strong a force, to prevent McClellan and his troops issuing from the mountain region and joining Patterson on the Potomac.

The loyal people had become impatient because of the delay of the troops at the capital in moving against the insurgents. They were delighted when, on the afternoon of the 16th of July, the telegraph spread the news over the land that fifty thousand soldiers, under General McDowell, had begun to move toward Manassas, leaving fifteen thousand behind to guard the capital. They were in five divisions, commanded respectively by Brigadier-Generals Daniel Tyler and Theodore Runyon, and Colonels David Hunter, Samuel P. Heintzelman, and Dixon S. Miles. The Confederate forces against whom they moved were distributed along Bull's Run, a tributary of the Occoquan, from Union Mills, where the orange and Alexandria Railway crosses the stream, to the stone-bridge on the Warrenton turnpike, a distance of about eight miles, with reserves near Manassas Junction. They also had an outpost at Centreville, and slight fortifications at Fairfax Court-House, ten miles from their main army, in the direction of Washington.

General Patterson was at Martinsburg, charged with the duty of keeping General Johnston from reinforcing Beauregard. He had crossed the Potomac at Williamsport on the 2nd of July; and near Falling Waters, his advance-guard under Colonel Abercrombie, chiefly composed of Wisconsin and Pennsylvania troops, horse and foot, with a section of a battery, encountered Johnston's advance led by "Stonewall" Jackson, assisted by I. E. B. Stuart and his afterward famous cavalry corps. They fought sharply for half an hour, when Colonel George H. Thomas's brigade, coming to the support of Abercrombie, caused the Confederates to flee. They were hotly pursued five miles, when a heavy Confederate force appearing, the chase was abandoned. On the following day General Patterson and his army entered Martinsburg, and were speedily reinforced by troops under General Sandford of New York. There he remained in enforced inaction for a fortnight.

The aged General Scott was too feeble in mind and body to take command in the field, and that imbecility caused disaster. The duty devolved upon General McDowell. The latter ordered General Tyler to advance to Vienna on the evening of the 16th of July; and early the next morning the remainder of the army moved in four columns, with the intention, by making feints, to throw the Confederates off their guard, gain their rear, seize the railway, and compel both Beauregard and Johnston to fall back from their positions, so menacing to the seat of Government. But spies and traitors, yet swarming in Washington, kept Beauregard continually advised not only of the movements, but of the intentions of the National troops. There were traitors, evidently, in possession of the secrets of the office of the General-in-Chief, for a copy of a military map was found in a deserted Confederate camp only two days after the original was completed.

McDowell's columns moved by different roads, without much opposition. They entered the village of Fairfax Court-House unopposed; and when they approached Centreville, the Confederates fled. The Nationals were in high spirits, for it appeared as if the march to Richmond would be a pleasant excursion. But Beauregard was alluring them into a perilous position, as they found, on the 18th, when General Tyler made a reconnaissance in force at Blackburn's Ford, on

Bull's Run, which was guarded by General James Longstreet with a strong force of men and concealed batteries. A severe conflict ensued, in which Michigan, Massachusetts, and New York troops, with Ayers's battery, were engaged. At length the Nationals, defeated, withdrew to Centreville; and McDowell was satisfied that his plan for gaining the rear of the Confederates was impracticable.

The affair at Blackburn's Ford revealed the strength of the Confederates, and McDowell perceived the necessity for an immediate and vigorous attack upon the enemy, for the term of enlistment of about ten thousand of his troops was about to expire. He then had thirty-five thousand men under his immediate command. These were massed around Centreville ready to move; but for want of needed supplies they were detained until the close of the 20th, when the army had begun to melt away from the cause just mentioned.

At two o'clock the next morning (July 21, 1861) the troops moved from Centreville in three columns, the moon shining brightly, to attack the left flank of the Confederates. General Tyler, with the brigades of Schenck and Sherman, and the batteries of Ayres and Carlisle, moved on the Warrenton turnpike toward the stone-bridge, leaving Miles and Richardson to watch and guard Blackburn's Ford. The object was to make a feigned attack near the bridge, while the two columns of Hunter and Heintzelman should cross Bull's Run at Sudley Church, and fall upon the Confederate left. These movements were very slow; and General McDowell, who was ill, and in a carriage, becoming impatient, mounted his horse and with his cavalry escort, commanded by Colonel A. G. Brackett, he rode forward, passed the two columns toiling along a rough forest road, and first entered the open field which became a battle-ground.

Meanwhile important movements had been made on the Confederate side, of which McDowell was ignorant. When he advanced to Fairfax Court-House, Beauregard informed Davis, at Richmond, of the movement, who ordered Johnston to hasten to join the forces at Manassas with the army of the Shenandoah. It was necessary for Johnston to fight and defeat Patterson or elude him. He accomplished the latter, and with six thousand infantry he hastened to Manassas, where he arrived at noon on the 20th, the remainder of his army following at a slower pace. This reinforcement made Beauregard's army outnumber McDowell's by four thousand men, and being strongly fortified, he had an important advantage. Johnston, the senior in rank, took chief command.

General Tyler opened the memorable battle by firing a shell among the Confederates near the stone-bridge, commanded by Colonel Evans. Others followed; and Beauregard, believing it to be a real attack, sent reinforcements to Evans. At the same time Johnston ordered a quick and vigorous attack upon McDowell's left wing at Blackburn's Ford, not doubting, because of the superior force of Confederates in that quarter, that they would win a complete victory. The assailants were led by General Ewell. The movement miscarried; and from an eminence Johnston and Beauregard watched the opening conflict with great anxiety. A cloud of dust seen far to the northward gave Johnston apprehensions that Patterson, when he discovered the departure of the army of the Shenandoah, had given chase or was hastening to reinforce McDowell.

Colonel Evans was soon satisfied that Tyler's attack and the cannonade below was only a feint. He had been informed of the march of heavy columns through the forests on his left, and before ten o'clock scouts told him that one column was crossing Bull's Run at Sudley Church. It was Hunter's, composed of Rhode Island, New Hampshire and Massachusetts troops, with the batteries of Griffin and Reynolds, the whole led by Colonel Burnside. Evans at once prepared to meet them and General Bee, who commanded reserves, was sent forward to assist him. Very soon the Nationals appeared in the open field, and a battle began. Only a small stream in a little vale separated the combatants. Hard pressed, Evans's line began to waver, when General Bee advanced with fresh troops and gave it strength. The National line then began to tremble, and Burnside called for help. Colonel Andrew Porter responded by sending a battalion of regulars under Major Sykes.

The battle now raged furiously. Hunter was severely wounded and Colonel Slocum of Rhode Island was killed, when the youthful Sprague, governor of the little Commonwealth, took command of the troops from that State. At length Porter came up with his men and poured such a heavy fire upon Evans's left, that his line again began to bend. At that moment the head of Heintzelman's column appeared; also Sherman's brigade, whom Tyler had sent, under Colonel Corcoran, to assist Burnside. These reinforcements were timely; for the Nationals, who had been on their feet since midnight, were nearly exhausted.

A furious charge made by a New York regiment under Colonel H. W. Slocum, shattered the bending Confederate line, and the troops fled in confusion to a plateau whereon General T. J. Jackson had just arrived with reserves. "They are beating us back!" exclaimed General Bee. "Well, sir," calmly replied Jackson, "we will give them the bayonet." Bee was encouraged. "Form! form! he cried to the fugitives. "There stands Jackson like a stone wall." The effect of these words was wonderful. Their flight was checked, and order was soon brought out of confusion. Ever afterward, the calm general was called Stonewall Jackson."

It was now noon. Alarmed by the unexpected strength of the Nationals, Johnston and Beauregard sent bodies of troops, under Holmes, Early, and Ewell, in the direction of the sounds of battle, four miles distant. The two commanders hastened to the plateau, when Johnston, the chief by seniority, after reorganizing the shattered columns, left Beauregard in command on the field and hastened to a position from which he had a view of the whole area of operations and of the country toward Manassas, whence reinforcements from the Shenandoah Valley were momentarily expected. Without these, he had small hope of success. From his new position he also sent forward reinforcements and at two o'clock in the afternoon, when the conflict was renewed, the Confederates had ten thousand soldiers, with twenty-two heavy guns in battle order on the plateau. Meanwhile the Nationals had been preparing for the struggle. At one o'clock they had gained possession of the Warrenton Turnpike, the grand objective of the march against the Confederate left but their enemies must be driven from the plateau before victory would be secured. To accomplish this five brigades, namely, Porter's, Howard's, Franklin's, Wilcox's and Sherman's, with the batteries of Rickett's, Griffin and Arnold, and cavalry under Major Palmer, were to turn the Confederate left, while Keyes was sent to annoy them on the right.

Colonel Heintzelman accompanied McDowell as his lieutenant on the field, and his division began the attack. They pressed forward in the face of a storm of balls from batteries, and gained possession of a portion of the plateau. There was an elevation near that commanded the whole plateau, and McDowell ordered Ricketts and Griffin to plant their batteries upon it, with the immediate support of Ellsworth's Fire Zouaves, under Colonel Farnham. It was accomplished, while New York, Massachusetts and Minnesota troops took a position to the left of the batteries. As the artillery and Zouaves went boldly forward in the face of a severe fire from the enemy, they were suddenly attacked on the flank by Alabamians in ambush, and then by two companies of Stuart's Black-horse cavalry, in the rear. The Zouaves recoiled, and the horsemen dashed entirely through the shattered column. Colonel Farnham rallied his men, and with some assistance they attacked the Confederate horsemen so furiously that they were dispersed.

When the Zouaves gave way, Heintzelman ordered up a Minnesota regiment to the support of the batteries. Suddenly the Confederates, in overwhelming force, delivered a murderous fire that disabled the batteries by prostrating the men, when the struggle for the plateau became fearful. Both sides suffered dreadfully. Johnston heard of the slaughter and lost heart. He had ordered Early up, at eleven o'clock, with three fresh regiments, but they did not come. It was now three o'clock. "Oh for four regiments!" said Johnston, bitterly, to Colonel Cocke. His wish was more than satisfied. Just then he saw a cloud of dust in the direction of the Manassas Gap Railway. It was caused by a part of his own Shenandoah army, four thousand strong, under General E. Kirby Smith. They were received with joy, and were ordered into action immediately. Beauregard's force was almost doubled by these and other fresh troops; and the blow that now smote McDowell's troops, just as they were about to grasp the palm of victory, was sudden, unexpected, heavy, and overpowering. In fifteen minutes the Nationals were swept from the plateau. As regiment after regiment gave way and hurried toward the turnpike in confusion, panic seized others, and at four o'clock a greater portion of the National army were flying across Bull's Run toward Centreville. With many it was not a retreat but a disorderly rout. They left behind them over three thousand men killed, wounded, or made prisoners. The Confederates lost over two thousand. The Confederate congress had assembled at Richmond the day before; and Jefferson Davis, who arrived on the battle-field just as the flight began, sent back to his associates an exultant shout of victory, by the telegraph. It was echoed, in varying notes, over the Confederacy, while the vanquished army was hastening, in fragments, back to the defence of the capital. For a moment the gloom of deep despondency settled upon the hearts of the loyal portion of the nation.

The gravity of the occasion was so little appreciated, that when it was known at Washington that McDowell was to attack Beauregard on Sunday, the 21st, scores of men, and even women - Congressmen, officials of every grade, and plain citizens - went out in carriages as to a spectacular show for amusement. Passes from military commanders were like tickets to a Roman gladiatorial combat in the circus; and the vicinity of the battle-field was gay, on Sunday morning, with civilians, who indulged in wine and cigars at the headquarters of Colonel Miles at Centreville. The heights there were crowded with spectators; and as the battle went on, and "bombs bursted in air," their cheeks were made to glow with delicious excitement. Before night those cheeks were made pale by terror as the crowd of spectators rushed back, pell-mell, toward

places of safety, pursued by the Confederates. Soldiers and citizens and well-dressed women were mingled in picturesque confusion in the line of fugitives who crowded the highways. In several places the roads were blocked with overturned vehicles or abandoned cannon; and horses and human kind seemed equally eager to escape from the whirlwind of destruction that followed in fury behind them for awhile. But the pursuit of the Confederates was soon stayed by misinformation. Had they pressed on, their coveted prize, the National capital, might have been in their possession before Monday morning.

The battle at Bull's Run depressed the loyal people only for a moment, and there was a quick rebound from despair to hope. Another uprising by the loyalists in favor of the Union took place, and the gaps in the National armies were more than filled within a fortnight by new recruits. The Confederates were weakened by their victory, for it gave them undue confidence in their strength and prowess, and made them neglect to profit by it. But circumstances soon afterward caused a "solid South" to be arrayed against the National Government, and the Confederate armies were wonderfully sustained by their people.

General Patterson was unjustly censured for his failure to hold Johnston at Winchester or to reinforce McDowell. When the truth was made known by positive testimony, it appeared clear that he did all an obedient soldier, bound by instructions, could do under the circumstances, and the public mind was satisfied.

While the events we have just considered were occurring in the East, the war was making rapid progress in the West, especially in Missouri, where General Lyon, as we have seen, had taken vigorous measures to quell the rebellion. The disloyal governor of Missouri, who raised the standard of revolt at Jefferson City, fled westward with troops who were led by General Price, and took a stand at near Booneville. There they were attacked by Lyon and defeated, when they retreated toward the southwestern portion of Missouri, and halted not far from the Arkansas border. Lyon now held military control over the whole region northward of the Missouri River, and east of a line from Booneville to the Arkansas border, thus giving to the Government the important points of St. Louis, Hannibal, St. Joseph, and Bird's Point on the Mississippi, as bases of operations, with railways and rivers for transportation. General Lyon remained about a fortnight at Booneville preparing for a vigorous campaign against the insurgents whom Jackson was gathering around him in southwestern Missouri. He issued a proclamation which quieted the people and strengthened the Union cause, for he assured them that his Government had no other end in view than the maintenance of its authority over the persons and property of the whole people of the State.

On the 1st of July (1861) there were at least ten thousand loyal troops in Missouri, and as many more might have been thrown into it from camps in Illinois, in the space of forty-eight hours. At the same time, Colonel Franz Sigel, a German soldier and patriot, was pushing eager soldiers toward insurgent camps on the borders of Kansas and Arkansas. On the 5th of July he encountered a considerable force under Jackson and Brigadier-General Rains, near Carthage. Their force was much greater in number than his own, and after a sharp fight he was pressed back

and retreated in good order to Springfield. Lyon, who was then at the head of a small force, eighty miles from Springfield, satisfied of Sigel's peril, hastened forward to his relief, by forced marches, and encamped not far from him on the 13th of July and took command of the combined forces. In the meantime troops from Texas under Generals McCulloch, Rains, Pearce and McBride, had joined Price, making his whole force about twenty thousand men. They were now marching on Springfield. To confront them Lyon had not more than six thousand men, horse and foot (the former about five hundred in number), and eighteen pieces of artillery. With this comparatively feeble force Lyon went out to meet his enemies, and at Dug Springs, about nineteen miles west from Springfield, they met and fought a desperate battle on the 2nd of August. The Confederates were led by General Rains. So furious was the charge of Lyon's cavalry, in the engagement, led by Captain Stanley, that Confederate prisoners seriously inquired: "Are they men or devils?" The Confederates were beaten and fled to Wilson's Creek, about ten miles south of Springfield, where they encamped on the evening of the 9th wearied and half-starved. The Confederates anxiously sought rest and refreshment, but Lyon would not grant them the boon. Before the dawn the next morning he marched against them in two columns, one led by himself to fall upon their front; the other, under Sigel, twelve hundred strong, with six field-pieces, to attack their rear. A battle began at an early hour. Lyon's column bore the brunt of the conflict. His words and deeds inspired his men to fight valiantly. Wherever the storm of battle was raging fiercest, there Lyon was seen. Very early in the severe engagement, his horse was shot under him. Then he received a wound in the leg. Another in the head soon followed and partially stunned him. Mounting the horse of one of Major Sturgis's orderlies, and placing himself at the head of Kansas troops, he swung his hat over his head, and called upon the men to follow. While dashing forward with a determination to gain the victory, a rifle-ball passed through his body, near his heart, and he expired in a few minutes. The conflict continued about two hours longer, and at eleven o'clock it ceased, the Confederates, discomfited, withdrawing from the field. The loss of Nationals in the battle was between twelve and thirteen hundred, and of the Confederates full three thousand. The former fell back to Springfield, and the next morning (August 11) the whole Union force, under the general command of Sigel, retreated from Springfield to Rolla, one hundred and twenty-five miles in the direction of St. Louis, safely conducting a Government train valued at \$1,500,000.

When Governor Jackson set up the standard of revolt at the capital of Missouri, the loyal men of the Commonwealth tried to stay the hand of secession. They had held a State Convention in February, at which no openly avowed disunionist appeared. That Convention reassembled at Jefferson City, on the 22nd of July, and declared the government of which Jackson was the head, to be illegal. They organized a provisional government for service until a permanent one might be established by the people. The Convention issued an address to the inhabitants, in which the treason of the governor was exposed. Meanwhile General Pillow, by invitation of the governor, had entered the Commonwealth at the head of Tennessee troops to act in concert with M. Jefferson Thompson, the leader of the State militia. The shallow Pillow, vain as he was incompetent, assumed the pompous title of "Liberator of Missouri," and dated his orders and despatches, "Headquarters Army of Liberation." Missouri was not annexed to the Confederacy; but persons claiming to represent that State, sat in the Confederate Congress at Richmond during

a greater part of the period of the Civil War.

Chapter CXIX

Fremont in Missouri - Siege and Fall of Lexington - Kentucky Neutrality Violated by the Confederates - Events in Eastern Kentucky - Buckner's Raid - Fremont Superseded - Battle at Belmont - Military Movements in Northwestern Virginia - Lee, Floyd and Wise - Civil War Ended in West Virginia - Capture of Hatteras Forts - Events near Fort Pickens and Southwest Pass - Operations on the Coast of South Carolina - McClellan in Command - "On to Richmond!" - Boldness of the Confederates - They are Pushed Back - Battle at Ball's Bluff.

John C. Fremont, the eminent explorer and meritorious soldier, who was in Europe when the war began, after purchasing arms for the Government there, hastened home and was commissioned major-general of volunteers. On the 6th of July, he was appointed to the command of the Department of Missouri, with his headquarters at St. Louis, where, in consequence of General Lyon having taken the field in person, he found everything in confusion. He entered upon his duties with vigor. He caused St. Louis to be fortified; and Bird's Point, opposite Cairo, on the Mississippi, was made secure from the operations of the Confederates.

When, on the death of General Lyon and the retreat of the National troops from Springfield toward St. Louis, Fremont perceived the secession element in Missouri to be strong and defiant, he took the civil as well as the military power in his department into his own hands, and soon caused his opponents to act with circumspection. He proclaimed martial-law, and assured the disaffected that it would be vigorously enforced. His energy created jealousies; and such misrepresentations were laid before his Government that his actions, which promised the best results, were restrained, and the wholesome rigors of martial-law were removed.

Fremont had already formed a plan for ridding not only Missouri, but the whole Mississippi Valley, of armed insurgents, and for opening the navigation of the great river which was then obstructed by Confederate batteries at Memphis and elsewhere. His plan contemplated the capture or dispersion of troops under General Price, in Missouri, and the seizure of Little Rock, the capital of Arkansas. By so doing Fremont expected to turn the position of the forces under Pillow and others, in the vicinity of New Madrid, cut off their supplies from the southwest and compel them to retreat, at which time a flotilla of gun-boats then a-building near St. Louis, might descend the Mississippi and assist in military operations against the batteries at Memphis. In the event of this movement being successful, he proposed to push on toward the Gulf of Mexico, with his army, and take possession of New Orleans.

After the battle of Wilson's Creek, General McCulloch, the Texan leader, abandoned General Price, because they could not agree, when the latter, in sole command, called upon the Secessionists to fill up his ranks. They responded with alacrity; and at the middle of August, Price moved northward in the direction of Lexington, which was situated in a curve of the Missouri River. It occupied an important position, and was garrisoned by less than three thousand troops under Colonel James A. Mulligan. Early in September, when Price had reached its vicinity, Mulligan resolved to defend the place, with his small army, and cast up intrenchments around his

camp. At that time a larger Union force was at the State capital, under Colonel Jefferson C. Davis, and General John Pope was coming down from the country northward of the Missouri River, with five thousand more. Price perceived his danger, and pressing vigorously forward, besieged Lexington on the 11th of September, with twenty thousand men, which number soon increased to twenty-five thousand, by reinforcements. Mulligan was inadequately supplied with heavy guns and ammunition to sustain a siege; and after a gallant defence of the post against overwhelming numbers, until the morning of the 20th, he was compelled to surrender. This disaster was severely felt by the Unionists; and Fremont, resolving to retrieve it, at once put in motion an army of more than twenty thousand men to drive Price and his followers out of Missouri.

Early in the summer the disloyal governor of Kentucky declared that arrangements had been made at Cincinnati, with General McClellan, that neither National nor Confederate troops should enter Kentucky. McClellan denied the truth of the assertions; but for several months the neutrality of Kentucky was as much respected as if such an arrangement was in force; and the purposes of the governors of Kentucky and Tennessee were promoted, for it gave them more time to prepare for war. In the meantime Pillow had been unsuccessfully trying to capture Cairo by military operations in Missouri. He urged the seizure of the bluff at Columbus, in Western Kentucky, from which he believed he might take Cairo in reverse, turn its guns upon Bird's Point, drive out and disperse the Nationals, and so make a free passage for the Confederates to St. Louis. The solemn pledges of his masters to respect Kentucky neutrality, restrained Pillow; but in September (1861) the Confederates resolved to violate that neutrality. General (Bishop) Polk, seized the strong position at Columbus, with a considerable body of troops, under the pretext that National forces were preparing to occupy that place. The Confederate secretary of war publicly telegraphed to Polk to withdraw his troops; and at the same time Jefferson Davis privately telegraphed to him to hold on, saying: "The necessity must justify the means." So Columbus was held by the Confederates. The loyal members of the Kentucky Legislature requested the governor to call out the militia of the State to expel the invaders, and asked the National Government to aid him. The governor did nothing; but General Ulysses S. Grant, then in command of the district around Cairo, took military possession of Paducah, in Northern Kentucky, at the mouth of the Tennessee River. The seizure of Columbus by the Confederates, opened the way to all the horrors of war which Kentucky suffered; and the occupation of Paducah by National troops ended the neutrality of that State. Thenceforth Kentucky was numbered among the loyal States.

On the day after Polk seized Columbus, a Confederate force under General Zollicoffer (formerly a member of Congress), invaded Kentucky from East Tennessee, where the loyalists were suffering peculiar hardships at the hands of the Secessionists. At the same time, Simon B. Buckner, who had been placed in command of the professed "neutral" Kentucky State Guard, formed a Confederate camp in Tennessee, just below the Kentucky border, and, acting in cooperation with Polk and Zollicoffer, attempted to seize Louisville. He was foiled by the vigilance of General Anderson (late of Fort Sumter), who was in command there, with General W. T. Sherman as his lieutenant. Buckner fell back to Bowling Green, on the Nashville and Louisville Railroad, and there established a camp as a nucleus of a powerful Confederate force

that was gathered soon afterward.

Buckner's raid and the invasion of Zollicoffer aroused the Unionists of Eastern Kentucky, who flew to arms under various leaders. In an attack upon a camp of Kentucky, Indiana and Ohio troops, under Colonel Garrard, at the Rock Castle Hills, a picturesque region of the Cumberland Mountains, Zollicoffer was repulsed, on the 21st of October. Further eastward, near Picketon, the capital of Pike county, a Confederate force under John S. Williams was dispersed by some Union troops under General William Nelson, early in November. These successes inspired the loyalists of East Tennessee with hopes of a speedy deliverance from their oppressors; but they were compelled to wait long for relief, for toward the close of 1861 the Confederates had established a firm military foothold in Tennessee, and occupied a considerable portion of Southern Kentucky from the Cumberland Mountains to the Mississippi River, along a line about four hundred miles in length. They also occupied a greater portion of Missouri, south of the Missouri River.

Fremont was censured for his failure to reinforce Mulligan. The public knew very little of his embarrassments at that time. Pressing demands came for reinforcements, from General Grant at Paducah. Cries for help were heard at various points in his department; and a peremptory order was received from General Scott to forward five thousand troops immediately to Washington city, notwithstanding McClellan (who was in chief command there) had seventy thousand men within easy call. Fremont's forces did not, at any time, number more than fifty-six thousand, and these were scattered over his department. Chafing under unjust complaints, he proceeded to put his plan for ridding the Mississippi Valley of Confederate troops into operation at once. On the 27th of September, he put more than twenty thousand soldiers (five thousand of them cavalry) in motion under the respective commands of Generals Hunter, Pope, Sigel, McKinstry and Asboth, accompanied by eighty-six heavy guns. These five columns were moving southward early in October; and on the 11th, when his army was thirty thousand strong, Fremont wrote to his Government: My plan is New Orleans straight I would precipitate the war forward, and end it soon and victoriously."

Fremont felt confident of success. His army were in high spirits, and small victories were won by his detachments in various places. He had strengthened the forces in Eastern Missouri, so that St. Louis was safe and General Hardee at Greenville, and General Pillow near New Madrid, dared not advance. He knew the bitterness of his political enemies, and the jealousies of envious men and he was in continual expectation of interference with his plans. That interference soon came. False accusers, public and private, had such influence in the military councils at Washington that, just after his superb body-guard of one hundred and fifty cavalry, led by Zagonyi, a Hungarian, had charged upon and routed about two thousand Confederates, foot and horse, at Springfield, Fremont received an order from General Scott, directing him to turn over his command to General Hunter, then some distance in the rear. Hunter arrived just as the troops were about to attack Price. He countermanded Fremont's orders for battle; and nine days afterward General H. W. Halleck was placed in command of the Department of Missouri. The disappointed and disheartened army were turned back, and made a retrograde march to St. Louis in sullen sadness. Fremont was afterward presented with an elegant sword, inscribed: "T' the Pathfinder, by the Men

of the West."

Just before he was deprived of his command, Fremont ordered General Grant to move a cooperative force along the line of the Mississippi River. It was promptly done. A column, about three thousand strong, and composed chiefly of Illinois volunteers, under General John A. McClernand, went down from Cairo in transports and the wooden gun-boats Tyler and Lexington to menace Columbus by attacking the post at Belmont opposite; and at the same time another column, under General C. F. Smith, marched from Paducah to menace Columbus in the rear. Grant accompanied McClernand's column. The troops were landed on the morning of November 7th, three miles above Belmont, and pushed on for that post, while the gun-boats opened fire upon Columbus. General Polk, still in command there, acted with vigor and promptness. He sent Pillow across the river with troops to reinforce the garrison at Belmont. In a sharp battle that ensued, the Nationals won the victory, but, exposed to a sharp fire of artillery on the bluff at Columbus, that position was untenable; so, giving three cheers for the Union, they set fire to the Confederate camp, and withdrew with captured men, horses, and artillery. But Polk determined not to let the victors escape. He opened seven of his heaviest guns upon them, and at the same time sent over fresh troops under General Cheatham, and crossed over himself with two regiments, making the whole Confederate force about five thousand. There was a desperate struggle; but Grant fought his way back to his transports, and escaped under cover of a fire from the gun-boats. These were admirably handled in the engagement respectively by Commanders Walke and Stemple. The Nationals lost about five hundred men, and the Confederates over six hundred.

We have observed that the Confederates, though defeated in Western Virginia in the summer of 1861, resolved not to relinquish possession of that granary without another struggle. It occurred in the autumn of that year. The troops left by Garnett and Pegram were placed in charge of General Robert E. Lee, and early in August he was at the head of about sixteen thousand fighting men. John B. Floyd, the late Secretary of War, was sent with some troops to reinforce those under General Wise, and to take the chief command in the region of the Gauley River. Lee made his headquarters at Huntersville, in Pocahontas county, and he placed a strong guard on Buffalo Mountain, at the crossing of the Staunton turnpike. Much was expected from Floyd, for he promised much. It was expected that he would move swiftly down the Kanawha Valley, and drive General Cox across the Ohio River; while Lee should disperse the army of ten thousand men under Rosecrans, McClellan's successor, at Clarksburg, on the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, and so open a way for an invading force of Confederates into the States of Maryland, Pennsylvania, and Ohio. Floyd made his headquarters a few miles from Summersville.

Early in September, Rosecrans marched southward in search of Floyd. He scaled the Gauley Mountains with great difficulty, and on the 10th found his foe at Carnifex Ferry on the Gauley River. Rosecrans fell upon the Ex-Secretary furiously, and for three hours they fought desperately. The contest ceased at twilight; and during the night Floyd stole away under cover of darkness, and did not halt until he reached the summit of Big Sewell Mountain, thirty miles distant. Meanwhile the Nationals under General J. J. Reynolds, whom Rosecrans had left to

confront Lee in the Cheat Mountain region, were watching the roads and passes of the more westerly of the Alleghany range of hills. They observed that Lee's scouts were very active, and that he was evidently preparing to strike a blow somewhere. Finally the object of his movements was made clear, which was to attack the Nationals at Elkwater, and the outpost of Indiana troops on the summit of Cheat Mountain, so as to secure the Pass and have a free communication with the Shenandoah Valley, at Staunton. For that object Lee marched from Huntersville on the night of the 11th of September, with nine thousand men and nearly a dozen pieces of artillery, to strike the post at Elkwater, the Summit and the Pass at the same moment. A storm was sweeping over the mountains and favored the enterprise. But it was unsuccessful. Lee was repulsed at Elkwater and the Summit, when he withdrew and joined Floyd on Big Sewell Mountain between the forks of the Kanawha. Their combined forces numbered about twenty thousand men, and they were there confronted by about ten thousand Nationals under Rosecrans, assisted by Generals Cox, Schenck, and Benham.

Very soon afterward, General Lee, whose campaign had been a failure, was recalled and sent to Georgia. He was succeeded by Floyd. The incompetent Wise was also recalled. Floyd, as chief commander in Western Virginia, took post on New River, from which he was driven by Rosecrans on the 12th of November, and was pursued about fifty miles. Then he retired from the army, but reappeared in command at Fort Donelson not long afterward. Vigorous movements made by Generals Kelly and Milroy, toward the close of the year, were successful in dispersing the Confederate troops in Northwestern Virginia. A successful expedition sent against a Confederate post at Huntersville (Lee's old quarters) by Milroy, closed the campaign of 1861, in that region, and armed rebellion was effectually crushed in West Virginia.

In the summer of 1861, the Confederates built two forts on Hatteras Island, off the coast of North Carolina, which guarded the entrance to Hatteras Inlet, through which the British blockade-runners had begun to carry in supplies to the insurgents. General B. F. Butler, then in command at Fortress Monroe, proposed the sending of a land and naval force against these forts. It was undertaken late in August and when, toward the close of summer (just after the village of Hampton had been laid in ashes by Virginia troops under Magruder), Butler was succeeded in command at Fortress Monroe by the veteran General John E. Wool, the former volunteered to command the land forces for the purpose. An expedition, composed of eight transports and war-ships under Commodore Stringham, bearing almost nine hundred land troops commanded by Butler, left Hampton Roads for Hatteras Inlet on the 26th of August, and on the morning of the 28th the vessels of war opened fire upon the forts (Hatteras and Clarke) and some of the troops were landed. An assault by both arms of the service was kept up until the 29th, when the forts were surrendered, and the expedition returned to Hampton Roads, leaving a portion of Colonel Hawkins's New York Zouaves, with their commander, to garrison the captured post. During the siege, Mr. Fiske, acting aide-de-camp to General Butler, performed a gallant deed. When one of the forts (Clarke) was abandoned, he swam ashore, through heavy breakers, with orders for Colonel Weber, who was on the island. Fiske entered the evacuated fort, and found books and papers containing valuable information. These he formed into a package, strapped it high upon his shoulders, and swam back with them to the ship. The information they contained gave the

assailants great advantages.

The victory at Hatteras finally led to important results, as we shall perceive hereafter. The politicians of North Carolina had annexed that State to the Confederacy. A conciliatory address to the inhabitants, issued by Colonel Hawkins, led to a Convention on the Eastern Shore, which, on the 16th of November, 1861, adopted a declaration of independence of the Confederacy. It promised so much good that President Lincoln authorized the election of a Congressman from that district. But the heel of despotic power soon crushed this germ of active loyalty among four thousand inhabitants, and it almost disappeared for a time.

We have observed that Fort Pickens, on Santa Rosa Island off the harbor of Pensacola, was saved from the insurgents early in 1861, by the vigilance and bravery of Lieutenant Slemmer. He was furloughed for rest, and Colonel Harvey Brown took his place. The garrison was reinforced from time to time. In June, Wilson's Zouaves from New York arrived on Santa Rosa Island to assist in the defence of the fort, which the Confederates ardently coveted. The latter had gathered in large numbers on the main; and in October they attempted to surprise and capture Wilson's troops, on a dark night, landing and rushing upon their camp with the cry of "Death to Wilson! No quarter!" The Zouaves fought desperately in the gloom, and, with the aid of men from the fort, drove the assailants to their boats. The Confederates lost one hundred and fifty men the Nationals, sixty-four. Wilson's camp was burned by the enemy, and that was the most that the assailants achieved.

These events were followed, late in November, by a severe cannonade and bombardment of the Confederate works on the main, by Fort Pickens and war-vessels. There were seven thousand men under General Braxton Bragg, encamped behind these works and in a curved line from the Navy-yard to Fort McRee, a distance of about four miles. The works consisted of forts and batteries. In the course of forty-eight hours after the bombardment was begun, most of the heavy guns of the Confederates were silenced, and a greater portion of the Navy-yard and the villages of Wolcott and Warrington adjoining, were laid in ashes by shells from Fort Pickens. After that, for a few weeks, quiet prevailed in Pensacola Bay, when it was broken by another artillery duel on the 1st of January, 1862. It lasted about twelve hours, but with very little damage to either party.

Meanwhile a speck of war had appeared at the Southwest Pass at the mouth of the Mississippi River. Captain J. S. Hollins of the National navy, who had deserted his flag, was in command there of a Confederate "ram" an iron-clad gun-boat with a sharp and heavy iron beak to crush or punch holes in the sides of wooden vessels. It was called Manassas. With this formidable monster, which might have been very mischievous in competent hands, Hollins attacked the National blockading squadron under Captain Pope; but he was soon driven up the river to Fort Jackson, after doing slight damage to one or two of the vessels.

Late in the same month (October, 1861), another more formidable land and naval armament left Hampton Roads for a destination unknown to all but the chief commander. It was composed

of fifty war-ships and transports commanded by Admiral S. F. Dupont, and fifteen thousand land troops under General T. W. Sherman. Dupont's flag-ship, the Wabash, led the way out to sea, and each ship sailed under sealed orders to be opened in case of the dispersion of the fleet. A terrible tempest smote them off Cape Hatteras, and very soon only one vessel could be seen from the deck of the flag-ship. The sealed orders were opened, by which each commander was directed to rendezvous at Port Royal entrance, on the coast of South Carolina. There all but four transports, which were lost, were gathered around the Wabash on the evening of the 4th of November. Fortunately 110 human life perished with the transports lost.

The entrance to Port Royal Sound is between Hilton Head and Phillips's Island, and was guarded by a battery on each, erected by the Confederates. Within the Sound was a small flotilla of armed vessels commanded by the veteran Commodore Tattnall, late of the United States navy, who had espoused the Confederate cause. On the morning of the 7th of November, Dupont's ships attacked the guarding forts, the guns of which were soon silenced, when the fleet moved into the Sound and drove Tattnall's vessels into shallow water. The National forces took possession of Port Royal Island and the neighboring ones, and found them deserted by the planters and their families. Most of the slaves remained. They had refused to follow their masters, who tried to frighten them by horrible stories about the people of the North - the "Yankees" - who, they told them, were coming to steal and sell the negroes in Cuba, or to kill them and bury them in the sand. The colored people did not believe these tales; and when the National ships approached, and the masters and mistresses of the slaves fled in terror, these simple people - men, women and children - stood in groups on the sea-shore, with little bundles of clothing in their hands, desiring to go on board.

The last efforts of the Confederates to defend the Sea Islands below Charleston, where the most valuable cotton was raised, was made at Port Royal Ferry, between Port Royal Island and the main, on the 1st of January, 1862. After a severe conflict the Confederates were defeated and dispersed. Dupont, in the meantime, had taken possession of Big Tybee Island, near Fort Pulaski, at the mouth of the Savannah River; and before the close of 1861, the National authority was supreme over the coast islands from Warsaw Sound to the mouth of the North Edisto River. A fleet of twenty old wooden ships, chiefly whalers, heavily laden with rough blocks of granite, which had been sent from New England to be sunk in the four channels of the entrance to Charleston harbor, and so assist in the blockade services, arrived at their destination at about this time. It was when this "stone fleet" approached, that a fire which laid a large portion of Charleston in ashes (an event already mentioned), was raging. Quicksands swallowed the "stone fleet," and its services were of very little account.

We have seen that General McClellan was called from Western Virginia to take charge of the army of the Potomac, as the forces around Washington were called after the battle of Bull's Run. He assumed command on the 27th of July. He brought to the service youth, a spotless moral character, robust health, a sound theoretic military education with some practical experience, untiring industry, the prestige of recent success in the field, and the unlimited confidence of the loyal people. He found at his disposal about fifty thousand infantry, less than one thousand

cavalry, six hundred and fifty artillerymen, and thirty pieces of cannon. He was very popular, and was called a "Young Napoleon;" and when on the 1st of November, 1861, General Scott resigned his place as General-in-Chief of the armies, McClellan was appointed to fill that office. The act was hailed as a promise of a speedy termination of the conflict, for he had said that the war should be "short, sharp, and decisive." He thoroughly reorganized the army which had been shattered by the terrible blow of Bull's Run; and it was believed that Richmond, which had become the Confederate capital, would be in the possession of the National troops before the close of September.

The Confederates under General Johnston remained encamped at Manassas, and were compelled to be idle for want of cavalry and adequate subsistence while the National army was hourly increasing in strength at the rate of two thousand men a day from the teeming free-labor States, with ample supplies of munitions of war. Beauregard urged Johnston to attack the National fortifications which were rising around Washington, but the wise leader prudently refused; and while the hearts of the loyal people yearned to see a forward movement, and some of the newspapers raised and prolonged the insane cry of "On to Richmond!" the civil and military leaders of the Government, remembering the disaster at Bull's Run, were circumspect and cautious. For several months these two principal armies lay within thirty miles of each other, the quiet of camp life broken only by an occasional skirmish or midnight alarm. Detachments of Confederates reconnoitering, sometimes approached within a few miles of Washington; and they held possession of Munson's Hill, within six miles of the dome of the Capitol, as the bird flies. They also kept up the blockade of the Potomac River by batteries on the Virginia shore, already alluded to - a state of things not only perilous to the capital and the army that surrounded it, but exceedingly disgraceful to that great army. So felt the Government, and in September it was resolved to remove these obstructions. McClellan was ordered to co-operate with the naval force on the river, in the necessary business; but his unfortunate habit of procrastination paralyzed the efforts of the naval commanders, and the blockade was kept up until the Confederates voluntarily abandoned their position in front of Washington, in the spring of 1862.

When the Government ordered the removal of the blockade of the Potomac, the National troops began to push back the Confederate advance on the Virginia side of the river. Late in September the latter retired from Munson's Hill and struggles for the possession of the Upper Potomac occurred at Lewinsville in Virginia, and Darnestown in Maryland. In these struggles the Nationals won the victory; and by the middle of October (1861) they occupied a line from Fairfax Court-House well up toward Leesburg, and the most advanced outpost of the Confederates was at or near Centreville. Meanwhile some National troops had crossed the Potomac at Harper's Ferry to seize some wheat, when they were menaced by a large body of Confederates. Colonel (afterward General) Geary went over with reinforcements for the invaders, and on the hills back of the village he had a severe engagement with the insurgents, and repulsed them. Then all the Nationals recrossed the river with their spoils.

This event was soon followed by a more important one at Ball's Bluff, on the Upper Potomac. The left wing of the Confederate army was commanded by General (late Colonel) Evans. It lay at

Leesburg, and was confronted by a National force commanded by General Charles P. Stone, who were encamped between Conrad's and Edwards's ferries. His headquarters were at Poolesville. Misinformation had caused a belief that the Confederates had left Leesburg at a little past the middle of October, when McClellan ordered General McCall, who commanded the advance of the right of the National forces in Virginia, to move forward and occupy Drainsville. At the same time he ordered General Stone to co-operate with General McCall, which he did by making a feint of crossing the river at the two ferries above-named, on the afternoon of Sunday the 20th of October. At the same time a part of a Massachusetts regiment, under Colonel Devens, was ordered to take post on Harrison's Island in the Potomac, abreast of Ball's Bluff. Devens went with four companies in flat-boats taken from the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal. Three thousand men commanded by Colonel E. D. Baker, a member of the National Senate, acting as a brigadier, were held in readiness as a reserve, in the event of a battle.

These movements of the Nationals caused an opposing one on the part of the Confederates, who had watched their antagonists with keen vigilance, at a point of concealment not far off. Misinformed as to the position of the insurgents, and supposing McCall to be near enough to give aid, if necessary, Stone, on the morning of the 21st, ordered some Massachusetts troops under colonels Lee and Devens, to cross to the Virginia main, from Harrison's Island, to reconnoiter. They did not find the foe in the neighborhood. But Evans, unperceived, lay near with a strong force; and when the detachment fell back to the vicinity of Ball's Bluff, he attacked them. It was at a little past noon. Colonel Baker had been sent to Harrison's Island, with his reserves, invested with discretionary power to withdraw or reinforce the other troops. He concluded to go forward, supposing the forces of McCall and others to be near; and on reaching the field he took the chief command by virtue of his rank. Very soon afterward he was instantly killed by a bullet that pierced his brain. His troops, unsupported by others, were crushed by a superior force. Pressed back to the verge of the bluff and down the declivity, they fought desperately for awhile at twilight, for they had no means for transportation across the swollen flood. They were soon overpowered. A large number of the Nationals were made prisoners, and many perished in trying to escape by swimming in the dark. Some were shot in the water, and others were drowned. A large flat-boat, overloaded with the wounded and others, was riddled by bullets, and sank. In this affair, the Nationals lost full one thousand men and two pieced of artillery. The loss of Colonel Baker was irreparable. He was a genuine patriot, an acute statesman, and eloquent orator. His death caused sadness wherever his worth was appreciated.

Chapter CXX

Inaction of the Army of the Potomac - Capture of Mason and Slidell - Conduct of the British Government and Press - President Lincoln's Wisdom - Release of the Captives - Expedition to the Coast of North Carolina - Capture of Roanoke Island - Proclamation to the People of Eastern North Carolina - Department Commanders West of the Mississippi - Missouri Purged of Armed Insurgents - The Campaign in Missouri - Insurgents Chased into Arkansas - Battle of Pea Ridge - Military Operations in New Mexico - Battle at Valverde - Insurgents Expelled from New Mexico - Civil and military Transactions in Kentucky - Battle of Mill Spring - The Confederate Line Across Kentucky Broken and Shortened - Beauregard in the West.

For the space of almost two months after the battle at Ball's Bluff, the ears of the loyal people were vexed with the unsatisfying announcement made every morning, "All is quiet along the Potomac!" The autumn was dry and the roads in Virginia were never in a better condition for the movement of troops, and particularly of heavy artillery. Washington seemed to be perfectly secure, and there was an ample supply of troops not only for its defence, but to make an easy conquest of Richmond. At the close of the year (1861) there were full two hundred thousand men in the Army of the Potomac, while the Confederates that opposed them were never more than sixty thousand strong. The politicians sneeringly called the latter a mob, and plain people naturally wondered how such a rabble could hold so large an army of disciplined soldiers, under a "young Napoleon" who had promised that the war should be "short, sharp, and decisive," so long and so tightly in and near the National capital. They were impatient because of the delay in the promised forward movement of the Army of the Potomac; and there was a sense of relief that amounted to joyfulness, when, at near Christmas, the monotony was broken for a moment by a fight at Drainsville between the brigade of Nationals under General O. C. Ord, and a smaller force of Confederate foragers led by Colonel J. E. B. Stuart, the famous cavalry leader. The excitement was only momentary. The Confederates, worsted in the sharp conflict, fled, and the people were again teased with the daily croon - "All quiet along the Potomac" Their hearts were becoming sick with hopes deferred, when two events occurred which awakened the liveliest feelings of satisfaction in the public mind. These were the capture of two Confederate ambassadors and leading conspirators, and the permanent lodgement of the National power on the coast of North Carolina.

We have seen that the Confederates, at an early period in the contest, sent diplomatic agents to European courts. These proved to be incompetent, and the Confederate government undertook to correct the mistake by sending two of their ablest men to represent their cause at the courts of Great Britain and France, respectively. These were James M. Mason of Virginia, author of the Fugitive-Slave Act, and John Slidell, who was deeply interested in the scheme for opening the African slave-trade. The ambassadors, each accompanied by a secretary of legation, left Charleston harbor on a stormy night (the 12th of October, 1861), eluded the blockading squadron, and landed at Havana, Cuba, where they were cordially greeted by the British consul and other sympathizers. There they embarked for St. Thomas, in the British mail-steamer Trent, intending to go to England in the regular packet from the latter port. While the Trent was on her

way to St. Thomas, and when off the northern coast of Cuba, she fell in with the American war-ship San Facinto, Captain Wilkes, then on his way home from the coast of Africa. He touched at Havana, where he heard of the movements of the Confederate ambassadors. Satisfied that the English rule concerning neutrals and belligerents would justify him in seizing these two men on board the Trent, and transferring them to his own vessel, he had gone out in search of that steamship. He found her on the 8th of November, and brought her to by a shell fired across her bow. Then he sent Lieutenant Fairfax, a kinsman of Mason, on board the Trent to demand the delivery of the ambassadors and their secretaries to Captain Wilkes. The officers of the Trent protested, and the ambassadors refused to leave the ship unless forced by physical power to do so. Lieutenant Greer and a few marines were sent to the aid of Fairfax, who then took Mason by the shoulder and placed him in a boat belonging to the San Facinto. Then the lieutenant returned for Slidell. The passengers were greatly excited. They gathered around him, some making contemptuous allusions to the lieutenant, and some crying out, Shoot him. The daughter of Slidell slapped Fairfax in the face three times as she clung to the neck of her father. The marines were called, and Slidell and the two secretaries were compelled to go, when the Trent proceeded on her voyage to St. Thomas. The captive ambassadors were conveyed to Boston and confined in Fort Warren, as prisoners of State.

The act of Captain Wilkes was applauded by all loyal men. It was in exact accordance with the British interpretation of the law of nations, as exhibited theoretically and practically by that government, yet it made a great ado about the "outrage." By most of the writers on international law in the United States, instructed by the doctrines and practices of Great Britain, the essays of British publicists, the decisions of British courts, and by the law as laid down by the Queen's recent proclamation, the act of Captain Wilkes was decided to be abundantly justified; yet, with the same unseemly haste" that characterized the issuing of the royal proclamation on the 13th of the previous May, the British government prepared for war. It did not wait for a communication on the subject to be received from the United States, but made extensive provisions for hostilities preparatory to sending a peremptory demand for the release of the prisoners and the Tory press of Great Britain, conducted in the interest of the government, abused the Americans without stint. A single specimen from the columns of the London Times will suffice. Speaking of the courteous and accomplished gentleman, Captain Wilkes, the London Times said: He is, unfortunately, but too faithful a type of a people in whose foul mission he is engaged. He is an ideal Yankee. Swagger and ferocity, built upon a foundation of vulgarity and cowardice - these are his characteristics, and these are the most prominent marks by which his countrymen, generally speaking, are known all over the world. To bully the weak, to triumph over the helpless, to trample on every law of country and custom, wilfully to violate the most sacred interests of human nature, to defy as long as danger does not appear, and, as soon as real peril shows itself, to sneak aside and run away - these are the virtues of the race which presumes to announce itself as the leader of civilization and the prophet of human progress in these latter days. By Captain Wilkes, let the Yankee breed be judged."

While the British government was preparing for war, and our Congress was officially thanking Captain Wilkes for his conduct, and other public bodies were bestowing honors upon him, our

Government, acting upon the wise counsel of President Lincoln, and true to its long-cherished principles, proceeded to disavow the act of Wilkes and to release the prisoners. That act was in violation of a principle for the maintenance of which, as we have seen, the United States went to war with Great Britain - the principle that the flag of a neutral vessel is a protection to all beneath it. A few hours after the news of the capture reached Washington, the calm and thoughtful President said to the writer: I fear the traitors will prove to be white elephants. We must stick to American principles concerning the rights of neutrals. We fought Great Britain for insisting, by theory and practice, on the right to do precisely what Captain Wilkes has done. If Great Britain shall now protest against the act, and demand their release, we must give them up, apologize for the act as a violation of our doctrine, and thus forever bind her to keep the peace in relation to neutrals, and so acknowledge she has been wrong for at least sixty years." Under the instruction of the President, the Secretary of State (Mr. Seward) acted in accordance with these utterances. The prisoners were released, and the British people blushed for shame because of the impotent bluster of their government, when the fact was promulgated by the American minister, Mr. Adams. Then the London Times, which had called most vehemently for war on "the insolent Republic," in speaking of the demand of the British government for the release of the ambassadors, superciliously declared that they were "worthless booty;" and added, England would have done as much for two negroes." The ambassadors were treated, in England, with a coolness that amounted to contempt, and they soon passed into obscurity.

The British government acted not only unwisely but dishonorably in the matter. Lord John Russell, the Foreign Secretary, wrote to Lord Lyons, the British minister at Washington, to demand from our Government the liberation of the captives and "a suitable apology for the aggressions which I had been committed;" and if the demand should not be speedily complied with, to leave Washington, with all the members of the legation. On the day of the date of Earl Russell's despatch, Mr. Seward wrote a confidential note to Mr. Adams, calling attention to the fact that Captain Wilkes did not act under orders from his Government, and expressed a hope that the British government would consider the subject in a friendly manner. He gave Mr. Adams permission to read his note to Lord Russell and the Prime Minister. Mr. Adams did so; and yet the British government, with this voluntary assurance that a satisfactory arrangement of the difficulties might be made, continued its preparations for war with vigor, to the alarm and distress of the people. The fact that such assurance had reached the Government was not only suppressed, but, when rumors of it were whispered, it was semi-officially denied. And when the fact could no longer be concealed, it was, by the same authority, affirmed, without a shadow of justice, that Mr. Adams had suppressed it, at the same time suggesting, as a reason, that the American minister might profit by the purchase of American stocks at panic prices!

When the excitement, in our country, caused by "the Trent affair," was subsiding, early in 1862, public attention was attracted by the fitting out of a third naval armament at Hampton Roads. It was composed of over one hundred war-vessels and transports commanded by Commodore L. M. Goldsborough, and bearing sixteen thousand land troops under General Ambrose E. Burnside, of Rhode Island. The armament left the Roads on the 11th of January (1862), with its destination unknown except to proper officers. That destination was Roanoke

Island and Pamlico Sound, on the coast of North Carolina. On Cape Hatteras the fleet encountered a heavy gale, and it was several days before the whole armament had entered the Inlet.

The Confederates had strongly fortified Roanoke Island with batteries that commanded the Sounds on each side of it. There was also a fortified camp that extended across a narrow part of the island. These fortifications were garrisoned by North Carolina troops then under the command of Colonel H. M. Shaw, and mounted about forty guns. They had also placed obstructions in the channel leading to the island; and above them, in Croatan Sound, was a flotilla of small gun-boats - a sort of "mosquito fleet" like Tatnall's in Port Royal Sound - commanded by Lieutenant W. F. Lynch, late of the National navy. Preparations were made for an attack by land and sea, the first week in February. Goldsborough drew up his fleet of seventy vessels in Croatan Sound, and opened a bombardment upon the batteries. It was kept up all the afternoon, the flotilla and the batteries corresponding to Goldsborough's guns. At midnight, while a cold storm of wind and rain was sweeping over the land and water, about eleven thousand troops were landed on the island, many of them wading ashore. These were New England, New York, and New Jersey troops. They were without shelter, and were drenched. At dawn, led by General J. G. Foster (Burnside's lieutenant), they moved forward to attack the line of intrenchments that crossed the island. The Confederates, far inferior in number, made a gallant defence, going from redoubt to redoubt as one after another fell into the hands of the Nationals. They made a vigorous stand in a well situated redoubt that was approached by a causeway. There was to be the last struggle in defence of the line. At the head of a part of Hawkins's Zouaves, Major Kimball (a veteran of the war with Mexico) undertook to take it by storm. Colonel Hawkins was then leading a flank movement with a part of his command. Seeing Major Kimball pushing forward, the Colonel joined him, when the whole battalion shouted, "Zou! Zou! Zou!" and pressed to the redoubt. The affrighted Confederates fled and were pursued by Foster five or six miles, when they surrendered, and Roanoke Island passed into the possession of the National forces, with three thousand prisoners and forty-two cannon. The Confederate flotilla went up Albemarle Sound, followed by National gun-boats under Commodore Rowan.

Near Elizabeth, not far from the Dismal Swamp, Rowan attacked the flotilla and some land batteries, driving the Confederates from both, when Lynch and his followers retired into the interior. Then the United States flag was placed upon a shore battery, and this was the first portion of the main of North Carolina that was repossessed by the Government. Other portions of the coast of that State were speedily recovered; and on the 18th of February, 1862, Burnside and Goldsborough issued a proclamation jointly to the inhabitants of eastern North Carolina, assuring them that the Government forces were there not as enemies but as friends, and inviting them to separate themselves from the Confederacy and to return to their allegiance. This disaster, worked by the National forces, produced great depression throughout the Confederacy, for it exposed nearly the whole of the North Carolina main, and opened a way by which Norfolk might be smitten in the rear.

Let us now return to the Mississippi Valley, where we left Fremont's disappointed army

sullenly marching back to St. Louis.

Late in 1861, the Department of Missouri was enlarged, and General H. W. Halleck was appointed to the command of it. General Hunter was assigned to the Department of Kansas, General Don Carlos Buell to that of the Ohio, and General E. R. S. Canby to that of New Mexico. Halleck's headquarters were at St. Louis, and he restrained the Secessionists with a vigorous hand. Since the retrograde movement of Hunter, with Fremont's army, Price had been gathering a Confederate force in Missouri, and General John Pope was placed in command of a considerable body of troops to oppose him. Pope acted with great vigor and skill. He made a short, sharp, and effective campaign. Detachments from his army struck some blows here and there that were telling. One was inflicted by troops under General J. C. Davis, on the Blackwater, near Milford, which gave a stunning blow to the insurgents in that State. Davis found the enemy in a wooded bottom opposite his own forces. He carried a well-guarded bridge by storm, and struck the Confederates so hard that they fled in much confusion and when they were closely pursued, they surrendered, in number about thirteen hundred, cavalry and infantry. The spoils of victory were eight hundred horses and mules, a thousand stand of arms, and over seventy wagons loaded with tents, baggage, ammunition, and supplies of every kind. In a brief space of time, the power of the insurgents in that quarter was paralyzed, and Halleck complimented Pope on his "brilliant campaign."

Pope had not only prevented organized troops from joining Price, but had compelled the latter to withdraw to the borders of Arkansas for supplies and safety. Feeling strengthened by Pope's success, Halleck prepared to put forth more vigorous efforts to suppress the insurrection. On the 3rd of December he declared martial-law in St. Louis; and, by a subsequent proclamation, he extended that system of rule to all railroads and their vicinities. Meanwhile, Price, relieved from immediate danger, and being promised reinforcements from Arkansas, moved back to Springfield, and there concentrated about twelve thousand men, halted his army, and prepared to spend the winter there. Halleck sent troops in that direction under General S. R. Curtis, assisted by Generals Davis, Sigel, Asboth, and Prentiss. They moved in three columns early in February (1862), when Price fled southward, and did not halt until he reached a good position in northern Arkansas. Curtis pursued him, and drove him further south; and Halleck was enabled to write to his Government, late in February, that he had "purged Missouri," and that the flag of the Union was "waving in triumph over the soil of Arkansas." The campaign in Missouri, for a few months, had been very active, beginning with Lyon's pursuit of the fugitive governor and his followers. From June, 1861, until late in February, 1862, there had been fought on Missouri soil sixty battles and skirmishes, with an aggregate loss on both sides, in killed, wounded and prisoners, of about twelve thousand men.

Curtis crossed the Arkansas line on the 18th of February in pursuit of Price, and had driven him and his followers over a range of hills known as the Boston Mountains. He then fell back and encamped in a strong position in the vicinity of Pea Ridge, a spur of the Ozark Mountains. In the meantime Price had been joined by General Earl Van Dorn, a dashing young officer, who was his senior in rank and now took the chief command. Forty heavy guns thundered a welcome.

"Soldiers! cried Van Dorn, in response, "behold your leader! He comes to show you the way to glory and immortal renown. He comes to hurl back the minions of the despots at Washington, whose ignorance, licentiousness, and brutality are equalled only by their craven natures. They come to free your slaves, lay waste your plantations, burn your villages, and abuse your loving wives and beautiful daughters."

Van Dorn came from western Arkansas with Generals McCulloch, McIntosh, and Pike. The latter was a New Englander and poet, who had joined the Confederate army on the borders of the Indian country with a body of savages whom he had lured into the service. The whole insurgent force now numbered twenty-five thousand; the National troops, soon to measure strength with them, did not exceed eleven thousand men in number with fifty pieces of artillery.

When, on the 5th of March (1862), Curtis's scouts told him of the swift approach of the Confederates in overwhelming force, he concentrated his little army in the Sugar Creek Valley. He perceived his perils, but there was only the alternative to fight or make a disastrous retreat. Choosing the former, he prepared to meet the foe from whatever quarter he might approach. Meanwhile Van Dorn, by a quick and stealthy movement, flanked Curtis and gained his rear; and on the morning of the 7th he advanced to attack the Nationals, not doubting his ability to vanquish them and seize their train of two hundred wagons. He found Curtis in battle order, his first and second division being on his left and commanded by Generals Asboth and Sigel; the third, under General Davis, composing his centre, and the fourth, commanded by Colonel Carr, formed his right. His line of battle extended about four miles, and was confronted by the heavy Confederate force with only a broad and deep ravine covered with fallen trees separating the two armies. The battle was opened toward noon by a simultaneous attack by the Nationals and Confederates. A very severe conflict ensued, which continued a greater part of the day with varying fortunes to each party, the lines of strife swaying like a pendulum. Generals McCulloch and McIntosh of the Confederates were killed, and the slaughter on both sides was dreadful. At night the Confederates fired the last shot, but the Nationals held the field, slept on their arms, and anxiously awaited the dawn to renew the battle.

Both armies lay among the dead and dying that night. At dawn (March 8, 1862) the conflict was renewed, when the Nationals hurled such a destructive tempest of shot and shell upon the Confederates, that the latter soon broke and fled in almost every direction in wildest confusion. The Confederate army, so strong, and confident of victory twenty-four hours before, was broken into fragments. The losses of each were about the same. Curtis's was thirteen hundred and eighty men. Pike's Indians, who had been maddened with liquor before the battle, tomahawked and scalped a number of the Nationals, and were the first to fly from the field, in terror.

While Halleck was purging Missouri of armed insurgents, Hunter, with his headquarters at Fort Leavenworth, was vigorously at work suppressing the insurrection on the borders of Kansas. Active and armed rebellion was now co-extensive with the slave-labor States. General Canby's Department of New Mexico.

Civil war was kindling in An attempt was there made to attach that Territory to the Confederacy by the method employed by General Twiggs in Texas, when he betrayed the National forces under his command. Disloyal officers had been sent by Secretary Floyd, for that purpose, a year before the insurrection broke out but failing to corrupt the troops (for not one of the twelve hundred men abandoned his flag), and incurring their hot displeasure, these leaders fled from their wrath toward Texas. On the borders of that State they found the commander and other officers of Fort Fillmore ready to co-operate with them. These men led out their unsuspecting men and betrayed them into the power of Texan insurgents.

Miguel A. Otero, the representative of New Mexico in the National Congress, was in practical, active sympathy with the Secessionists; and the success of the Confederate cause in that quarter seemed to be assured, until Canby appeared and raised the standard of the Union, in strength. Around it the loyal people of the Territory gathered; and his regular troops, New Mexican levies, and volunteers, gave him a force sufficient to meet over two thousand Texans, most of them rough rangers under Colonel H. H. Sibley, a Louisianian, who invaded the Territory at the middle of February. He had twenty-three hundred followers, many of them veterans who had much experience in fighting the Indians.

Canby was then at Fort Craig, on the Rio Grande. Sibley issued a proclamation to the people of New Mexico, in which he denounced the National Government, and demanded from the inhabitants allegiance to the Confederacy and support for his troops. Feeling confident of success, he moved slowly toward Fort Craig to attack Canby, when he was astonished to find the general prepared to meet him. He perceived that his light field-pieces would have no effect upon the fort. Unable to retreat or to remain with safety, and unwilling to leave a well-garrisoned post behind him, Sibley was perplexed. At length he forded the Rio Grande, and took a position out of reach of Canby's guns, for the purpose of drawing out the latter. In this he was successful. After some skirmishing, there was a severe conflict at Valverde, about seven miles from the fort, on the 21st of February. Canby was about to make a general advance, with an assurance of victory, when about a thousand Texans, horse and foot, armed with carbines, revolvers and bowie-knives, suddenly burst from a thick wood and attacked two of the National batteries commanded respectively by Captains McRea and Hall. The cavalry were repulsed; but the insurgent infantry pressed forward while the grape-shot were making fearful lanes through their ranks, and captured the battery of McRea. The brave captain defended his guns with great courage. Seated upon one of them, he fought the assailants with a pistol until he was shot dead. At length the Nationals, panic-stricken by the fierceness of the charge, broke and fled, and did not halt until they reached the shelter of Fort Craig. That flight was one of the most disgraceful scenes of the war; and Canby was compelled to see the victory snatched from him, just as it seemed to be secured. But Sibley, alarmed at the sudden and unexpected development of Canby's strength by accessions to his ranks, hurried toward Santa Fe, the capital of the Territory which he captured but could not hold; and he was soon afterward driven over the mountains into Texas. The Civil War now extended from Maryland in the northeast to New Mexico in the southwest, and was everywhere marked by the vigor and malevolence which generally distinguish such wars.

While these events were occurring westward of the Mississippi, others of great importance had been in progress immediately eastward of its waters, where efforts had been made to expel the Confederates from Kentucky and release Tennessee from their grasp. The region of southern and western Kentucky was then held by the Confederates. They were commanded by an able officer and veteran soldier, A. S. Johnston, who was in charge of the Confederate Western Department, with his headquarters at Nashville. Under the shadow of his military power, the Secessionists of Kentucky had met in Convention in November, 1861, and performed the farce of declaring the State to be independent. They passed an ordinance of secession; organized a provisional government; chose George W. Johnson provisional governor; appointed delegates to the Confederate congress at Richmond, and called Bowling Green the State capital. Fifty-one counties were represented in that "Sovereignty Convention by about two hundred men, without the sanction of the people. At the same time General Johnston had concentrated a large force at Bowling Green, and strengthened the position of Polk at Columbus. General Hardee superseded General Buckner; and General Zollicoffer was firmly planted at Cumberland Gap, the chief passage between Eastern Kentucky and East Tennessee. Between the extremes of the Confederate line across Kentucky were fortified posts, the most important of which were Fort Donelson on the Cumberland River, and Fort Henry on the Tennessee River.

Early in the year, General Buell had organized a large force at Louisville and its vicinity, by which he was enabled to strengthen various advanced posts, and throw forward, along the line of the Nashville and Louisville Railway, a large force destined to break the Confederate line across the State. The whole number of troops under his command was one hundred and fourteen thousand, arranged in four columns, commanded respectively by Brigadier-Generals Alexander McDowell McCook, Ormsby M. Mitchel, George H. Thomas and Thomas L. Crittenden acting as major-generals, and aided by twenty brigade commanders. These troops, who were citizens of States northward of the Ohio River, with loyalists of Kentucky and Tennessee, occupied an irregular line across the first-named State, almost parallel with that of the Confederates.

General McCook was sent, with fifty thousand troops, down the railway toward Bowling Green, and pushed back the Confederate outposts to the South side of the Green River, at Mumfordsville, where a sharp contest occurred, when the insurgents were compelled to move on to Bowling Green. In the meantime stirring events were occurring in eastern Kentucky. On the 7th of January (1862) a body of Confederates under Humphrey Marshall were struck by Union troops, infantry and cavalry, led by Colonel James A. Garfield, near Prestonburg, on the Big Sandy River. The Confederates were dispersed and disheartened, and there Marshall's military career ended. The gallant services rendered by Garfield on that occasion won for him the commission of a brigadier-general. A few days later (January 19) a more important event occurred on the borders of the Cumberland River, further westward, at Beech Grove, near Mill Spring. Near there General Zollicoffer had established a strongly intrenched camp; but early in January he was superseded in command by General George B. Crittenden, his senior in rank. To General Thomas was assigned the duty of attacking this force, and if successful there to push on over the Cumberland Mountains into East Tennessee, where the Secessionists were persecuting the Union people without stint. When he was within ten miles of the Confederate camp, Thomas

made preparations for battle. The Confederates had marched to meet the Nationals. They were led by Zollicoffer, and at early dawn on the 18th of January, the hostile troops met. A severe battle was fought, with great persistency on both sides, for the winner would gain an immense advantage for his cause. Thomas won the battle after a fierce contest, in which Zollicoffer was slain; and the discomfited Confederates fled into northeastern Tennessee, suffering intensely for lack of food and shelter in their flight across an almost barren country.

This blow effectually severed the Confederate line in Kentucky, and opened the way for a series of successful movements by which the insurgents were soon driven out of that State, and also Tennessee. The loss of the Nationals was two hundred and forty-seven men and of the Confederates, three hundred and forty-nine. The spoils of victory were twelve pieces of artillery, a large amount of munitions of war, and more than a thousand horses, with wagons, intrenching tools, camp equipage; etc. For their bravery in the battle of Mill Spring or Somerset, the President publicly thanked General Thomas and his men. They had paralyzed the power of the Confederate line eastward of Bowling Green, and shortened it full one half. The bulk of the insurgents and their chief fortifications were then between Nashville and Bowling Green, and the Mississippi River. The defeat was severely felt by the Confederates. They perceived the urgent necessity for a bold, able, and dashing commander in the west, and supposing Beauregard to be such an one, he was ordered to Johnston's Department late in January (1862), and General G. W. Smith, who had been an active Democratic politician in New York city, was appointed to succeed him at Manassas.

The Confederates attributed their disaster at Mill Spring to the misconduct of the leader of the troops, General Crittenden. Some loudly accused him of treachery to the Confederate cause while others, more charitable and better informed, charged his intemperate habits with the calamity. It was acknowledged by all to be an almost irretrievable misfortune.

When Beauregard left the army at Manassas, he issued a characteristic address to the troops, expressing a hope that he would be among them again, soon. "I am anxious that my brave countrymen here in arms," he said, "fronting the haughty array and muster of Northern mercenaries, should thoroughly appreciate the exigency." In allusion to the disquietude that was manifested by them because of their long enforced inaction, he said that it was no time for that army to stack their arms, and furl, even for a brief period, the standards they had made glorious by their manhood." But they were much dispirited by the defeat of their armies at Mill Spring, and this was deepened by the capture of Roanoke Island soon afterward. This feeling amounted almost to despair when a more important reverse to their arms occurred on the Tennessee and Cumberland rivers at the middle of February.

Chapter CXXI

A Gunboat Fleet - Expedition Against Forts Henry and Donelson - Capture of Forts Henry and Hieman - Naval Expedition up the Tennessee - Its Discoveries - Army Reorganized - Siege of Fort Donelson - Change in Temperature - Engagements on Land and Water - A Desperate Measure Attempted - Council of War - Cowardice - Surrender of Fort Donelson - Army Postal Service - Panic at Nashville - Surrender of the City - Provisional Government for Tennessee - Events on the Mississippi River - Siege and Capture of Island Number Ten - Movement toward Corinth - National Army at Pittsburg Landing - Bull's Army on the March.

WHEN the Confederate line in Kentucky was broken, the National Government determined to concentrate the forces of Halleck and Buell for a great forward movement to push the Confederates toward the Gulf of Mexico. Fremont's plan for providing gunboats for the western rivers, to co-operate with the armies, had been carried out. Twelve of these vessels (some of them covered with iron-plates) had been constructed at St. Louis and Cairo, and at the close of January these were armed with one hundred and twenty-six heavy guns and some lighter artillery, and were placed under the command of flag-officer A. H. Foote of the National navy. When everything was in readiness, some feints were made to deceive the Confederates. These were reconnaissances down each side of the Mississippi River from Cairo; and Thomas feigned a movement in force against East Tennessee.

In the meantime an expedition against Fort Henry on the Tennessee River, and Fort Donelson on the Cumberland River, where those streams approach each other to within a distance of about twelve miles, had been prepared. The land troops were placed under the command of General U. S. Grant, assisted by General C. F. Smith. Commodore Foote was called to the Tennessee with his flotilla of gunboats; and at dawn on the 3rd of February, 1862, a portion of that flotilla was only a few miles below Fort Henry, on that stream, and the land troops were disembarking from transports. The fort lay at the bend of the stream, on the right bank, and its guns commanded a reach of the river for about two miles. It was armed with seventeen guns, twelve of which could sweep the river. At the time we are considering, the garrison in the fort and troops encamped around it, numbered less than three thousand, commanded by General Tilghman, of Maryland, a graduate of the West Point Academy. Grant and Foote had asked and obtained permission of Halleck to attack Fort Henry, and that was the task which they attempted on the morning of the 3rd of February.

Both arms of the service proceeded to strike Fort Henry simultaneously. The land force was composed of the divisions of McClelland and Smith. The armed flotilla in hand consisted of the gun-boats Essex, St. Louis, Carondelet, and Cincinnati. The river below Fort Henry had been strewn with torpedoes, but these were successfully fished up before the attack. Opposite Fort Henry was Fort Hieman, situated upon a great hill, from which artillery might be brought to bear upon assailants of the former. To silence its batteries, a portion of the land troops went up that side of the river, while others proceeded to gain a point between Forts Henry and Donelson. The flotilla moved forward and opened the contest at noon on the 6th, and before the land troops

could reach a position to co-operate, the fort, with its little garrison, had been surrendered to Foote. A tremendous rainstorm, with thunder and wind, which occurred the night before, had made the roads so heavy, and so swelled the little streams, that the march of the troops was difficult and slow. The garrison made a gallant defence; but at the end of one hour's conflict, they were compelled to strike their flag. Fort Hieman was also surrendered. This was a naval victory of great importance, because it proved the efficiency of gun-boats on the narrow western rivers in cooperation with land forces. Therefore the fall of Fort Henry was hailed as a most happy omen of the success of the Union cause. Halleck telegraphed to McClellan: "Fort Henry is ours! the flag of the Union is re-established on the soil of Tennessee. It will never be removed!" The Secretary of the Navy wrote to Foote: "The country appreciates your gallant deeds; and this department desires to convey to you and your brave associates, its profound thanks for the service you have rendered."

This victory inflicted a severe blow upon the power of the Confederates. It gave to the Nationals the possession of formidable and important posts; also a firm footing in the vicinity of stronger Fort Donelson and in the rear of Columbus, on the Mississippi. There was now no obstacle to the river navy in its passage up the Tennessee to the fertile regions of northern Alabama toward the heart of the Confederacy. Thitherward Foote sent Lieutenant-commander S. L. Phelps, on the night after the capture of the fort, with three vessels, to reconnoiter the borders of the river. Those vessels went steadily onward, seizing Confederate vessels and destroying Confederate property, as far up as Florence, in Alabama, at the foot of the Mussel Shoals. The reconnaissance was a perfect success, for it discovered the weakness of the Confederacy in that region, and developed a most gratifying evidence of genuine Union feeling among the inhabitants of Tennessee which had been repressed by Confederate despotism. Phelps was assured that nothing but the dreadful reign of terror kept thousands from openly manifesting their love for the old flag.

The report of Phelps's reconnaissance was very cheering, and it was determined to attack Fort Donelson, near Dover, the capital of Stewart county, Tennessee. It was a formidable work, situated with a front on the high left bank of the Cumberland River, among hills furrowed by deep ravines, and its irregular lines of outlying intrenchments covering about one hundred acres. General Grant reorganized his army in three divisions, under Generals McClernand, Smith, and Lewis Wallace; and Commodore Foote hurried back to Cairo with three of his gun-boats to take his mortar-boats to the Cumberland River to assist in the attack on Fort Donelson.

The divisions of McClernand and Smith left Fort Henry on the morning of the 12th of February (1862), and marched for Fort Donelson, leaving Wallace with a brigade to hold the vanquished forts on the Tennessee. They invested Fort Donelson the same evening; and after some picket-firing the next morning, General Grant resolved to wait for the arrival of the flotilla (bearing troops that would complete Wallace's division) before making a general attack. On the same morning Ex-Secretary Floyd arrived from Virginia, with troops, and superseded General Pillow, who was in command of Fort Donelson. Floyd and Pillow were materially assisted by General S. B. Buckner, a better soldier than either of them, but he was subordinate to both of the

inefficient commanders. All that day (February 13th) there was skirmishing, and toward evening an unexpected enemy appeared in the form of severe frost. The morning had dawned in uncommon splendor, and the air was as balmy as that of late spring; but toward evening a violent rainstorm arose, the temperature fell, and before morning the ground became frozen almost as hard as iron and everything was mailed in ice. The National troops were bivouacked without tents, and they dared not light fires for fear of exposing themselves to the guns of the fort. They were without sufficient food and clothing, and their sufferings were so dreadful that they anxiously awaited the dawn and expected reinforcements.

General Grant perceived the peril of his situation, and had sent to General Wallace to bring his troops over from the Tennessee. The latter moved at day-break on the 14th, the ground encrusted with frozen sleet and the air filled with drifting frost. These troops were in high spirits. With cheering and singing of songs they pressed forward, and at noon their commander dined with General Grant on crackers and coffee. Meantime the armored flotilla, with the transports, had arrived, and Wallace's division was perfected. It was immediately posted between the divisions of McClellan and Smith, and so the thorough investment of the fort was completed. At three o'clock that afternoon, the Carondelet, Captain Walke, began the assault on Fort Donelson, and was soon joined by the St. Louis, Pittsburgh and Louisville. Unarmored vessels formed a second line and the flotilla boldly attacked the water-batteries, but without much effect. The mortar-boats had not arrived and never were war-vessels exposed to a more tremendous pounding than were the four armored gun-boats in this fight by missiles from the shore batteries. They received, in the aggregate, one hundred and forty wounds, and fifty-four men were killed or wounded. Foote was compelled to withdraw, when he hastened to Cairo to have damages repaired, and to bring up a competent naval force to assist in carrying on the siege. Grant resolved to await Foote's return and for expected reinforcements.

The night of the 14th was an anxious one for both parties. The Confederates, perceiving their peril, held a council of war. Floyd's opinion was that the fort was untenable with less than fifty thousand men to defend it and that the garrison might be saved only by a sortie the next morning to route or destroy the investing army, or to cut through it and escape to the open country in the direction of Nashville. This desperate measure was attempted at five o'clock on the morning of the 15th, by about ten thousand men, led by Pillow and Buckner, the former striking McClellan on the right of the Nationals, and the latter prepared to attack Wallace in the centre. Pillow had boasted that he would roll the enemy in full retreat over upon Buckner, when the latter, attacking them on the flank and rear, would cut up the Federals and put them completely to rout." The attack was quick and furious but the troops that first received the shock of battle (Oglesby's brigade), maintained their ground gallantly until their ammunition began to fail. Relief was sent, but the pressure was so great that the whole line gave way excepting the extreme left held by Colonel John A. Logan's Illinois regiment, which stood as firm as a wall and prevented a panic. The good service of the light batteries of Taylor, McAllister and Dresser, made the Confederate line recoil again and again. But fresh troops continually strengthened it, until at length the whole of McClellan's division were in great peril. Then he called upon Wallace for help, and it was given so effectually, that after a hard and skillful struggle on the part of the Nationals, with the

Confederate forces of Buckner and Pillow combined, the latter were compelled to fall back to their trenches. I speak advisedly," wrote Colonel Hillyer (Grant's aide-de-camp) to Wallace, the next day, "God bless you! You did save the day on the right."

In the meantime General Smith had been smiting the Confederate right such telling blows, that when darkness fell upon the scene, the Nationals were victorious and the vanquished Confederates were imprisoned within their trenches, unable to escape.

Finding themselves closely held by Grant, the question, "How shall we escape was a paramount one in the minds of the Confederates, especially of Floyd and Pillow. They were both terror-stricken by the impending danger of falling into the hands of their outraged Government. At midnight, Floyd, Pillow, and Buckner held a private council at Pillow's quarters in Dover, where it was concluded that the garrison must be surrendered. "But, gentlemen," said Floyd, nervously, "I cannot surrender; you know my position with the Federals; it won't do, it won't do." Pillow then said: I will not surrender myself nor my command - will die first." "Then," said Buckner, coolly, I suppose, gentlemen, the surrender will devolve upon me." The terrified Floyd said, quickly, General, if you are put in command, will you allow me to take out, by the river, my brigade? If you will move before I offer to surrender," Buckner replied. Then, sir," answered Floyd, I surrender the command." Pillow, who was next in rank, and to whom Floyd offered to transfer the command, quickly exclaimed, I will not accept it - I will never surrender." As he spoke he turned toward Buckner, when the latter, with the courage, the manliness and the honor of a soldier, said: I will accept, and share the fate of my command."

Within one hour after that conference, Floyd, with a part of his Virginians, deserted his companions-in-arms and fled up the river, toward Nashville, in a steamboat. At the same time Pillow sneaked away in the darkness, after declaring he would die before he would surrender, and finally escaped to his home in Tennessee. History affords no meaner picture than this. The indignant authorities at Richmond suspended both the cowards from command; and an epigrammatist of the day wrote as follows concerning Floyd's escape: "The thief is a coward by Nature's law; Who betrays the State, to no one is true: And the brave foe at Donelson saw, Their light-fingered Floyd was light-footed too." Early the next morning - the Christian Sabbath - Buckner asked for the appointment of commissioners to agree upon terms of surrender. Grant replied "No terms other than unconditional and immediate surrender can be accepted. I propose to move immediately upon your works." This answer was followed by the speedy surrender of the fort, and of thirteen thousand five hundred men as prisoners of war and the spoils of victory were three thousand horses, forty-eight field-pieces, seventeen heavy guns, twenty thousand muskets, and a large quantity of military stores. This catastrophe greatly dispirited the Confederates; and from the time when the fact became known in Europe, no court ever entertained an idea of recognizing the independence of the Southern Confederacy. It was estimated that during the siege the Confederates lost two hundred and thirty-seven killed and one thousand wounded. The estimated loss of the Nationals was four hundred and forty-six killed, seventeen hundred and fifty-five wounded, and one hundred and fifty who were made prisoners, and who, being sent across the river, were not recaptured.

The admirably arranged army mail-service was begun at Forts Henry and Donelson, under the auspices of General Grant, to whom it was suggested by Colonel A. H. Markland, special agent of the National Post-office. In the following letter to me, dated July 30, 1866," General Grant gives a brief account of its origin:

"DEAR SIR, Among the subjects that occupied my mind when I assumed command at Cairo, in the fall of 1861, was the regular supply of mails to and from the troops; not only those in garrison, but those on the march when active movements should begin. When I commenced the movement on Fort Henry, on January 7, 1862, a plan was proposed by which the mails should promptly follow, and as promptly be sent from the army. So perfect was the organization that the mails were delivered to the army immediately upon its occupation of the fort. Within one hour after the troops began to march into Fort Donelson, the mail was being distributed to them from the mail wagons. The same promptness was always observed in the armies under my command, up to the period of the final disbandment. It is a source of congratulation that the postal service was so conducted, that officers and men were in constant communication with kindred and friends at home, and with as much regularity as the most favored in the large cities of the Union. The postal system of the army, so far as I know, was not attended with any additional expense to the service. The system adopted by me was suggested and ably superintended by A. H. Markland, special agent of the Post-office Department. Respectfully, U. S. GRANT, General."

The chaplain of each regiment was recognized at first as Regimental Postmaster." Afterward, the mails were "brigaded." They were placed in canvas bags at the General Post-office and sent to each brigade, under charge of military authority. The Post-office Department had no further control of the army mails after they left the office at Washington city. The regularity with which the great armies of Grant, Sherman, Thomas and others in the West, as well as those in the Atlantic States, were supplied with mails, under the general superintendence of Colonel Markland, was marvelous. He and his assistants encountered dangers as appalling as those to which the soldiers were exposed - perils from bullets, fatigue and privations - yet they never lost a mail by capture, over which they had personal control. The mail was nearly always in advance of the armies, or moving in a direction to meet them. The number of letters thus carried was enormous. For months," wrote Mr. S. J. Bowen, the Postmaster of Washington city, in a letter to me dated July 26, 1866, we received and sent an average of 250,000 military letters per day. It is believed that this number was exceeded after General Sherman's army reached Savannah, and up to the time of the review of the troops in this city in the month of May, 1865." He says that the vast number of packages of clothing and articles of every kind which were sent by the mails, reached their destination as regularly as if the recipient lived in a large city. The only loss of any moment which this extra service inflicted upon the Post-office Department, was in mail-bags. "It is estimated," wrote Mr. Bowen, that at least thirty thousand of these were sent out which never found their way back to this office, though every effort was made by us to have them returned." This army mail-service presents one of the moral wonders of the great conflict and its value, in keeping whole armies in continual communication with friends at home, is incalculable. It was a powerful preventive of that terrible home-sickness with which, at first, raw troops are often prostrated and it brought the sweet influence of the domestic circle to bear most powerfully in

strengthening the men against the multifarious temptations of army life.

It was clearly perceived by General A. S. Johnston, that the fall of Fort Donelson rendered Bowling Green and Columbus untenable, and their evacuation was ordered to take place immediately. The troops at Bowling Green, who were menaced by the swiftly approaching advance of Buell's army under the energetic General Mitchel, were ordered to retire to Nashville. They did so, in haste, after destroying their property at Bowling Green valued at half a million dollars, and were followed by the Army of the Ohio. At the same time National gun-boats ascended the Cumberland River and co-operated with troops marching on that place. These movements created a fearful panic among the Secessionists. The governor of Tennessee (Harris) was made almost crazy by alarm. He rode through the streets of Nashville, with his horse at full speed, crying out that the papers in the Capitol must be removed, for he well knew what evidence of his treason they contained. He and his guilty compeers gathered as many of the archives as possible and fled by railway to Memphis, while officers of the banks in Nashville bore away the specie from the vaults of those institutions. Citizens, with their most valuable possessions that were portable, crowded the stations of railways that extended to Decatur and Chattanooga. Every kind of wheeled vehicle was brought into requisition, and the price of hack hire was raised to twenty-five dollars an hour. The authorities gave up all as lost. The public stores were thrown wide open, and everybody was allowed to carry off provisions and clothing without hindrance. The panic was more intense because of the sudden reaction from joy occasioned by a foolish boast of Pillow, on Saturday, that victory for the Confederates was sure. It was followed by a despatch from him while the armies were yet struggling and the Confederates had gained a slight advantage, in which he said, "Enemy retreating! Glorious result! Our boys following and peppering their rear!! A complete victory !!" The people were comfortably seated in the churches, and the ministers were prepared to preach congratulatory sermons, when the astounding news of the fall of Fort Donelson and the cowardly desertion of the post by Floyd and Pillow reached them. Pillow's act was a crushing commentary on his foolish boast, and the people pronounced his doom of disgrace before the authorities at Richmond had promulgated it.

Johnston and his troops moved rapidly southward from Nashville, and the city was surrendered to the Nationals by the municipal authorities, on the 26th of February, 1862. These events, following so closely upon the capture of Roanoke Island and the operations in its vicinity, produced great alarm throughout the Confederacy. The loyal people of the land were elated and the Confederates being virtually expelled from Tennessee, the State government abdicated by its fugitive governor, and much latent loyalty being displayed, the National Government proceeded to re-establish civil government there. Andrew Johnson, of East Tennessee, was appointed provisional governor with the military rank of brigadier-general, and he entered upon his duties, at Nashville, on the 4th of March, 1862.

The Mississippi River now became the theatre of stirring events. Beauregard, as we have observed, had been sent West, and was now in command of troops on the borders of the mighty stream, above Memphis: and, obedient to orders from Richmond, he directed General Polk to evacuate Columbus, and transfer his troops and as much of the munitions of war as possible to

places of greater safety. New Madrid, Madrid Bend, and Island Number Ten were chosen for this purpose. Meanwhile Commodore Foote had put in motion a fleet of gun-boats on the Mississippi, and accompanying transports bore two thousand troops under General W. T. Sherman. When, on the 4th of March, this armament approached Columbus, the Union flag was seen floating there. It had been unfurled the previous evening by a scouting party of Illinois troops from Paducah, who found the fortifications deserted. Sherman left a garrison at Columbus, and Foote returned to Cairo to prepare for a siege of New Madrid and Island Number Ten, which constituted the key to the Lower Mississippi. The Confederates at the former place were commanded by General McCoun, and those on Island Number Ten were under the charge of General Beauregard, in person, who sent forth pompous proclamations to the inhabitants. He called for bells wherewith to make cannon, and there was a liberal response. In some cities," wrote a Confederate soldier, every church gave up its bells. Court-houses, public institutions, and plantations sent theirs. And the people furnished large quantities of old brass of every description - andirons, candlesticks, gas-fixtures, and even door-knobs. I have seen wagon-loads of these lying at depots waiting shipment to the foundries." They were all sent to New Orleans. There they were found by General Butler, who sent them to Boston, where they were sold at auction.

General Pope, dispatched from St. Louis by General Halleck, drove the Confederates from New Madrid on the night of the 13th of March. They fled to Island Number Ten, which then became the chief object of attack by the Nationals. Beauregard had thoroughly fortified it, and Foote attacked it with heavy guns and mortars on the morning of the 16th of March. The siege went on with varying fortunes for both parties until early in April. While Foote was pounding and rending the fortifications of Beauregard, Pope at New Madrid was chafing with impatience to participate in the siege. His guns easily blockaded the river (there a mile wide, and then flowing at the rate of seven or eight miles an hour); but he desired to cross it to the peninsula and attack the Island in the rear, and so insure its capture with its dependencies, their garrisons and munitions of war. But the Tennessee shore was lined with batteries garnished with heavy guns; and until these could be silenced, it would be madness to attempt to cross the river with any means at Pope's command. Pope was at his wits end, when General Schuyler Hamilton made the extraordinary proposition to cut a canal from the bend of the Mississippi, near Island Number Eight, across the neck of a swampy peninsula, to the vicinity of New Madrid, of sufficient capacity to allow the passage of gun-boats and transports, and thereby effectually flank Island Number Ten, and insure its capture. Hamilton offered to do the work with his division of soldiers, and to have it completed in the space of a fortnight. Pope sanctioned the measure, and it was performed in nineteen days under the direction of Colonel Bissell of the Engineers. The labor was most fatiguing. The canal was twelve miles long, one-half the distance through a growth of heavy timber, where a way was made, fifty feet wide, by sawing off trees in some places four feet under water.

Meanwhile Foote had not been idle, but made preparations for closer assaults than the long reach of great guns and mortars afforded. On the night of the first of April an expedition composed of Illinois troops and seamen, to the number of one hundred, proceeded to take one of the seven formidable redoubts on the Kentucky shore, and were successful. This daring feat was

followed on the night of the 3rd, by another. Pope had frequently called upon Foote to send gun-boats to his assistance. At length the gallant Captain Walke, of the Carondelet, obtained permission of his commander to attempt to run by the Confederate batteries with his vessel. The feat was successfully performed at midnight while a fearful thunder-storm was raging. The flashes of lightning revealed her passage to the commanders of batteries on the shore, and she was compelled to run the gauntlet of a tremendous cannonade from them all. The Carondelet did not return a shot. Only after she had reached a place of safety below were her guns heard; then three of them announced to anxious Commodore Foote that she had escaped all perils. She was welcomed by the troops at New Madrid with wildest huzzas.

Perceiving the peril that awaited them when the canal should be completed, the Confederates sunk steamboats in the channel of the river to prevent gun-boats descending it, and they unsuccessfully attempted to escape from the Island. After the Carondelet had passed the batteries, Beauregard was satisfied that the siege must speedily end in disaster, and he was not disposed to bear the responsibility; so, after turning over the command on the Island to General McCall, and leaving the troops on the Kentucky and Tennessee shores in charge of General McCoun, he, with a considerable number of the best soldiers, departed for Corinth to check a formidable movement of National troops through middle Tennessee toward northern Alabama and Mississippi. McCall, on assuming the command, issued a flaming proclamation; but within thirty-six hours he and his troops prepared to escape from the Island. They were interrupted in their movements by General Pope's forces under Generals Stanley, Hamilton, and Paine; and Island Number Ten, with the troops, batteries and supports on the main, were surrendered to the Nationals on the 8th of April. Over seven thousand men were surrendered prisoners of war and the spoils of victory were one hundred and twenty-three cannons and mortars, seven thousand small-arms, many hundred horses and mules, four steamboats afloat, and a very large amount of ammunition.

The fall of Island Number Ten was a calamity to the Confederacy from which it never recovered. It produced widespread alarm in the Southern States; for it appeared probable that Memphis, one of their strongholds on the Mississippi, where they had immense workshops and armories, would soon share the fate of Columbus, and that National war-vessels would speedily patrol the great river from Cairo to New Orleans. Martial-law was proclaimed at Memphis, and the specie in the banks there was taken to places of supposed safety. Troops that guarded the city and panic-stricken residents proposed to lay the town in ashes if it could not be saved from northern invaders." The zeal of these madmen was cooled by the sensible Mayor Park, who publicly proclaimed that "he who attempts to fire his neighbor's house, or even his own whereby it endangers his neighbor's, regardless of judge, jury, or the benefit of clergy, I will have him hung to the first lamp-post, tree, or awning." At Vicksburg, preparations were made for flight, and the disloyal inhabitants of New Orleans were oppressed with fearful forebodings of impending calamity. The governor of Louisiana, who was a leading Secessionist, issued a despairing appeal to the people. "An insolent and powerful foe is already at the castle gate," he said. "The current of the mighty river speaks to us of his fleets advancing for our destruction, and the telegraph wires tremble with the news of his advancing columns, go and meet him." In the name of all most

dear to us, I entreat you to But there was little disposition to comply with the governor's wishes and when a letter from Beauregard, which he sent by his surgeon- general, making an urgent demand for New Orleans to send five thousand troops to him, at once, to save the city," was read to the First and Second City Brigades, who were called out, their reply was, "We decline to go." Their city then needed defenders below instead of above it.

It seemed as if the plan devised by Fremont was about to be successfully carried out. Curtis had already broken the military power of the Confederacy west of the Mississippi, at the battle of Pea Ridge and a heavy force was then making its way up the Tennessee toward Alabama and Mississippi, and had, at the moment of the surrender of the famous Island, achieved a most important victory on the left bank of that stream not a score of miles from Corinth. Curtis, after the battle and the flight of the vanquished Confederates, finding no enemy to fight in that region, gave his army ample time to rest, and then marched in a southeasterly direction toward the Mississippi River and encamped at Batesville, the capital of Independence county, Arkansas, on the White River.

After the capture of Fort Donelson, General Grant had prepared to push toward Corinth, an important position on the line of the Charleston and Memphis Railway. Troops had been sent up the Tennessee River; and finally, at the beginning of April, the main body of Grant's army were encamped between Pittsburgh Landing, on the left bank of that stream, and the Shiloh Meeting-House, the latter in the forest two miles from the river. The grand objective was Corinth. There the Mobile and Ohio Railway intersected the Charleston and Memphis roads. The seizure of that point, as a strategic position of vital importance, was Grant's design. It would give the National forces control of the great railway communication between the Mississippi and the East, and the border slave-labor States and the Gulf of Mexico. It would also facilitate the capture of Memphis, toward the accomplishment of which Foote was now bending his energies, and it would add strength to the movements of Curtis in Arkansas.

In the meantime General Buell's army had slowly made preparations to march southward and join Grant's forces, which were, at first, encamped at Savannah, on the right bank of the Tennessee; but it was not until near the close of March, when Grant's position had become really perilous, that Buell left Nashville. He sent part of his force under General Mitchel in the direction of Huntsville, in northern Alabama, to seize and hold the Charleston and Memphis Railway; while the main body, composed of the divisions of Generals Thomas, McCook, Nelson, Crittenden and T. J. Wood, moved more to the westward by way of Columbia, at which place the troops left the railway and marched slowly toward the Tennessee River.

Chapter CXXII

The Nationals and Confederates at Shiloh - Battle of Shiloh: Its Events and Results - The Confederate Retreat to Corinth - General Mitchel's Raid into Alabama - Recovered Territory - Raid upon a Railway - Capture of Memphis - Capture of New Berne and Fort Macon - Events on the Coast of North Carolina - Siege and Capture of Fort Pulaski - Conquests on the Southern Coasts - Expedition against New Orleans - Capture of Forts on the Mississippi - Destruction of the Confederate Flotilla - Seizure of New Orleans - Hatred of General Butler.

GENERAL BEAUREGARD, who had left Island Number Ten with a considerable body of Confederate troops, and had hastened to Corinth to prepare for resisting the grand movement of the Nationals southward, now confronted the latter near Shiloh Meeting-House with a very large force. He had been joined by the troops under General A. S. Johnston that fled from Nashville, and that officer was now Beauregard's chief lieutenant, assisted by Generals Polk, Hardee, Bragg, and Breckenridge. With these expert leaders, the Confederates came up from Corinth in a heavy rainstorm in separate columns, and concentrated a few miles from Shiloh Meeting-House. They came so stealthily that they were within four miles of the National camp before they were discovered by Grant's sentinels. There they halted on the 5th of April, 1862, to await the arrival of Van Dorn and Price, who were approaching Memphis with a large force from central Arkansas. Already the Confederate army of eleven thousand men at Corinth a short time before, had increased to forty thousand men.

Intelligence came of Buell's march to join Grant, and on the evening of the 5th it was resolved to strike the Nationals before the dawn next morning, for it was evident the latter were not aware of the near presence of the strong force of the Confederates. At a council of war that made this decision, Beauregard, pointing toward the Union army, said Gentlemen, we sleep in the enemy's camp to-morrow night." At that time General W. T. Sherman's division was lying in the woods near Shiloh Meeting House. General Prentiss's division was planted across the road leading directly to Corinth, and General McClernand's division was behind Prentiss's right. In the rear of these and between them and Pittsburgh Landing lay General Hurlburt's division, and that of General Smith led by General W. H. L. Wallace. General David Stuart's brigade of Sherman's division lay upon a road leading to Hamburg, above Pittsburgh Landing, and General Lewis Wallace, with his division, was at Crump's Landing, several miles below, observing Confederate movements at Purdy, and covering the river connections between Pittsburgh Landing and Savannah. To the latter place General Halleck forwarded supplies for the National army. So little was an attack by the Confederates suspected, that no intrenchments had been cast up by the Nationals, and Buell's army was marching leisurely across Tennessee.

Almost the first intimation of the near presence of the Confederates was the wild cry of pickets flying into camp and a sharp attack upon Sherman's troops by Hardee's division, before the day had fairly dawned on Sunday morning, the 6th of April. Some of the officers were slumbering; some were dressing; a portion of the troops were washing and cooking, and others were eating breakfast. Screaming shells crashed through the forest, and bullets whistled among the tents.

Hardee's troops poured into the camp of the bewildered Nationals, fighting desperately, driving half-dressed and half-armed troops before them, and dealing death and terror on every hand. Fearful results followed. Prentiss's division was next attacked. His column was shattered himself and a large portion of his followers were made prisoners, and his camp was occupied by the Confederates. The struggle soon became general, and for ten hours the battle raged, with varying fortunes on both sides. General W. H. L. Wallace of the Nationals and General Johnston of the Confederates had been killed, and the slaughter on both sides had been severe. The National army was pushed back to the Tennessee River, then brimfull with a spring flood, and the day was fairly lost by the Union troops. The victorious Confederates occupied all the Union camps excepting that of the slain Wallace, where General McArthur was now in command. In the rear of this division the smitten army had now gathered in a space not more than four hundred acres in extent, on the verge of the river. They could be pushed back no further; and so certain was Beauregard of his final triumph, that he telegraphed a shout of victory to Richmond.

General Grant had directed the storm on the National side with great skill, but his forces, at twilight, were in a most perilous position. A single vigorous blow, then given by Beauregard, might have justified his shout of victory; but he dealt a feeble one, that was parried by the guns of two boats, the Tyler and Lexington, which had just appeared, and by those of a hastily formed battery on the shore. Grant's safety was fully assured when, at evening, the van of the slow-moving army of Buell appeared on the opposite shore of the Tennessee, and other portions of it came up the river during the night. At midnight General Lewis Wallace arrived with his division, and then the palm of victory was snatched from the hands of Beauregard.

In the morning twilight of the 7th, Wallace opened the contest anew on the Confederate left, where Beauregard commanded in person. Others soon joined in the battle, and it became general all along the line. The Confederates fought gallantly, but were speedily pushed back by a superior force; and when they perceived that all was lost, they fled, under a storm of blinding sleet and cold rain, to the heights of Monterey in the direction of Corinth. They were covered, in their retreat, by a rear-guard of twelve thousand men commanded by Ex-President Breckenridge. The Confederates had lost over ten thousand men in the engagement, of whom full three thousand died during the retreat of nine miles. Fifteen thousand Nationals were killed, wounded, or made prisoners. The slain on the battle-field were soon buried, the dead horses were burnt, and the hospital-vessels sent down the Tennessee by the Nationals were crowded with the sick and maimed. Beauregard's shattered army fell back to Corinth, and Grant was about to pursue and capture it, when General Halleck, his superior in rank, who had come up from St. Louis and took the supreme command, caused the impatient troops to loiter until the Confederates, recuperated, were prepared for another contest.

Twenty days after the battle, Halleck and his army had advanced nine miles toward Corinth and a week later (May 3) they were near that place, making vigorous use of pickaxe and spade in piling up fortifications for prosecuting a siege. This labor continued twenty-seven days longer, interrupted by frequent sorties from Corinth, when the Confederates were driven from their advanced batteries, and Halleck prepared for a sanguinary conflict the next day. The

Confederates had been much strengthened by delay; but Beauregard was not disposed to fight the Grand Army of the Tennessee, as it was now called. All the night of the 29th of May, the National sentinels had heard and reported the unceasing roar of moving cars at Corinth and at daybreak, just as Halleck sent out skirmishers to "feel the enemy," the earth was shaken by a series of explosions, and dense columns of smoke rose above the town. There was no enemy to "feel." Beauregard had evacuated Corinth during the night, burnt and blown up whatever of stores he could not carry away, and fled, in haste, to Tupelo, many miles southward from Corinth, where he left General Bragg in command, and retired to mineral springs in Alabama, for the restoration of his impaired health. Halleck took possession of Corinth, and was soon afterward called to Washington to perform the duties of General-in-Chief of all the armies of the Republic. He left General Thomas in command at Corinth, and General Grant of his old army, with enlarged powers.

When General Buell moved from Nashville to join Grant, he sent the energetic General Mitchel southward, as we have observed. After Mitchel left the more cautious Buell, his was a sort of independent command, and he pushed on vigorously. On the 4th of April, he was at Shelbyville, Tennessee, sixty miles from Nashville, where he established a depository of supplies. There he left the railway, and after rapid marches with a light supply-train, he crossed the State line on the 10th into Alabama, and was in front of Huntsville on the morning of the 11th before the dawn. Fatigue parties tore up the railway at each end of the town, while the cavalry marched directly into the place. The unsuspecting sleepers were awakened by the clatter of the horses' hoofs in the streets. The surprise was complete. The inhabitants, wrote an eye-witness, "flocked to door and window, exclaiming, with blanched cheek and faltering tongue, They come! they come! the Yankees come! Men rushed into the streets half-dressed, the women fainted, the children screamed, the darkies laughed, and for a time a scene of perfect terror reigned." The spoils of this bloodless victory were seventeen locomotives, more than a hundred passenger cars, and a large amount of supplies of every kind; also one hundred and sixty prisoners. By it Mitchel secured the control of the Charleston and Memphis Railway from Tusculumbia on the west to Stevenson on the east, a distance of about one hundred miles. He also won the control of the Tennessee River for about the same distance.

This work was accomplished without the loss of a single man; and when Corinth fell into the possession of the Nationals at the beginning of June, all Kentucky, western and middle Tennessee, and northern Mississippi and northern Alabama, were recovered from the Confederates. It was confidently expected that East Tennessee would be immediately released from the power of the insurgents; but General Buell, who had now joined Mitchel, would not listen to the earnest entreaties of that officer, to add that loyal and sorely oppressed region to the emancipated territory. The way had been prepared by General Negley and others. Negley had climbed over the almost impassable mountains northeast of Stevenson, driven the Confederates from Jasper (June 7), and appeared on the Tennessee River opposite Chattanooga. He needed only a little help to enable him to seize and hold that key to East Tennessee and Northern Georgia. The help was refused by General Buell. When, at the middle of June, the East Tennesseans saw the insurgents evacuate Cumberland Gap, voluntarily, they surely expected the long hoped-for deliverance, by

the advent of National troops; but Buell refused to walk in at that open door. That cautious leader and the fiery Mitchel could not work in harmony, and the latter was now transferred to another field of duty.

Mitchel had performed important services for the National cause by the exercise of judicious audacity. He smote so swiftly and effectually, that he appalled his enemies; and one of the most daring enterprises undertaken during the war was put in motion by that general. It was an effort to break up railway communication between Chattanooga and Atlanta. For this purpose he employed J. J. Andrews, who had been in the secret service of General Buell. With twenty-two picked men Andrews walked to Marietta in the guise of Confederate citizens of Kentucky seeking in Georgia freedom from persecution. At Marietta they took the cars for a station not far from the foot of the Great Kenesaw Mountain, and there, while the conductor and engineer were at breakfast, they uncoupled the engine, tender and a box-car, from the passenger train, and started up the road at full speed, answering questions where they were compelled to stop by saying they were conveying powder to Beauregard. They had passed several trains before they began their destructive work. Then the next train that reached the broken spot, had its engine reversed and became a pursuer. Onward they sped with the speed of a gale, passing other trains, when, at an important curve in the road, after destroying the track, Andrews said, exultingly, "Only one more train to pass, boys, and then we will put our engine to full speed, burn the bridges after us, dash through Chattanooga, and on to Mitchel, at Huntsville."

The exciting chase continued many miles. The pursued having less burden than the pursuers, were fleetest but so much time was lost in stopping to cut telegraph wires and tear up the track, that at length the pursued were prevented from doing either, for the pursuers were close upon them. Finally their lubricating oil became exhausted and such was the speed of the engines that the brass journals on which the axles revolved were melted. Fuel failing, the fugitives were compelled to leave their conveyance fifteen miles from Chattanooga. They took refuge in the tangled woods of Chickamauga Creek. A great man-hunt was organized. The mountain passes were picketed; and thousands of horsemen and foot-soldiers, with several blood-hounds, scoured the country in all directions. The whole party were finally captured, and thus ended one of the most exciting events in human history. The sequel was that Andrews and seven of his companions were hanged. To each of the survivors of that daring raid, the Secretary of War presented a bronze medal, in token of approval.

While these events were occurring in the interior of Tennessee, Commodore Foote had been busy on the Mississippi River. He went down that stream from Island Number Ten, with his armed vessels, and transports bearing Pope's army, to attempt the capture of Memphis, but was confronted at the first Chickasaw Bluffs, eighty miles above that city, by a Confederate flotilla under Captain Hollins, and three thousand troops under General Jeff. Thompson, who occupied a military work on the bluff called Fort Pillow, then in command of General Villepigue, an accomplished engineer. Foote began an attack on the 14th; but General Pope's troops, who had landed on the Arkansas shore, could not co-operate because the country was flooded. Pope was soon called by Halleck to Shiloh, and the navy was left to do the best it could. Foote was soon

obliged to turn over the command to Captain C. H. Davis, on account of the painfulness of his foot from a wound received at Fort Donelson.

On the 20th of May, Hollins, who had reorganized his flotilla, attacked Foote, and was assisted by the heavy guns of Fort Pillow, but the Confederate vessels were repulsed. For a fortnight afterward the belligerent fleets watched each other, when a "ram" squadron, prepared by Colonel Charles Ellet, Jr. (the builder of the Niagara Suspension Bridge), joined Foote's flotilla, and prepared to attack the foe. The Confederates, having heard of their disaster at Corinth, fled precipitately to Memphis on the 4th of June. Two days afterward the National flotilla won a victory over the Confederate squadron in front of that city, when Memphis passed into the possession of the Union forces, and it was speedily occupied by troops commanded by General Lewis Wallace. For a short time after these events, there was a lull in the storm of war westward of the Alleghany Mountains.

We left General Burnside and Commodore Rowan in Albemarle Sound after the capture of Roanoke Island and Elizabeth City and vicinity, preparing to make other important movements on the coast of North Carolina. They appeared in the Neuse River, eighteen miles below New Berne, on the evening of the 12th of March (1862); and early the next morning National troops led by Generals Foster, Reno and Parke, about fifteen thousand strong, were landed and marched against the defences of that town. The Confederates, under General Branch, who were inferior in numbers, occupied a strongly intrenched position. The Nationals moved against them at daylight on the morning of the 14th. The Confederates sustained a severe battle with great bravery and skill until, closely pressed on all sides by superior numbers, they broke, and fled across the Trent closely pursued by Foster. They burned the bridges behind them and so escaped, leaving their killed and wounded and two hundred men, who were made prisoners. The Nationals then took possession of New Berne; when General Parke proceeded to capture Fort Macon, on a point of Bogue Island near the entrance to Beaufort harbor. In this enterprise the National troops were assisted by gun-boats controlled by Commander Samuel Lockwood. The garrison made but slight resistance, and on the 25th of April, it was surrendered. At the same time the National troops under General Reno were quietly taking possession of important places on the coast of North Carolina, and threatening Norfolk in the rear. Plymouth, Winton and Washington were occupied by the National forces. Garrisons for these places so widely dispersed Burnside's troops, that he could no longer make aggressive movements, and he remained quietly in his department until he was summoned to Fortress Monroe at the middle of July. He held almost undisputed sway over the coast region from the Dismal Swamp to the Cape Fear River.

At the close of 1861, the National authority (as we have observed) was supreme along the Southern coast from Warsaw Sound, below the Savannah River, to the North Edisto well up toward Charleston. At the close of the year, General T. W. Sherman, in command in that region, directed his chief engineer, General Q. A. Gillmore, to reconnoiter Fort Pulaski, and report upon the feasibility of a bombardment of it. It was done, and Gillmore reported that it might be reduced by planting batteries of rifled guns and mortars on Big Tybee Island southeast of Cockspur Island, on which the fort stood. Explorations were made to discover some channel by

which gun-boats might get in the rear of the fort, and a New York regiment was sent to occupy Big Tybee Island. A channel was found, and land troops under General Viele, borne by gun-boats commanded by Captain John Rodgers, went through it to reconnoiter. Another expedition composed of land troops under General Wright, and gun-boats commanded by Fleet-Captain Davis, were sent by Admiral Dupont up to the Savannah River, by way of Warsaw Sound, Wilmington River and St. Augustine Creek, in rear of Fort Pulaski. The gun-boats of Rodgers and Davis had a skirmish with Tattnell's "mosquito" fleet; and having accomplished their object, the whole National force returned to Hilton Head, to the great relief of the inhabitants of Savannah, who supposed the expedition was abandoned. Soon afterward, however, the Nationals made a lodgement on Jones's Island, and erected a heavy battery at Venus's Point, also a smaller one on Bird Island, and so effectually closed the Savannah River in the rear of Fort Pulaski. It was absolutely blockaded near the close of February (1862) and on the 8th of March General David Hunter arrived as successor of General Sherman in command of the Department of the South, and he and Commodore Dupont, who was in command of the navy on that coast, acted in concert.

With great skill General Gillmore had planted his siege-guns on Big Tybee Island that commanded the fort; and on the 10th of April (1862), after Hunter had demanded its surrender and the commander of the fortress had refused compliance, thirty-six heavy rifled cannons and mortars were opened upon it under the direction of Generals Gillmore and Viele. It was gallantly defended until the 12th, when it was so battered that it was untenable, and it was surrendered. This was an important victory, for it enabled the Nationals to close the port of Savannah against the blockaderunners, which had become numerous and bold all along our coast.

In the meantime Commodore Dupont and General Wright had been making easy conquests on the coast of Florida. Early in February they captured Fort Clinch, on Amelia Island, which the Confederates had seized, and drove the insurgents from Fernanina. The Confederates speedily abandoned their other forts along the coasts of Florida and Georgia, which the Nationals took possession of; and a flotilla of gun-boats and transports, bearing land troops under Lieutenant T. H. Stevens, went up the St. John's River and captured Jacksonville on the 11th of March. St. Augustine was taken possession of at about the same time by Commander C. P. Rodgers, and the alarmed Confederates abandoned Pensacola and all their fortifications on the main opposite Fort Pickens. When Dupont returned to Port Royal, he found General T. W. Sherman in possession of Edisto Island; and before the first anniversary of the evacuation of Fort Sumter, the whole coast from Cape Hatteras to Perdido Bay west of Fort Pickens, excepting at Charleston and its immediate vicinity, had been abandoned by the Confederates.

At the beginning of 1862 the National Government had determined to repossess itself of the important positions of Mobile, New Orleans, Baton Rouge and Galveston, by which it might maintain the National supremacy over the Lower Mississippi, and attempt the occupancy of Texas. General Benjamin F. Butler was placed in command of the Department of the Gulf, which included these points, and comprised the whole theatre of proposed operations. He was directed to co-operate with the navy in the important enterprise and as the first object of the expedition

was New Orleans, he suggested Ship Island, off the coast of Mississippi, as a rendezvous for the land and naval forces. He gathered his troops at Fortress Monroe. When all was in readiness, he visited Washington, and on leaving the President, he said: "Good-bye; we shall take New Orleans or you will never see me again." Secretary Stanton said: "The man who takes New Orleans is made a lieutenant-general." Butler embarked at Fortress Monroe, with his wife, his staff, and about fourteen thousand troops, in the magnificent steamship Mississippi. He suffered vexatious delays at Port Royal; and it was thirty days before he reached Ship Island, a desolate sand-bar, without a house; and only a few charred boards could be found to make a shanty for the shelter of Mrs. Butler. General Phelps was there with Massachusetts and Connecticut troops, and had strengthened an unfinished fort on the Island. Admiral Farragut had also arrived with a naval force also a fleet of bomb-vessels commanded by Commodore David D. Porter, prepared to cooperate with the land and naval forces.

At a short bend in the Mississippi River, seventy-six miles from its passage into the Gulf of Mexico, were two forts - Jackson and St. Philip. These, with some fortifications above and obstructions in the river below, seemed to the Confederates to make the stream absolutely impassable by vessels of an enemy and they believed New Orleans, where there were ten thousand insurgent troops under General Mansfield Lovell (a former politician of New York), to be perfectly safe from invasion. The people continued their occupations, as usual and one of the journals said: Our only fear is, that the northern invaders may not appear. We have made such extensive preparations to receive them that it were vexation if their invincible armada escapes the fate we have in store for it." The test was soon made.

General Butler and the two naval commanders arranged a plan for the capture of New Orleans, which comprehended an attack on the forts below the city, first, by Porter's bomb-vessels, Farragut with his stronger vessels remaining as a reserve until the guns of the fort should be silenced. Failing in this, Farragut was to attempt to run by the forts, clear the river of Confederate vessels, isolate the forts and cut off their supplies and supports. Then General Butler was to land his troops in the rear of Fort St. Philip (the weaker one), and attempt to carry it by assault. This done, the land and naval forces were to press on toward New Orleans. The general command of the river defences of the Confederates was intrusted to General J. K. Duncan, formerly an office-holder in New York.

On the 17th of April the fleets of Farragut and Porter were in the river, with the former as chief commander of the naval forces; and Butler, with about nine thousand troops, was at the Southwest Pass. The fleets comprised forty-seven armed vessels, and these, with transports bearing troops, went up the river, Porter's mortar-boats leading. When these approached the forts, their hulls were besmeared with Mississippi mud and the masts, yards and rigging, were so covered with the branches of trees, that under this disguise they were enabled to take a position near the forts unsuspected. As when "Birnam Wood" moved "toward Dunsinane," the stratagem was successful. The Mississippi was full to the brim and a boom and other obstructions near Fort Jackson was swept away by the flood.

A battle was begun on the morning of the 18th (April, 1862), by a shot from Fort Jackson. Porter's mortar-boats responded. The latter were supported by the gun-boats; but after pounding the fortifications several days, Farragut, satisfied that he could not reduce them, prepared to run by them in the night of the 23rd. The mortar-boats led the way, and the remainder of the navy followed, gallantly breasting the swift-flowing current that went over the river banks and flooded every bayou. The perilous passage of the forts was begun at two o'clock in the morning. The mortar-boats were to cover the movement of the gun-boats. Farragut, in his flag ship Hartford, with two other strong vessels, was destined to keep near the right bank of the river and fight Fort Jackson; while Captain Theodorus Bailey, commanding eight gun-boats, was to keep closely to the eastern bank and fight Fort St. Philip. To Captain Bell was assigned the duty of attacking the Confederate fleet above the forts, with six gun-boats.

The night was intensely dark, and a tremendous battle was waged between the mortar-boats and the forts. The gun-boats as they came up gave the latter heavy broadsides of grape and canister shot, which drove the garrison from their barbette guns. The scene soon became grand and terrible. Fire-rafts, sent down by the Confederates, blazed fearfully, and rams" plunged against the National vessels with terrible force. The Hartford (Farragut's flag-ship), which was a wooden vessel, was set on fire, but the flames were soon extinguished. The fleet had scarcely passed the forts when it was assailed by a large flotilla of rams" and gun-boats. A grand and awful scene followed. The noise of twenty mortars and two hundred and sixty great guns, afloat and ashore, made a terrific sound. The explosion of shells that struck deep in the oozy ground, shook the land and water like an earthquake. Combine," wrote an eye-witness, all that you ever heard of thunder, and add to it all that you have ever seen of lightning, and you have, perhaps, a conception of the scene," in the darkness before daylight.

In that fearful struggle, the Nationals were victorious. From the fore-rigging of his ship Farragut had watched the combat through his night-glass, and conducted it as far as possible. Within the space of half an hour after the National vessels had left their anchorage, the forts were passed, the great struggle had occurred, and eleven vessels - nearly the whole of the Confederate flotilla - were destroyed. For awhile Captain Bailey sustained the fight with the Confederate flotilla almost unsupported, when Captain Boggs came to his assistance with the gun-boat Varuna, which immediately became the chief object of the wrath of the enemy. In his report Captain Boggs said that immediately after passing the forts, he found himself "amid a nest of rebel steamers." The Varuna rushed in among them (for the river was too narrow to permit her to avoid them), and fired broadsides right and left as she passed. The first one that received her fire was crowded with troops. Its boiler was exploded, and the vessel was run ashore. The Varuna ran three other gun-boats ashore, and had desperate struggles with the rams," until, badly wounded, she began to sink, when her commander tied her bow to trees and took out her crew and the wounded, while his latest antagonist was burning to the water's edge. So ended one of the fiercest combats of the war. It was short, sharp, and decisive." In that struggle on the bosom of the river, the Nationals lost only thirty killed and not more than one hundred and twenty-five wounded. The fleet, after the fight, rendezvoused at Quarantine, just above Fort St. Philip, and that was the first public property repossessed by the Government, in Louisiana.

While the battle was raging near the forts, General Butler landed his troops, and in small boats they went through narrow and shallow bayous in the rear of Fort St. Philip. The alarmed garrison mutinied, spiked the guns, and sallying out surrendered to Butler's pickets, declaring that they had been pressed into the service, and would fight no more. Porter had continued to bombard Fort Jackson, and after the fall of Fort St. Philip, it was surrendered to that officer with nearly one thousand men.

Meanwhile Farragut (who had thirteen vessels in safety above the forts) had gone up to New Orleans with his fleet, where a fearful panic prevailed, for the inhabitants had heard of the disasters below. Drums were beating; soldiers were seen hurrying to and fro; merchants had fled from their stores; women without bonnets and brandishing pistols were seen in the streets crying, "Burn the city! Burn the city! Never mind us! Burn the city! Military officers impressed vehicles into the service of carrying cotton to the levees to be burned; and specie to the amount of \$4,000,000 was sent out of the city by railway. Millions worth of other property, with a large number of citizens, had left the doomed town, among them General Twiggs, who betrayed his troops in Texas. Like Floyd, he feared the wrath of his injured Government, and fled, leaving behind him the two swords which had been awarded him for gallantry in Mexico, to fall into the hands of the invaders. And when, on the 25th of April, 1862, Farragut approached the city with nine vessels, General Lovell and his troops fled, the torch was applied to the cotton on the levee, and along the river front for miles a sheet of roaring flames burst forth. In that conflagration fifteen thousand bales of cotton, a dozen large ships and as many line steamboats, with unfinished gunboats and other large vessels, were burnt. The value of cotton, sugar, and other products destroyed, was immense. The citizens were held in durance by Farragut's guns, until the arrival of General Butler on the first of May, when the latter landed with his troops, took formal possession of the defenceless town, and made his headquarters at the St. Charles hotel. Butler ruled New Orleans with the rigor of martial law. Informed that a man named Mumford had pulled down the National flag where Farragut had unfurled it over the Mint, and had treated it in derision, Butler caused his arrest and his immediate trial on a charge of treason. He was convicted and hanged; the only man who has ever suffered death for that crime since the establishment of our National Government.

The loss of New Orleans was a terrible blow for the Confederates. It annihilated us in Louisiana," wrote a Confederate historian, diminished our resources and supplies by the loss of one of the greatest grain and cattle countries within the limits of the Confederacy, gave to the enemy the Mississippi River with all its means of navigation for a base of operations, and finally led, by plain and irresistible conclusions, to our virtual abandonment of the great and fruitful valley of the Mississippi."

The loss of New Orleans produced the greatest irritation in the public mind throughout the Confederacy, and the rigor of Butler's rule there excited the most violent personal hatred of the general. When he was about to leave New Orleans, Jefferson Davis, the chief of the Confederacy, issued a proclamation in which he pronounced Butler to be "a felon deserving of capital punishment" and he ordered that he should not be "treated simply as a public enemy of the

Confederate States of America, but as an outlaw, and common enemy of mankind and that, "in the event of his capture, the officer in command of the capturing force, do cause him to be immediately executed, by hanging." He also ordered that the same treatment should be awarded to all commissioned officers serving under Butler. A Georgian offered a reward of \$10,000 "for the infamous Butler." Richard Yeadon, a prominent citizen of Charleston, publicly offered a reward of \$10,000 for the capture and delivery of the said Benjamin F. Butler, dead or alive, to any Confederate authority." A Daughter of South Carolina," in a letter to the Charleston Courier, said "I propose to spin the thread to make the cord to execute the order of our noble President Davis, when old Butler is caught; and my daughter asks that she may be allowed to adjust it around his neck." And Paul R. Hayne, a South Carolina poet, wrote: "Yes! but there is one who shall not die in battle harness! One for whom Lurks in the darkness silently Another and a sterner doom! A warrior's end should crown the brave; For him, swift cord and felon's grave!"

Chapter CXXIII

Army of the Potomac - Armies Ordered to Move - McClellan's Plan of Operations - Evacuation of Manassas - "Promenade" of the Union Army - McClellan Relieved - The "Monitor" and "Merrimac" - Events in the Shenandoah Valley - Battle at Kernstown - Army of the Potomac on the Peninsula - Siege of Yorktown - Magruder's Strategy - Battle at Williamsburg - Tardy Movements - McClellan and the President - Capture of Norfolk - Military Events in the Valley - Battles at Winchester, Cross Keys and Port Republic - The "White House" - On the Chickahominy - Confederate Government Rebuked - Fatal Hesitation - Battle at Fair Oaks - Stuart's Raid.

While great activity prevailed in the valley of the Mississippi, the Grand Army of the Potomac, under General McClellan, had been lying almost inactive much of the time, in the vicinity of the National capital. It had, however, been growing in numbers and discipline; and early in 1862, it was composed of full two hundred thousand men. The battles of Ball's Bluff and Drainsville, already mentioned, had prevented its rusting into absolute immobility; and the troops were gladdened, from time to time, by promises of an immediate advance upon the Confederates at Manassas. On account of that expectation, very little had been done toward placing the troops in winter-quarters, and much suffering and discontent were the consequence. Efforts were made by many officers to break the monotony of camp-life; and the Secretary of War (Mr. Cameron) permitted the musical Hutchinson family to visit the camps and sing their simple and stirring songs. They were diffusing sunshine through the gloom of the army by delighting crowds of soldiers who listened to their sweet melody, when their career was suddenly checked by the following order: "By direction of General McClellan, the permit given to the Hutchinson Family to sing in the Camps, and their pass to cross the Potomac, are revoked, and they will not be allowed to sing to the troops."

Why not? Because a few of the officers of the army were afraid of offending the confederated slaveholders, and the Hutchinson's had been guilty of singing Whittier's stirring song, then lately written, to the tune of Luther's Hymn, "Ein feste burg ist unser Gott," in which, among eight similar verses, was the following: "What gives the wheat-fields blades of steel? What points the rebel cannon? What sets the roaring rabble's heel On th' old star-spangled pennon? What breaks th' oath Of th' men o' th' South? What whets the knife For the Union's life? Hark to the answer: Slavery."

On the 13th of January, 1862, the energetic Edwin M. Stanton succeeded Simon Cameron, as Secretary of War, and infused new life into the service. The people had become impatient and the President, satisfied that longer delay was unnecessary, issued a general order on the 27th of January, in which he directed a simultaneous forward movement of "all the land and naval forces of the United States against the insurgent forces on the 22nd day of February next ensuing. This order sent a thrill of joy through the heart of the loyal people, and it was heightened when the President ordered McClellan to move against the inferior force of Confederates at Manassas. Instead of obeying, McClellan remonstrated, and proposed to take his army to Richmond by the

circuitous route of Fortress Monroe and the Peninsula, between the York and James rivers, instead of attempting, with his large and well-equipped army, to press the Confederates back to their Capital. The President strongly urged the trial of the direct movement, as less expensive in time and money, and less perilous to the army but McClellan so steadily resisted this plan, that the patient Lincoln consented to submit the matter to a council of officers. They decided in favor of McClellan's plan by a vote of eight to four. The President acquiesced, but with many misgivings, which the result justified. The General-in-Chief had declared that he intended to wait for the forces in the West to gain victories before he should move upon Richmond. Well, the Grand Army of the Potomac had not fairly inaugurated its campaign in the spring of 1862, before the active little army of General Grant, and the forces under Generals Pope, and Buell, and Mitchel, and the gun-boats of Foote, had accomplished far more in the West than McClellan ever dreamed of being possible.

Informed that McClellan (who would not trust his commander-in-chief with his military secrets) intended to take to the Peninsula nearly the entire Grand Army of the Potomac, the President issued an order on the 8th of March, that no change of base in the operations of that army should be made without leaving a competent force for the protection of the Capital, that not more than fifty thousand troops should be removed toward the Peninsula until the navigation of the Potomac from Washington to the Chesapeake should be freed from the enemy's batteries and other obstructions; that the new movement should begin as early as the 18th of March and that the army and navy should co-operate in an immediate attack upon the Confederate batteries on the Potomac. Meanwhile the Confederates at Manassas had retired, and were falling back toward Richmond, in fear of the execution of the President's order to move upon them on the 22nd of February. When McClellan heard of this evacuation he crossed the Potomac and ordered his whole army to advance, not, as he afterward explained, to pursue the alarmed fugitives and to take Richmond, but to give his own army a little active experience preparatory to the campaign! After making a grand display of power at abandoned Manassas and a little beyond, the army moved back to Alexandria. This "promenade" (as one of McClellan's aids, a scion of the royal Orleans family of France called it) of the Grand Army of the Potomac, disappointed the people and disgusted the President, who, satisfied that McClellan's official burdens were greater than he could profitably bear, kindly relieved him of the chief care of the armies, on the 11th of March, giving him command of the Department of the Potomac. At the moment when the Confederates evacuated Manassas, a strange naval battle occurred in Hampton Roads. The insurgents had raised the Merrimac, one of the vessels that was sunk in the river at Norfolk, and had converted it into an iron-clad warrior, which they named Virginia, commanded by Captain Buchanan of our navy. On the 8th of March, that no change of base in the operations of that army should be made without leaving a competent force for the protection of the Capital, that not more than fifty thousand troops should be removed toward the Peninsula until the navigation of the Potomac from Washington to the Chesapeake should be freed from the enemy's batteries and other obstructions; that the new movement should begin as early as the 18th of March and that the army and navy should cooperate in an immediate attack upon the Confederate batteries on the Potomac. Meanwhile the Confederates at Manassas had retired, and were falling back toward Richmond, in fear of the execution of the President's order to move upon them on the 22nd of

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On his arrival, Worden reported to the flag-officer in the Roads, and learning the situation of affairs there, he promptly prepared to meet the iron-clad monster from Norfolk the next morning - the Sabbath. That morning dawned brightly, and in the gray twilight (March 9, 1862), the Merrimac was seen sweeping out of the Elizabeth River on its destructive errand. The Monitor, like a little David, moved to meet the Confederate Goliath, whose commander looked with contempt upon the "floating cheese-box," as he called his strange antagonist; but he soon found it to be a citadel, strong and well filled with destructive energy. Her revolving turret was invulnerable to the heaviest shot and shell thrown by her antagonist, and they glanced from the tower like pebbles from granite. The conflict that ensued was terrific. The ponderous missiles hurled from the Monitor soon bruised the Merrimac so fatally, that she fled up to Norfolk, her wounded commander confounded by the energy of his mysterious little antagonist. The Merrimac did not venture out again. The gallant Worden, who was regarded as the saviour of his country at a critical moment, was severely injured by having cement around the "peephole" in the turret through which he was watching his antagonist, thrown violently in his face by a heavy shot that

struck that point. He has been rewarded with the commission of Admiral.

The exploit of the Monitor seemed to promise safety to National vessels navigating the James River; and McClellan prepared to transfer the army of the Potomac to Fortress Monroe, which place he designed to make a base of supplies for his army while marching on Richmond. To secure Washington city, it was necessary to hold the Confederates in check in the Shenandoah Valley, where they were led by the zealous and gallant "Stonewall Jackson." He had been defeated by the dashing General Lander, at Blooming Gap, on the 14th of February; and when Johnston and his Confederates evacuated Manassas, Jackson had taken post at Winchester. General N. P. Banks was then in command of National troops near Harper's Ferry, destined for operations in the Shenandoah Valley; and when Jackson went further up that valley, he sent General Shields in pursuit. Shields soon turned back, and with a considerable body of troops encamped at Winchester. Jackson, reinforced, came down the Valley in force, infantry and cavalry, and attacked Shields at Kernstown just west of Winchester. Shields had only about seven thousand men, and twenty-four heavy guns. The battle that ensued (March 22, 1862) was short and severe. Shields was badly wounded. The Confederates were defeated, and fled up the valley closely pursued by Banks, who remained in that region to watch the insurgents while McClellan should move upon Richmond.

It was not until April when the Army of the Potomac began its campaign on the Virginia Peninsula. General McClellan had transferred a larger part of that army to Fortress Monroe, leaving about seventy-three thousand troops for the defence of Washington. At the beginning of April there were one hundred and twenty-one thousand men at Fortress Monroe (exclusive of the forces of General Wool), and a large portion of these now moved, in two columns, up the Peninsula; one column under General Heintzelman marching near the York River, and another under General Keyes, near the James River. A comparatively small Confederate force, under General J. B. Magruder, had formed a fortified line across the Peninsula, in the pathway of the Nationals; and by skillful tricks, Magruder so deceived McClellan as to the number of the Confederates, that the invaders were kept at bay, below Yorktown, nearly a month, while their leader was calling for reinforcements to enable him to break through the opposing line. Yorktown was regularly besieged under the direction of General Fitz John Porter, though the number of the Nationals was ten times as large as that of the Confederates. An attempt to carry the intrenchments on the Warwick River, by a division under General Smith of Keyes's column, caused a sharp engagement It failed; and finally Magruder fell back to a line of strong intrenchments in front of Williamsburg, where, on the 3rd of May, he wrote, after describing his strategy: "Thus, with five thousand men, exclusive of the garrison, we stopped and held in check over one hundred thousand of the enemy I was amused when I saw McClellan, with his magnificent army, begin to break ground before miserable earthworks [at Yorktown] defended by only eight thousand men." General Sumner, with the main body of the Nationals, had pursued the Confederates to Williamsburg, while McClellan remained at Yorktown to forward troops under General Franklin up the York River, to strike the left flank of the insurgents.

General Joseph E. Johnston, who had hastened to the Peninsula after the evacuation of

Manassas, was now in chief command in front of McClellan. Leaving a strong guard at Williamsburg to check the pursuers, Johnston fell back with his main army toward Richmond, with the intention of fighting the Nationals when they should approach that city. But he was compelled to fight sooner than he expected, for gallant and energetic men. Generals Hooker, Kearney and Hancock attacked that rear-guard on the 5th of May. Hard-pressed, Johnston sent back a large portion of his army to help them. A sanguinary battle followed. Hooker began the assault, knowing a large body of troops were within supporting distance, and for full nine hours he bore the brunt of the battle. Then Kearney came to his aid, and, Hancock having turned the flank of the Confederates, the latter precipitately retreated. In this perilous movement they were led by General James Longstreet, the ablest and best of the Confederate leaders in the war.

On the morning after the conflict, McClellan came upon the battle-field, just as the victors were about to press on in pursuit of the fugitives, who had left about eight hundred of their wounded behind them in their flight. He had kept Franklin so long at Yorktown, that the latter could not flank the Confederates and now, when the latter were flying evidently in a panic, the Commander-in-Chief would not allow a pursuit, but moved leisurely forward during the next ten or twelve days, reaching the Chickahominy River when Johnston was safely encamped beyond it. Experts on both sides declared, that had a vigorous pursuit followed the events at Williamsburg, the Confederate army might have been captured or dispersed. Franklin had secured a firm foothold at near the head of the York River, which was made the base of supplies for the Army of the Potomac in its earlier operations against Richmond. In the battle at Williamsburg, the Nationals lost twenty-two hundred men, of whom four hundred and fifty-six were killed. The Confederate loss was about one thousand.

More than a month, after General McClellan arrived at Fortress Monroe, had been consumed in moving only thirty-six miles toward Richmond, and the army had suffered fearful losses by sickness. Very few perished by the weapons of the enemy during the month's siege of Yorktown, but disease, said General J. G. Barnard, McClellan's chief engineer, in his report at the close of the campaign, took a fearful hold of the army; and toil and hardships, unredeemed by the excitement of combat, impaired their morale. We did not carry with us from Yorktown so good an army as we took there. "Of the bitter fruits of that month gained by the enemy, we have tasted to our heart's content." Twenty of the thirty days that the army lay before Yorktown were marked by heavy thundershowers, following in quick succession. The troops, wearied and overheated by labor, lay on the damp ground at night, and were chilled. "In a short time," wrote Dr. Marks, a participant, "the sick in our hospitals were numbered by thousands, and many died so suddenly that the disease had all the aspects of a plague."

One cause of McClellan's tardy advance was his constant fear of not having troops enough to meet the energetic Johnston. Before his army left Washington, Blenker's division of ten thousand men were taken from it to strengthen Fremont, who was in command of the Mountain Department beyond the Blue Ridge; and soon afterward McDowell's army corps were detached from McClellan's immediate command, and its leader instructed to report directly to the Secretary of War. McDowell was ordered to a position where he might assist in the defence of the Capital,

or in an attack upon Richmond, as circumstances might require. General Wool, with his ten thousand men at Fortress Monroe, was also made independent of McClellan's orders, although, like McDowell, he was directed to cooperate with the Army of the Potomac as far as possible. General McClellan, perceiving these indications of a lack of implicit confidence in his judgment, and feeling that he might be denied support at any time, startled the President on the 7th of April by telegraphing to the Secretary of War that he had only eighty-five thousand effective men, and might be called upon to confront one hundred thousand Confederates. He had just reported that he had over one hundred thousand effective troops. The President asked him to explain, and urged him to strike the foe before they should gather in greater strength on his front. Instead of that, McClellan continued to halt and complain of a want of troops. The President urged him to act. "The country will note - it is now noting," Mr. Lincoln said, "that the present hesitation to move upon an intrenched enemy is but the story of Manassas repeated." The President expressed the kindest feelings toward the general, and closed his letter with the remark, "But you must act." Still he hesitated and complained; and although, at the close of April, just before the Confederates evacuated Yorktown, he reported one hundred and twelve thousand soldiers on the Peninsula fit for duty, he complained that the lack of McDowell's force prevented Franklin striking the fugitives from Williamsburg on the flank. It is asserted that the chief cause of the failure was McClellan's hesitancy in deciding whether he should smite the Confederates on their front, or flank them, until it was too late to attempt either.

The veteran General John E. Wool had now been in command at Fortress Monroe for some time. He felt certain that the Confederate soldiers might easily be driven out of Norfolk; and after the affair at Williamsburg he obtained leave to make an effort to dislodge them. Having made a personal reconnaissance, he crossed Hampton Roads and landed a few regiments in the rear of Confederate works below that city. General Huger, in command at Norfolk, had already perceived his peril, with Burnside in his rear and McClellan on his flank, and he retreated. So Wool gained a bloodless victory on the 9th of May. The Confederate vessels in the James River hastened toward Richmond. The Confederates set fire to the battered Merrimac, and the troops fled from the city of Norfolk. A flotilla of National gun-boats, commanded by Commodore Rodgers, chased the Confederate vessels as far as Drewry's Bluff, eight miles below Richmond, where a strong fort and river obstructions checked the pursuers.

The wisdom of detaching McDowell's corps from the Army of the Potomac was soon made apparent. After the departure of Johnston, with his troops, from Manassas, which relieved Washington from immediate danger, McDowell advanced to Fredericksburg, with thirty thousand men, to assist McClellan or cover the Capital, as he might be ordered. Fremont among the mountains and Banks in the Shenandoah Valley had, in the aggregate, about the same number of troops; and at the beginning of May, Stonewall Jackson had been joined by the skillful General Ewell, near Harrisonburg, in the upper part of the Valley. Ewell was ordered to hold Banks, while General Robert E. Lee, who had been recalled from Georgia, should push across the Rappahannock with a strong column and cut off all communication between Winchester and Alexandria.

While Jackson was watching Banks he was startled by the approach of one of Fremont's brigades under General Milroy, evidently for the purpose of joining the Nationals in the Valley. Jackson immediately moved against Milroy; and at McDowell, west of Staunton, he struck the brigade a severe blow on the 8th of May. A sharp engagement occurred, lasting about five hours. Neither party won a victory. The Nationals lost in killed and wounded two hundred and fifty-six men, and the Confederates, four hundred and sixty-one. Notwithstanding it was a drawn battle, Jackson sent a note to Ewell the next morning, saying: "Yesterday, God gave us the victory at McDowell."

Meanwhile General Banks had been pressed back by Ewell, to Strasburg; and a fortnight later (May 23rd) a National force under Colonel J. R. Kenly, of Baltimore, was captured or dispersed at Front Royal by the combined troops of Jackson and Ewell. Perceiving his peril, Banks fled down the Shenandoah Valley in swift marches, pursued by twenty thousand Confederates, and won the race to Winchester, where he made a stand with seven thousand men, ten Parrott guns, and a battery of 6-pound smooth-bore cannon. There he was attacked by Ewell, on the 25th of May. Contemplating the contingency of a retreat, he had sent his trains toward the Potomac. Very soon Jackson approached with an overwhelming force, when Banks ordered a retreat, after his troops had fought gallantly for several hours. It was done in a masterly manner. They were pursued as far as Martinsburg, where the chase was ended. The Nationals reached the Potomac, at Williamsport, where, on the hill-sides, the wearied troops rested behind a thousand blazing camp-fires that night.

The National capital was now in real danger, and it could only be relieved from peril by the retreat or capture of the Confederates in the Shenandoah Valley. McDowell sent a force over the Blue Ridge to intercept them if they should retreat, and Fremont pressed on from the west, toward Strasburg, with the same object in view. Perceiving the threatened danger, Jackson fled up the Valley with his whole force, hotly pursued by the Nationals; and at Cross Keys, beyond Harrisonburg, Fremont overtook Ewell, when a sharp but indecisive battle occurred on the 7th of June. Jackson was then at Port Republic, beyond the Shenandoah River, only a few miles distant, so closely pressed by troops under Generals Carroll and Tyler, that he called upon Ewell for help. The latter retired from Cross Keys under cover of night, closely followed by the vigilant Fremont; but Ewell fired the bridge over the Shenandoah near Port Republic, before his pursuer could reach that stream. Jackson, having overwhelming numbers, routed the Nationals after a severe battle at Port Republic, and then the latter retraced their steps toward Winchester. So ended the second great race of contending troops in the Shenandoah Valley.

General McClellan, with the head of his pursuing army, reached the "White House," at the head of navigation of the Pamunkey River, on the 16th of May. The "White House" and surrounding lands belonged to General Robert E. Lee's wife, which she inherited from Mrs. Washington. It was not the "White House" in which the first months of Washington's married life was spent, for that had been burned more than thirty years before. It was a modern dwelling near the spot; but by McClellan's order it was carefully protected from harm, not a sick soldier being allowed to find shelter beneath its roof. From that point, the general pressed forward to Cool

Arbor, near the Chickahominy River, where he made his headquarters, within nine miles of Richmond. General Casey's division of General Keyes's corps crossed the river, and occupied heights on the Richmond side of the stream, supported by troops under General Heintzelman. Along the line of the Chickahominy the armies of McClellan and Johnston confronted each other toward the close of May, separated by a narrow stream liable to a sudden overflow of its banks and filling of the adjacent swamps. There the two commanders waited for decisive results in the Shenandoah Valley, each expecting reinforcements from that region.

In the meantime the Confederate government at Richmond, alarmed by the approach of the Nationals by land and water, had prepared to fly into South Carolina. They had actually sent their "archives to Columbia, and to Lynchburg, in Virginia. The Virginia Legislature, disgusted with the cowardice and perfidy of President Davis and his colleagues, passed resolutions (May 14) calling upon them to defend Richmond at all hazards, and resolved, with a clearness that deprived the trembling government of every excuse but fear, that "the President be assured that whatever destruction or loss of property of the State or individual shall thereby result, will be cheerfully submitted to." It is believed that this act was inspired by General Johnston, who saw with indignation the railroad bridge at Richmond covered with plank, for facilitating the flight of artillery across them, and a train of cars in constant readiness for the flight of Davis and his cabinet.

The first collision between the two armies near the Chickahominy occurred on the 23rd and 24th of May, one at New Bridge and the other at and near Mechanicsville, less than eight miles from Richmond. The Confederates were driven beyond the Chickahominy at Mechanicsville and a large part of the Nationals took possession of the Richmond side of the stream. This bold dash was followed the next morning by a stirring order by McClellan for an immediate advance on Richmond. The loyal people rejoiced. He had said to the Secretary of War, ten days before, I will fight the enemy, whatever their force may be, with whatever force we may have." Everything was in readiness for an advance and every circumstance was favorable, for panic had seized the inhabitants in Richmond, and the Confederate troops were not sanguine of a successful defence. But the over-cautious general hesitated until the golden opportunity was lost forever. This chronic hesitancy President Lincoln evidently anticipated, for about the time when McClellan issued his inspiring order, the former, anxious for the safety of the Capital, telegraphed to the general, I think the time is near when you must either attack Richmond or give up the job and come to the defence of Washington."

For several days afterward, operations on the flank of the great army made the sum of its action. General Fitz John Porter was sent to Hanover Court-House with a considerable force to keep the way open for McDowell to join the army, which McClellan persistently demanded. Porter had some sharp skirmishes near the Court-House, and cut railway communications with Richmond, all but the important one with Fredericksburg. The general telegraphed to the Secretary of War, that Washington was not in danger, and that it was the policy and the duty of the Government "to send him all the well-drilled troops available." When the raids on the Confederate communications had been effected, Porter rejoined the main army lying quietly on the

Chickahominy, and McClellan again telegraphed to the Secretary of War, saying: I will do all that quick movements can accomplish, but you must send me all the troops you can, and leave me full latitude as to choice of commanders."

Three days afterward there were "quick movements" in the Army of the Potomac. General Johnston, perceiving McClellan's apparent timidity and the real peril of his army so injudiciously divided by the fickle Chickahominy, marched boldly out from his intrenchments in front of Richmond, to attack the Nationals on the city side of the stream. On the 31st of May he fell with great vigor upon the National advance under General Silas Casey, lying upon each side of the Williamsburg road, half a mile beyond a point known as the Seven Pines, and six miles from Richmond. General Couch's division was at Seven Pines, his right resting at Fair Oaks Station. Kearney's division of Heintzelman's corps was near Savage's Station, and Hooker's division of the latter corps was guarding the approaches to the White Oak Swamp. The country around was quite level and mostly wooded, and dotted with marshes.

General Longstreet led the Confederate advance, and fell suddenly upon Casey. A most sanguinary battle ensued. Casey fought valiantly until full one-third of his command was disabled, and he was driven back by overwhelming numbers. Keyes sent troops to aid him, but they could not withstand the pressure, and the whole body was pushed back to Fair Oaks Station on the Richmond and York Railway. Reinforcements sent by Heintzelman and Kearney were met by fresh Confederates, and the victory seemed about to be given to the latter, when General Sumner appeared with the divisions of Generals Sedgwick and Richardson. Sumner had seen the peril, and without waiting orders from McClellan, had moved rapidly to the scene of action. He was just in time to check the Confederate advance. The battle still raged furiously. General Johnston was severely wounded and borne from the field; and early in the evening, a bayonet charge by the Nationals broke the Confederate line into confusion. The fighting then ceased for the night, but it was resumed in the morning (June 1, 1862), when General Hooker and his troops took a conspicuous part in the struggle, which lasted several hours. Finally, the Confederates withdrew to Richmond, and the Nationals remained masters of the battle-field of Fair Oaks, or Seven Pines, as it is sometimes called. The losses were nearly equal on both sides, and amounted to about seven thousand each. In that conflict General O. O. Howard lost his right arm.

The Army of the Potomac lay on the borders of the Chickahominy, in a most unhealthy position, for nearly a month after the battle of Fair Oaks, quietly besieging Richmond and the public expectation was continually fed by the frequent announcement that the decisive battle would be fought "to-morrow." General Robert E. Lee had succeeded the wounded Johnston in the command of the Confederate troops, and had been joined by Generals Jackson and Ewell from the Shenandoah Valley. Thus strengthened, Lee prepared to strike the Nationals a deadly blow. A large body of his cavalry under the dashing leader General J. E. B. Stuart, rode all around McClellan's army. He had fifteen hundred mounted men, and four pieces of horse-artillery. He swept around almost to the White House;" seized and burned fourteen wagons and two schooners laden with forage, in the Pamunkey, above the "White House;" captured and carried away one hundred and sixty-five prisoners and two hundred and sixty mules and horses; rested three hours,

and during the night crossed the Chickahominy and returned to Richmond by the Charles City Road, on the morning of the 15th of June. This raid, the first of similar and more destructive ones by both parties during the war, produced great commotion in the Army of the Potomac. In the meantime reinforcements had been called for by McClellan, and sent, yet that commander hesitated to strike.

Chapter CXXIV

Battles of Mechanicsville and Gaine's Mill - Transfer of the Army to the James River - Battles at Savage's Station, White-Oak Swamp and Glendale - Battle at Malvern Hill - The Army at Harrison's Landing - "Army of Virginia" - Battle of Cedar Mountain - Washington in Danger - McClellan and the Government - Flank Movement - Battles at Groveton, Bull's Run and Chantilly - Call for Volunteers - Barbara Frietchie - Battles on South Mountain and Antietam Creek - Burnside Succeeds McClellan - The Army at Fredericksburg and Battle There.

GENERAL LEE put General McClellan on the defensive when, on the 26th of June (1862), he sent "Stonewall Jackson," with a considerable force from Hanover Court-House, to turn the right wing of the National army and fall upon their base of supplies at the "White House." Jackson had been quietly withdrawn from the Shenandoah Valley, and at the proper time made the aggressive movement with much celerity. At the same time a heavier force, under General Longstreet and others, crossed the Chickahominy near Mechanicsville, and attacked McClellan's right wing commanded by General Fitz John Porter. Near Ellison's Mill, not far from Mechanicsville, a terrific battle was fought that day, in which the Confederates were defeated with a loss of between three and four thousand men. The Nationals, advantageously posted, lost about four hundred. This event is known in history as the battle of Mechanicsville.

By this victory, Richmond was placed at the mercy of the National troops; but McClellan, considering his army and stores in peril, immediately prepared to transfer both to the James River. This movement was so secretly and skillfully made, that Lee was not certified of the fact until twenty-four hours after it was actually begun on the morning of the 27th of June. McClellan ordered his stores at the White House to be destroyed if they could not be taken away; and the duty of protecting them in their removal was assigned to the corps of Fitz John Porter. That corps was also charged with the duty of carrying away the siege guns and covering the army in its march for the James River. These troops were accordingly arranged on the rising ground near Gaines's Mill, on the arc of a circle between Cool Arbor and the Chickahominy, where they were attacked in the afternoon (June 27) by a heavy Confederate force led by Generals Longstreet and Hill. The battle that ensued was very severe. Hard pressed, Porter sent to McClellan, who was on the opposite side of the river, for help; but the latter, believing Magruder's twenty-five thousand men at Richmond to be sixty thousand, sent only Slocum's division of Franklin's corps. Finding that the battle still raged with great fury, and doubtful of the issue, the commander-in-chief then sent the brigades of Richardson and Meagher across the river. They arrived just in time to save Porter's corps from destruction. His shattered column was falling back in disorder, closely pressed, when the shouts of the fresh troops checked the pursuers and so inspirited the fugitives that they rallied and drove the Confederates back to the field they had won. So ended the battle of Gaines's Mill, with a loss to the Nationals of eight thousand men, and to the Confederates, of about five thousand. Porter also lost twenty-two siege guns. During the night succeeding the battle his corps withdrew to the right side of the Chickahominy, destroying the bridges behind them.

Before the dawn of the 28th the National army moved toward Turkey Bend of the James River. General Keyes led the way through White Oak Swamp, followed by Porter's shattered corps. Then came a train of five thousand wagons laden with ammunition, stores and baggage, and a drove of twenty-five hundred head of beef cattle. This movement was so skillfully masked that General Lee, who suspected McClellan was about to give battle on the northern side of the Chickahominy, in defence of his stores at the "White House," or was preparing to retreat down the Peninsula, was completely deceived and it was late in the night of the 28th (June, 1862) when the astounding fact was announced to him that the Army of the Potomac were far on their way toward a new position on the James River. He had then just been informed that a large portion of the stores at the "White House" had been removed, and that the remainder, with the mansion itself, were in flames. To overtake and destroy the retiring army was now Lee's first duty, and he prosecuted the effort with so much vigor, that the Nationals had a desperate struggle to escape.

The divisions of Sedgwick, Richardson, Heintzelman and Smith, of Franklin's corps, were at Savage's Station, under the general command of Sumner. These formed McClellan's rear-guard. There they were assailed by a Confederate force under Magruder, whom Lee had sent for the purpose, and who first attacked Sedgwick at about nine o'clock on the 29th. Then a battle of great severity was fought, and it ended only at evening, after darkness had come on. Magruder was repulsed by the brigade of General Burns, supported by those of Brooke and Hancock. The Nationals fell back to White Oak Swamp covered by French's brigade, leaving twenty-five hundred of them wounded at Savage's Station, who became prisoners to the Confederates. By five o'clock the next morning the entire army had passed the Swamp, and destroyed the bridge behind them that spanned a creek which they had crossed in the passage.

There were severe contests on the morning of the 30th of June, at the main bridge in White Oak Swamp and at Glendale, near by. McClellan's main army had then reached the open country in the region of Malvern Hill. General Franklin had been left with a rear-guard to protect the passage of the bridge and cover the withdrawal of the wagon-trains from that point, and it was with him that the Confederate pursuers had a sharp contest which lasted nearly all day. The latter were kept back; and that night, the Nationals, having destroyed the bridge, withdrew, leaving behind them three hundred of their sick and wounded and some disabled guns. While the strife was going on there, a sanguinary battle was fought at Glendale, not far off, between the Nationals and a column of Confederates led by Longstreet and Hill. In that conflict, Pennsylvania troops, under General McCall, suffered much. That leader was captured, and General Meade was severely wounded. Fresh troops under Hooker, Meagher and Taylor, arrived in time to give the victory at Glendale to the Nationals and the next day (July 1, 1862) the Army of the Potomac, united for the first time since it was divided by the Chickahominy, were in a strong position on Malvern Hill, within the reach of National gun-boats on the James River. But General McClellan thought the position not a safe one, notwithstanding it is a high plateau, with a bold bank sloping toward the river and flanked by deep ravines; and on the morning of the first of July he went down the James River on the gun-boat Galena and selected a spot at Harrison's Landing, not far from Malvern Hill, as a secure place for his army and base of supplies.

By vigorous movements, Lee compelled the Nationals to fight while their chief leader was away. The Confederates were concentrated at Glendale, and were moved, in a heavy line under Lee's best generals, to carry Malvern Hill by storm. They fell with intense fury upon the Nationals, and one of the most terrible battles of the war was there fought. The brunt of it was borne by the troops of Porter, Couch and Kearney, until toward evening, when Meagher and Richardson came to their aid with fresh soldiers. The Confederates were sorely smitten by well-directed bomb-shells from the gun-boats.

This fierce contest continued, with varying fortunes for both parties, until nine o'clock in the evening, when the Confederates were driven to the shelter of the woods and swamps, utterly broken and dispirited. The victory for the Nationals was so decisive that their leaders expected to pursue Lee's shattered army in the morning, and march into Richmond within twenty-four hours. Their disappointment was grievous when General McClellan, who had been on board the Galena nearly all day while the army was fighting, ordered that army to fall back and encamp at Harrison's Landing. The chief officers felt that the prize for which they were contending, namely, the defeat of Lee's army and the capture of Richmond, now within their grasp, was snatched from them by a timid hand, and obedience was reluctantly but promptly given. It seemed to be a fitting ending of a campaign which had been a series of signal failures, with little fruit, excepting the loss since the 23rd of May of more than fifteen thousand men. The army lingered long among the malarious vapors of the James River, until many more had fallen victims of disease.

When Halleck succeeded McClellan as chief of the armies, he arranged the troops for the defence of Washington in three corps; and placing them under the command of General John Pope, who had been called from the West, named these forces the Army of Virginia. These corps were commanded respectively by Generals McDowell, Banks and Sigel. When McClellan had retreated to Harrison's Landing, the Confederates at Richmond, satisfied that no further attempts to take that city would be made at that time, ordered Lee to make a dash on Washington. Having information of Lee's preparations for a raid to the northward, Halleck ordered Pope, at the middle of July, to meet the invaders at the outset of the raid. National cavalry were first sent by General Rufus King, at Fredericksburg, who made excursions to within thirty or forty miles of the Confederate capital, and destroyed railway tracks and bridges.

At that time Stonewall Jackson was at Gordonsville with a heavy force, and Pope's main army was near Culpepper Court-House. The former, by Lee's orders, crossed the Rapid Anna; and at the foot of Cedar Mountain, a few miles west of the Court-House, he was met by General Banks toward the evening of the 9th of August. There occurred one of the most sanguinary battles of the war. Some of the time the struggle was carried on hand-to-hand, under an awful pall of smoke which, after nightfall, obscured the light of the moon. Banks was pressed back by overwhelming numbers, and sorely pressed, until the timely arrival of Rickett's division of McDowell's corps, which checked the pursuers. In this conflict Banks was ably assisted by Generals Crawford, Augur, Geary and others. The battle ceased at nine o'clock in the evening, though cannonading was kept up until midnight. "I have witnessed many battles during the war," wrote a newspaper correspondent, "but I have seen none where the tenacious obstinacy of the American character

was so fully displayed." The National loss was about two thousand men, killed and wounded, and that of the Confederates was about the same.

Jackson held fast to his mountain position until the night of the 11th (August, 1862) when, hearing of the approach of National troops from the Rappahannock, he fell back behind the Rapid Anne. Pope took position along the line of that stream, where he was reinforced by troops from the Carolinas under Generals Burnside and Stevens. The Confederates were now concentrated for a march on Washington, in heavy columns. Halleck, meanwhile, perceiving possible danger to the capital, had issued a positive order to McClellan, on the 3rd of August, for the immediate transfer of the Army of the Potomac to the vicinity of Washington. That commander instructed his superior officer that the true defence of Washington was on the banks of the James." The order was repeated with urgency; but it was twenty days after it was first given before the transfer was accomplished.

In the meantime there had been stirring events in the direction of the capital. Alarmed at the force which Lee had concentrated on his front, Pope retired behind the forks of the Rappahannock. Lee pushed forward to that river with heavy columns, and on the 20th and 21st of August, a severe artillery duel was fought above Fredericksburg, for seven or eight miles along that stream. Finding that they could not force a passage of the river, the Confederates took a circuitous route toward the mountains to flank the Nationals, when Pope made skillful movements to thwart them. But danger to the National Capital increased every hour. Troops were coming with tardy pace from the Peninsula; and on the 25th, when those of Franklin, Heintzelman and Porter had arrived, Pope's army, somewhat scattered, numbered about sixty thousand men. On that day, Jackson, leading the great flanking force, crossed the Rappahannock. By a swift march he went over the Bull's Run Mountain at Thoroughfare Gap, and at daylight the next morning he was at Manassas Junction on the railway between the Army of Virginia and the National Capital. Pope took measures for the capture of Jackson or to prevent his uniting with Longstreet then coming to support him; but the latter event soon occurred at Groveton, not far from the Bull's Run battle-ground. There, on the 29th of August (1862), the combined Confederates fought the whole of Pope's army excepting Banks's troops. The struggle was severe but indecisive. The loss in the battle at Groveton was about seven thousand men on each side.

Not doubting that he would be instantly reinforced by McClellan, who was at Alexandria, Pope prepared to renew the conflict the next morning. He confidently expected rations and forage from Alexandria, for McClellan had been ordered to supply them but on the morning of the 30th, when it was too late to retreat and perilous to stand still, Pope received an astounding note from General Franklin, written by direction of McClellan, that "rations and forage would be loaded into the available wagons and cars" as soon as he (Pope) should send a cavalry escort for the train! It was impossible. Assured that he would not receive support from McClellan, Pope was compelled to fight under great disadvantages. Deceived by what appeared to be a retreat of Lee's army, he was drawn into an ambush on a part of the former battle-ground of Bull's Run, not far from Groveton, and there a most sanguinary conflict ensued. The Nationals were defeated; and flying across Bull's Run to Centreville, they were there reinforced by the troops of

Franklin and Sumner. Pope had labored hard under many difficulties; and he complained bitterly of a lack of cooperation with him, in his later struggles, by McClellan and some of his subordinates. After the most strenuous efforts of the President and General Halleck to have the Army of the Potomac join the Army of Virginia in confronting Lee, Pope was joined by only about twenty thousand of the ninety-one thousand who were at Harrison's Landing. McClellan seemed more ready to give advice than to obey orders. "I am not responsible for the past, and cannot be for the future," he wrote to Halleck, "unless I receive authority to dispose of the available troops according to my judgment." And after, by delays, he had thwarted the efforts of the government to get Franklin's corps in a position to give Pope much-needed aid on the 29th, and Halleck had urged him to act promptly in finding out where the enemy was, for he was "tired of guesses," McClellan telegraphed to the President, saying I am clear that one of two courses should be adopted. First, to concentrate all our available forces to open communication with Pope; second, to have Pope to get out of his scrape, and at once use all our means to make the Capital safe."

Lee was afraid to attack the Nationals at Centreville, so he sent Jackson on another flank movement which brought on a battle at Chantilly, north of Fairfax Court-House. It was fought in a cold and drenching rain. For awhile the conflict was very severe, and in it Generals Philip Kearney and Isaac A. Stephens perished. The losses on each side were large. The Nationals, under General Birney, held the field that night, and the next day the broken and demoralized army was sheltered behind the fortifications around Washington city. Pope now repeated, with great earnestness, a request to leave the Army of Virginia and return to the West. His desire was gratified. Then the Army of Virginia disappeared as a separate organization and became a part of the Army the Potomac, and McClellan was placed in command of all the troops defending the Capital. The disasters which had befallen the armies of the Potomac and of Virginia caused a momentary gloom to fall upon the spirits of the loyal people, but it was soon dispelled.

At the request of the governors of many States, the President, on the first of July (1862), called for three hundred thousand volunteers to serve during the war; and in August he called for three hundred thousand more, for three months, with the understanding that an equal number would be drafted from the citizens who were between eighteen and forty-five years of age, if they did not appear among the volunteers. These calls were cheerfully responded to; and the Confederate government, alarmed, ordered General Lee to make a desperate effort to capture Washington city before the new army should be brought into the field. Lee was immediately reinforced. Perceiving the folly of making a direct attack upon the well fortified National Capital, he crossed the Potomac above that city (near the Point of Rocks) into Maryland to assail Baltimore, and if successful, to fall upon Washington in the rear. He made the passage with almost his entire army, and on the 7th of September was encamped at Frederick, on the Monocacy. There, on the 8th, he issued a stirring appeal, in the form of a proclamation, to the people of Maryland, and raised the standard of revolt. He did not doubt that thousands would resort to it; on the contrary, he lost more men by desertion than he gained by recruiting there.

When General McClellan heard of Lee's invasion of Maryland, he left General Banks, with

some troops, to defend Washington, and crossing the Potomac above the National Capital, with about ninety thousand men, he advanced cautiously toward Frederick, which Lee evacuated at their approach. There McClellan discovered Lee's plan for seizing Washington. It was to take possession of Harper's Ferry and open communication with Richmond by way of the Shenandoah Valley, and then marching toward Pennsylvania, entice McClellan far in that direction. At a proper moment Lee was to turn suddenly, smite and defeat his antagonist, and then march upon Washington.

It is related that when the head of Lee's army led by Stonewall Jackson entered Frederick, Barbara Frietchie, a very old woman, in defiance of an order for hauling down every Union flag, kept one flying from the dormer window of her house near the bridge over the Monocacy Creek, in the town. Seeing it, Jackson ordered his riflemen to shoot away the staff. When it fell the patriotic Barbara snatched it up, and leaning, says Whittier, "Far out on the window sill, She shook it forth with a royal will; Shoot, if you must, this old gray head, But spare your country's flag, she said. A shade of sadness, a blush of shame, Over the face of the leader came: The nobler nature within him stirr'd To life at that woman's deed and word; Who touches a hair of yon gray head, Dies like a dog - March on! he said. All day long through Frederick street Sounded the tread of marching feet. All day long that free flag tost Over the head of the rebel host."

The Nationals followed the Confederates from Frederick, in two columns, over the South Mountain into the beautiful valley of the Antietam Creek. The right and centre of the Nationals moved by the way of Turner's Gap, Burnside leading the advance and the left, composed of Franklin's corps, by way of Crampton's Gap, on the same range, nearer Harper's Ferry. At Turner's Gap, Burnside fought a desperate battle on the 14th of September; and at the same time Franklin was trying to force his way at Crampton's Gap, to get between General Lee and Harper's Ferry, where Colonel Miles, a Marylander, was in command of National troops. The strife at Turner's Gap ceased at dark, with a loss to the Nationals of about fifteen hundred men, of whom a little more than three hundred were killed. Among the latter was the gallant General Reno. The Nationals intended to renew the battle in the morning; but the Confederates withdrew under cover of the night, and Lee concentrated his forces on Antietam Creek, near Sharpsburg. Franklin, in the meantime, had fought his way over the Mountain into Pleasant Valley; and on the evening of the 14th (September) was within six miles of Harper's Ferry, which was then invested by a strong force under "Stonewall Jackson." The Confederates held the advantageous positions of Maryland and Loudon Heights on each side of the Potomac, which commanded the post at Harper's Ferry, and the latter could be preserved from capture only by help from outside. This Franklin was about to give; but before he could do so, Miles surrendered the post to Jackson, after sending away his cavalry. This unfortunate and unnecessary movement, deprived the Nationals of a vast advantage which they might have gained by the apparently easy possession of Harper's Ferry, at that time. Miles's conduct was such, that his loyalty to the Republic was justly suspected.

On the 16th of September, the Confederate army was well posted on the heights near Sharpsburg, on the western side of the Antietam Creek. The Confederates had been followed from South Mountain cautiously, for McClellan professed to believe them to be in overwhelming

numbers on his front. But Lee's army then numbered only sixty thousand, while McClellan's effective force was eighty-seven thousand. The latter hesitated to attack; and when he was put upon the defensive by a sharp artillery assault by Confederate cannon, the crisis had passed before he was ready to respond. Then the brave and energetic Hooker was permitted to cross the Antietam with a part of his corps, commanded by Generals Ricketts, Meade, and Doubleday. This passage was made on the extreme right of the Confederates, where he had a sharp and successful combat with the foe led by General Hood. Hooker's men lay upon their arms that night. Other National troops passed over under cover of the darkness. These were the divisions of Williams and Greene, of Mansfield's corps, who bivouacked a mile in Hooker's rear.

The best of McClellan's generals expecting a heavy engagement in the morning, awaited these movements with great anxiety. In this feeling the army of Lee concurred. At dawn on the morning of the 17th (September, 1862), Hooker opened the battle by assailing the Confederate left with about eighteen thousand men. The enemy were led by Jackson. Hooker had Doubleday on his right, Meade on his left, and Ricketts in the centre, With varying fortunes the contest raged on that wing of the army and along the centre until late in the afternoon. The National chief, with a lofty faith that all would be well, did not leave his room at Pry's (his headquarters) that morning until eight o'clock, when the hills had been echoing the cannon-thunder for hours. Then he went out and viewed the progress of the battle from the opposite side of the Antietam, where he held Porter's corps, with artillery, and Pleasonton's cavalry in reserve until toward evening, when he sent some troops to assist the fighters.

Meanwhile General Burnside, with the left wing of the Nationals, had been holding in check, and fighting the Confederate right under Longstreet, since eight o'clock in the morning, with varying success and he was on the point of gaining a victory there, when the Confederates were reinforced by General A. P. Hill's division, which had hurried up from Harper's Ferry to the support of Lee. Darkness ended the struggle, which had lasted from twelve to fourteen hours. Both armies were severely smitten. The Nationals lost twelve thousand four hundred and seventy men, and McClellan estimated the Confederate loss to have been much greater. The advantage was decidedly with the Nationals that night. Lee's army, shattered and disorganized, and his supplies nearly exhausted, was without reinforcements near; while McClellan's was joined the next morning by fourteen thousand fresh troops. A vigorous movement on his part, that morning, might have put the whole Confederate force into McClellan's hands as prisoners of war; but with chronic hesitation and indecision, he refused to allow his army to pursue the retreating foe until thirty-six hours after the battle. His reasons for his dilatoriness were given in an apologetic tone, in his report, as follows: "Virginia was lost, Washington was menaced Maryland invaded - the National cause could afford no risks of defeat."

When, on the morning of the 19th of September, McClellan advanced, Lee had fled, under cover of the night, and was with his shattered army behind strong batteries on the Virginia side of the Potomac. A feeble pursuit was attempted and abandoned. Two brigades crossed the river, and were surprised and driven back into Maryland, when Lee, counting upon McClellan's habitual slowness, moved leisurely up the Shenandoah Valley. McClellan took possession of abandoned

Harper's Ferry, and called for reinforcements and supplies to enable him to pursue the fugitives; and ten days afterward, when the news was hourly expected that the Army of the Potomac were in swift pursuit of Lee's shattered columns, the commander of the National army proclaimed that he intended to hold his troops where they were, and "attack the enemy should he attempt to cross into Maryland." The President, astounded by this declaration, hastened to McClellan's headquarters, in person, to ascertain the true state of the case. He was so well satisfied that the army was capable of a successful pursuit at once, that he ordered McClellan (October 6, 1862) to cross the Potomac immediately for that purpose. Twenty precious days were afterward spent in correspondence between the disobedient general and his patient superiors, before the former obeyed, during which time Lee's army was thoroughly recruited in every way, and his communications with Richmond were well established.

The beautiful month of October passed away. The roads in Virginia were never in a finer condition; and the loyal people were becoming exceedingly impatient, when, on the 2nd of November, McClellan announced that his great army was once more on the soil of Virginia, prepared to move southward on the east side of the Blue Ridge instead of up the Shenandoah Valley, as he had been ordered to do. The patience of the Government and its friends was now exhausted. They had lost faith in McClellan's ability or disposition to achieve a decisive victory over the Confederates, and on the 5th of November he was superseded in the command of the Army of the Potomac by General Ambrose E. Burnside, of Rhode Island. So ended General McClellan's unsuccessful military career. He then entered the field of politics in opposition to the administration, and was equally unsuccessful there.

The Army of the Potomac was now about one hundred and twenty thousand in number. It was reorganized by Burnside and he took measures for the early seizure of the Confederate capital rather than for the capture or destruction of the Confederate army. He made Acquia Creek, on the Potomac, his base of supplies; and he hastened to place his army at or near Fredericksburg, on the Rappahannock, from which he might march on Richmond. Lee, in the meantime, had gathered about eighty thousand men on the Heights in the rear of Fredericksburg, with three hundred cannon, and had destroyed all the bridges that spanned the Rappahannock in that vicinity.

It was the second week in December when the opposing great armies in Virginia were lying in parallel lines within cannon-shot of each other, with a narrow river between them. Sixty thousand National troops, under Generals Sumner and Hooker, lay in front of Fredericksburg, with one hundred and fifty cannon on Stafford Heights under the chief direction of General Hunt; and the corps of Franklin, about forty thousand strong, was encamped about two miles below. The troops could cross the river only on pontoons or floating bridges; and on the 11th of December, early in the morning, the engineers went quietly at work to construct five of them. These men were assailed and driven away by sharpshooters concealed in buildings on the opposite shore. The batteries on Stafford Heights then opened a heavy fire on the town to drive out the enemy, and the city was set on fire, in many places, by the shells but the sharpshooters remained. Then a party of volunteers went across the river in open boats, in the face of flying bullets from

Mississippi rifles, to dislodge the sharp-shooters. A drummer-boy from Michigan, named Hendershot, begged leave to go along, but was refused permission. Then he asked and obtained permission to push off one of the boats, when he allowed himself to be dragged into the water. Clinging to the vessel, he was conveyed to the opposite shore. Several men in the boat were killed; and when the boy was climbing the bank, his drum was torn in pieces by a flying fragment of an exploded shell. Then he seized the musket of a slain companion, and fought gallantly until the sharp-shooters were driven away or captured. The bridges were finished, and by the evening of the 12th a greater portion of the National army occupied Fredericksburg.

On the morning of the 13th the National army made a simultaneous assault all along the National line, where a most sanguinary battle occurred, which ended with a repulse of Burnside's forces with a loss of almost fourteen thousand men. In this struggle, Generals Franklin, Couch, Hooker, Sumner, Meade, Doubleday, Howard, Humphrey, Wilcox, Hancock, French, Sturgis, Getty, Meagher and others were conspicuous. In the fight, the Confederates lost about half as many as the number lost by the Nationals. Burnside, anxious to gain a victory, was disposed to renew the battle the next day, but was dissuaded by some of his best officers, and his troops remained on the city side of the river until the night of the 15th unmolested by the Confederates. Then, under cover of darkness, they crossed the stream with all their cannon, taking up the pontoons behind them.

This failure produced some dissatisfaction, and Burnside was soon afterward superseded in the command of the Army of the Potomac by General Joseph Hooker. It was the misfortune, not the fault of the gallant Burnside, that he did not succeed at Fredericksburg. The Army of the Potomac now went into winter-quarters on the borders of the Rappahannock.

Hooker's first care was to prevent desertion, secure the return of absentees on furlough, and to weed noxious materials out of the army. Disloyal officers were dismissed as soon as they were discovered and the evils of idleness were prevented by keeping the soldiers employed. The express trains in the service of the Government were regularly searched, and all property belonging to private citizens was confiscated or destroyed. The army was comfortably huddled; and important changes were made in its organization and its staff department. The cavalry, hitherto scattered among the grand divisions and without organization, as a corps, were consolidated, and were soon placed in a condition of greater efficiency than had ever before been known in the service; and to improve them, they were sent out upon raids within the Confederate lines whenever the condition of the roads would permit. The region between Bull's Run and the Rapid Anna became the theatre of many daring exploits by the horsemen of both armies.

Chapter CXXV

National Rule in the Southwest - Guerrillas - Invasion of Kentucky - Cincinnati Saved - Battle at Mumfordsville and Perryville - Army of the Cumberland - Battle at Iuka Springs - General Ord's Movements - Battle at Corinth and Operations near - Capture of Baton Rouge - Destruction of the Arkansas - Operations in Arkansas and Louisiana - Battle at Murfreesboro - Emancipation Proclamation - The Confederate Government - Davis President - Doings of the Confederate congress - British Sympathy with the Confederates - The Alabama - Operations against Vicksburg - Operations on the Mississippi - Battles at Port Gibson, Raymond, Jackson, Champion Hills and Big Black River - Vicksburg Invested.

THE Lower Mississippi, from its mouth to New Orleans, was in the possession of the National military and naval forces under General Butler and Commodore Farragut, at the beginning of the summer of 1862. So, also, was the same river, from Memphis to St. Louis, controlled by the Government troops and vessels while the National forces held sway over southern Tennessee, and northern Alabama and Mississippi.

Although the great armies of the Confederates had been driven from Kentucky and Tennessee, the absence of any considerable Union force excepting on the southern border of the latter State, permitted a most distressing guerrilla warfare to be carried on within the borders of those commonwealths by mounted bands, who, with gallant leaders, hovered upon the rear and flanks of the National forces, or roamed at will over the whole country, plundering the Union inhabitants. One of their leaders was John Morgan, a bold Alabamian, at the head of dashing mounted men, who appeared in Kentucky, and raiding through that State prepared the way for the advance of an invading army from Chattanooga, led by General Braxton Bragg. Another mounted force, led by N. B. Forrest, was sweeping over a portion of Tennessee for the same purpose at the same time; and at the middle of July he threatened the Union post at Nashville, then in command of General Negley. In the meantime, General Bragg was pushing toward Kentucky by a route eastward of Nashville, while General Buell was moving in the same direction, on a parallel line, to foil the invaders.

General E. Kirby Smith, a native of Connecticut, leading the van of Bragg's army, entered Kentucky from East Tennessee, and pushed on rapidly to Lexington, fighting and defeating a National force, on the 30th of August, under General D. Manson, near Richmond in that State. The Secessionists of Kentucky warmly welcomed the invaders, and swelled their ranks at every step. The alarmed Legislature of Kentucky, sitting at Frankfort, fled to Louisville, while Smith pressed vigorously on in the direction of the Ohio River, with the intention of capturing and plundering Cincinnati. He was unexpectedly confronted on the southern side of the Ohio by strong fortifications and a considerable National force under the energetic General Lewis Wallace, who had proclaimed martial-law in Cincinnati, Covington and Newport, and in a stirring proclamation, demanded the instant cooperation of the people. "Citizens for the labor - soldiers for the battle," was the principle announced. The response was wonderful. In the course of a few hours he had at his command an army of workers and fighters forty thousand strong. The invader

recoiled and falling back to the Kentucky State capital (Frankfort), seized it, and there awaited the arrival of Bragg, who crossed the Cumberland River and entered Kentucky on the 5th of September, with forty regiments and forty cannon.

Bragg's advance, eight thousand strong, under General J. R. Chalmers, encountered a National force under Colonel T. J. Wilder, at Mumfordsville, on the 14th of September. It was on the line of the Nashville and Louisville Railway. A battle began at dawn and lasted about five hours, when the Confederates were repulsed but two days afterward a stronger force under General (Bishop) Polk fell upon Wilder, and after a severe struggle he was compelled to yield to vastly superior numbers. Bragg was elated by this success, and joining Smith, at Frankfort, he prepared to make a supposed easy march to Louisville, his destination. His army then numbered about sixty-five thousand effective men, and the movements of Buell seemed too tardy to promise serious impediments. Bragg was mistaken. Buell, who had kept abreast of Bragg, suddenly turned upon him with about sixty thousand men, and near the little town of Perryville, in Boyle county, they had a fierce combat on the 8th of October. In that battle the Nationals lost about four thousand three hundred and fifty men but the invaders were so roughly handled that they fled in haste, that night, toward East Tennessee, followed by their marauding bands, who had plundered the inhabitants in every direction. They started in their retreat with a wagon train of stolen property, forty miles in length, but were compelled to leave a large portion of it behind. The whole expedition seems to have had no higher aims than that of a plundering raid. It proved disastrous to Bragg's army, and would have caused its total ruin if that army had been vigorously pursued. Soon afterward, General Rosecrans, who had won substantial victories in northern Mississippi, succeeded Buell in the command of the Army of the Ohio, and its name was changed to that of the Army of the Cumberland.

While General Bragg was plundering the Kentuckians, bands of Confederates were raiding through western Tennessee to draw attention from the invaders; and the army in northern Mississippi, now led by General Beauregard, had advanced toward Tennessee under Generals Van Dorn and Price. General Rosecrans was then in command of the Army of the Mississippi, charged with the duty of holding the region lately repossessed by the Nationals in consequence of the evacuation of Corinth and the valor of Mitchel.

Rosecrans was at Tusculum when General Grant informed him that danger was gathering westward of him; and when he moved toward Corinth, Price advanced toward Iuka Springs, a summer watering-place in northern Mississippi, to meet him. Near the village of that name, Rosecrans and Price met on the 19th of September, and fought a most severe battle. The disparity in numbers was very great. Price had full eleven thousand men, while Rosecrans did not have more than three thousand men actually engaged in the struggle. During the battle, which was extremely fierce, there was a desperate contest for the possession of an Indiana battery which the Confederates had seized after all the horses belonging to it, and seventy-two of its artillerymen, were killed. It was fought for hand-to-hand. Charges and counter-charges were made until, at length, the Confederate soldiers dragged the cannon off the field, with ropes. But the Confederates were so badly beaten in the battle, that they fled southward in great haste and

confusion. The National loss was nearly eight hundred; that of the Confederates over fourteen hundred. Meanwhile General Ord, whom Grant had sent to aid Rosecrans, had been watching the movements of a body of the Confederates who were making feints against Corinth. He had, according to orders, marched within four miles of Iuka; instructed to wait there until he should hear Rosecrans's great guns. A high wind from the north prevented their sounds reaching him. Ord lay there until the next morning, when he pushed on toward Iuka and found Rosecrans a victor and his foe departed. Then Ord retired to Bolivar, between Corinth and Memphis, while Rosecrans concentrated his troops at Corinth and prepared to meet an impending attack by the combined forces of Van Dorn and Price. These, about forty thousand in number, were united at Ripley, and at the close of September they moved on Corinth. At that place the opposing armies battled fiercely on the 3rd and 4th of October, when the result was the repulse of the Confederates, the pursuit of them to Ripley, and a loss on the part of the Nationals of more than twenty-three hundred men. The Confederates lost about nine thousand men, including prisoners. On their retreat a part of Van Dorn's troops fought the forces of Ord at the Hatchee River, where the latter was severely wounded. For awhile after this event there was comparative repose in General Grant's department.

The only obstructions to the free navigation of the Mississippi River, in the spring of 1862, were at Vicksburg and at Port Hudson below. Vicksburg, a city of Mississippi, situated on a group of high eminences known as the Walnut Hills, on the eastern bank of the Mississippi River, at a bold turn in the stream, was a point of great military importance, for it had been fortified by the Confederates and was daily growing stronger. It promised to become impregnable for those who were opposing the grand scheme of the National Government for gaining the absolute control of that great stream, and thus securing important portions of the Confederacy. Toward the seizure of that point, operations in the southwest were soon tending. To remove these obstructions, Farragut, in command of National vessels, bent his energies. So early as the 7th of May (1862), Baton Rouge, the capital of Louisiana, had been captured by the National forces by land and water, when Farragut went up the river to Vicksburg and there held communication with the commanders of gunboats above. Finally, he attacked the batteries there (June 26); and he also attempted to cut a canal across a peninsula in front of Vicksburg, so as to avoid the Confederate guns at the city altogether; but he failed in his undertakings, and descended the river with his vessels. This movement was followed, early in August, by an attack upon Baton Rouge, by a Confederate force led by General J. C. Breckenridge. The post was then in command of General Thomas Williams. There was a desperate struggle for about two hours, in which the Twenty-first Indiana Regiment was conspicuous. It lost all of its field-officers before the end of the action. Seeing this, General Williams placed himself at its head, exclaiming, "Boys, your field-officers are all gone; I will lead you!" They gave him three hearty cheers, when a bullet passed through his breast and he fell dead. He had just issued orders for the line to fall back, which it did, in good order, with Colonel Cahill of the Ninth Connecticut in chief command. The Confederates, dreadfully smitten, also fell back, and then retreated.

The insurgents had constructed a formidable "ram," which they named Arkansas. With it they expected to sweep every National vessel from the Mississippi, and drive the Yankees from New

Orleans." It did not arrive at Baton Rouge in time to engage in the attack upon the National forces there; but on the morning after the battle, Commodore Porter, with the gunboat Essex, accompanied by the Ciyuga and Sumter, went up the river to meet her. They found her five miles above Baton Rouge. After a short and sharp fight, she became unmanageable, and was headed toward the river bank and set on fire. Just as she touched the shore her magazine exploded, and the monster was blown into fragments.

During the summer and autumn of 1862, there were some stirring events in Missouri and Arkansas. After the battle at Pea Ridge, Curtis marched eastward, with his army, to assist in military operations on the borders of the Mississippi River; but he remained some time at Helena, menacing Little Rock and smiting guerrilla bands that roamed that State. Missouri was equally infested with guerrillas; and in June (1862) that Commonwealth was erected into a separate military district, with General J. M. Schofield at its head. He was vigilant and active; and with a force thirty thousand strong, scattered over the State in six divisions, he soon subdued, in a great degree, the numerous roaming bands that overran it. From April until September, about one hundred battles and skirmishes were fought in that State. Schofield drove out troops that came over the southern border to help the Missourians in arms, and these fugitives formed the nucleus of a force, about forty thousand strong, which gathered in Arkansas under General T. C. Hindman, formerly a member of Congress.

Leaving Curtis in command of the Missouri district, Schofield marched against Hindman, with eight thousand troops under General J. G. Blunt, in southern Missouri. With these he sought the shy Confederates in the vicinity of the Ozark Mountains. Blunt attacked a portion of them at Fort Wayne, near Maysville, on the 22nd of October, and drove them into the Indian country. A week later a cavalry force, under General F. T. Herron, struck another portion on the White River, eight miles from Fayetteville, and drove them into the mountains. Soon after this, ill health compelled Schofield to leave the field, when the command devolved upon General Blunt.

Hindman now determined to strike a decisive blow for the recovery of his State from National control. Late in November he had gathered about twenty thousand men on the western borders of Arkansas. He moved against Blunt, and on the 28th his advance, composed of Marmaduke's cavalry, was attacked and defeated by Blunt, on Boston Mountains. The latter then took position at Cane Hill, when Hindman, with eleven thousand men, prepared to crush him. Blunt sent for General Herron, then just over the border, in Missouri, to come and help him. Herron soon promptly complied, and the combined forces fought and defeated Hindman at a little settlement called Prairie Grove. The Confederates were driven in confusion over the mountains.

Meanwhile there had been stirring events nearer the Gulf of Mexico, west of the Mississippi. Texas was then under Confederate rule. So early as May, 1862, Commander Eagle, with a small squadron of National vessels, appeared before Galveston, and demanded its surrender. There was prompt refusal to comply; and so the matter remained until October following, when the civil authorities of that city surrendered it to Commodore Renshaw of the National navy. At the same time General Butler sent aggressive expeditions into the interior of Louisiana. The most

important of them was led by General Godfrey Weitzel, who went with a strong force to "repossess" the rich La Fourche parish. This was accomplished, after a severe engagement at Labadieville, on the 27th of October. Very soon afterward the eastern portions of Louisiana, along the borders of the Mississippi, were brought under National control. On the 10th of December following, General Butler was succeeded in the command of the Department of the Gulf by General N. P. Banks.

The year 1862 was now drawing to a close. General Grant had concentrated the bulk of his army at Holly Springs, in Mississippi, where he was confronted by Van Dorn; at about the same time, General Rosecrans, with a greater part of the Army of the Cumberland, was moving southward to attack Bragg at Murfreesboro, below Nashville. Rosecrans was assisted by Generals Thomas, McCook, Crittenden, Rousseau, Palmer, Sheridan, J. C. Davis, Wood, Van Cleve, Hazen, Negley, Mathews and others; and Bragg had, as his lieutenants, Generals Polk, Breckenridge, Hardee, Kirby Smith, Cheatham, Withers, Cleburne, and Wharton.

On the 30th of December, the two armies lay within cannon-shot of each other on opposite sides of Stone River, near Murfreesboro. On the following morning a sanguinary battle was begun, and continued until evening, with varied success and fearful losses. Rosecrans had gallantly conducted the fight in person, and he and Bragg prepared to renew the contest on the following morning, the first of January, 1863. That day was spent in heavy skirmishing; but on the morning of the 2nd, a terrific struggle was begun. The batteries on both sides were massed, and they were worked with destructive energy. The dead and wounded strewn the ground over scores of acres, for the carnage was dreadful and, at one time, it seemed as if the total destruction of both armies would be the result. At length seven National regiments made a simultaneous charge, by which the Confederate line was broken into fragments and scattered in confusion. These regiments were the Nineteenth Illinois; Eighteenth, Twenty-first, and Seventy-fourth Ohio; Seventy-eighth Pennsylvania; Eleventh Michigan, and Thirty-seventh Indiana. Victory remained with Rosecrans, and Bragg retreated southward to Tullahoma, while his antagonist occupied the battle-field and Murfreesboro. The National loss in the battle of Stone River was twelve thousand men, and that of the Confederates ten thousand. The relative position of the two armies immediately after the battle, remained so for several months afterward.

The war had now been going on for almost two years. It had been begun by the politicians of the slave-labor States for the purpose of perpetuating the slave-system, which gave to the Confederate cause the chief sinews of its strength. It nurtured a producing class that fed, by its labor, the armies arrayed against the life of the Republic; and only a very small proportion of that class were drawn from the pursuits of agriculture to the camps. Perceiving this, the President of the United States and the loyal people resolved to destroy the system by some method of abolition. The kind-hearted Lincoln proposed to give pecuniary aid to any State government which might provide for the abolition of slavery; but the interested friends of that system everywhere refused to listen. Congress proceeded to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, over which that body had direct control; and, finally, they gave the President discretionary powers to declare the emancipation of the slaves in States wherein insurrection existed. Finally, late in

September (1862), President Lincoln issued a proclamation, in which he gave public notice that it was his purpose to declare such emancipation on the first of January, 1863, to take effect immediately wherever a state of insurrection might then exist, unless the offenders should lay down their arms.

This friendly warning - this forbearance to strike the blow that was to remove the manacles from millions of bondsmen - was treated by the masters of the slaves with scorn. It was sneered at by them, as an act of sheer impuissance. It was compared to the Pope's Bull against the comet; and, because of this menace, resistance to the Government was more rampant than ever. It was evident that the warning would be ineffectual. The President prepared a proclamation of emancipation. It was submitted to his cabinet and approved; and on the first of January, 1863, it was promulgated with the whole force of the Republic - its army, its navy, and its judiciary; its Executive and Legislative powers - back of it to enforce its provisions. The moral force of that proclamation was tremendous. By that act the shackles were taken from the personal freedom of over three million slaves. From the hour of the promulgation of the proclamation of emancipation, the power of the enemies of the Government began to wane, and the star of their own future prosperity arose with beams of promise.

Early in 1862, the Confederate government was changed from a "provisional to a permanent one." The "provisional congress," made up of delegates chosen by conventions of politicians and legislatures of States, had been in continuous session from the 18th of November, 1861, until the 18th of February, 1862, when its term expired by limitation. On the same day a congress, professedly elected by the people, commenced its session under the "permanent constitution of the Confederate States. I say "professedly elected by the people." The following was the method pursued in Virginia, as presented in an editorial article in a leading Richmond journal, in carrying on a popular election:

"It being necessary to form a ticket of electors, and the time being too short to call a convention of the people, it was suggested that the Richmond editors should prepare a ticket, thus relieving the people of the trouble making selections. The ticket thus formed has been presented. Here several of the nominees were named. Every district in the State," said the journal, "is embraced in this editorial report."

In the permanent Confederate congress, all of the slave-labor States were represented, excepting Maryland and Delaware. The oath to support the constitution of the Confederate States was administered to the senators by R. M. T. Hunter of Virginia, and to the representatives, by Howell Cobb of Georgia. Thomas Boccock, of Virginia, was elected Speaker of the House. On the following day (February 19) the votes for president of the Confederacy were counted, and were found to be one hundred and nine in number, all of which were cast for Jefferson Davis. Three days afterward Davis was inaugurated president for six years. He chose for his cabinet Judah P. Benjamin of Louisiana, secretary of state George W. Randolph of Virginia, secretary of war; S. R. Mallory of Florida, secretary of the navy Charles G. Memminger of South Carolina, secretary of the treasury, and Thomas H. Watts of Alabama, attorney-general.

Randolph resigned, and James A. Seddon, a wealthy citizen of Richmond, who was conspicuous in the famous "Peace Convention" at Washington, was chosen to fill his place.

Measures were adopted by the Confederate Congress to prosecute the war against the Union with vigor. It was declared, by joint resolution, that it was the unalterable determination of the people of the Confederate States to suffer all the calamities of the most protracted war;" and that they would never, "on any terms, politically affiliate with a people who were guilty of an invasion of their soil and the butchery of their citizens." With this spirit they prosecuted the war on land; and with the aid of the British aristocracy, ship-builders and merchants, and the tacit consent of the British government, they were enabled to keep afloat, on the ocean, some active vessels for plundering American commerce. The hoped-for and expected result was the driving of the carrying-trade between the United States and Europe into British bottoms, and so enriching the British shipping-merchants. This was the end to be accomplished, and it was effected.

The most formidable of these Anglo-Confederate plunderers of the sea was the Alabama, which was built, armed, manned and victualled in England. She sailed under the British flag, and was received with favor in every British port that she entered. In the last three months of the year 1862, she destroyed by fire twenty-eight helpless American merchant-vessels. While these incendiary fires, kindled by Englishmen in a ship fitted out as a sea-rover by Englishmen commanded by a Confederate leader, were illuminating the bosom of the Atlantic Ocean, a merchant-ship (the George Griswold), laden with provisions as a gift for starving English operatives in Lancashire, who had been deprived of work and food by the Civil War in America, and whose necessities their own government failed to relieve, was sent from the city of New York, convoyed by a national war-vessel to save her from the fury of the British sea-rover! The sequel of the Alabama story will be told hereafter.

At the beginning of 1863, the National Government had more than seven hundred thousand soldiers in its service; and up to that time the loyal people had furnished twelve hundred thousand troops, mostly volunteers, for the salvation of the life of the Republic. The theatre of war had become co-extensive with the slave-labor States; and at that time the capture of Vicksburg and Port Hudson, on the Mississippi River, was a chief object of the Government. Only between these places was that river free from the patrol of National gun-boats; and it was desirable to break this connection between the insurgents on each side of the stream. To this end General Grant concentrated his forces near the Tallahatchee River, in northern Mississippi, where Generals Hovey and Washburne had been operating with troops whom they had led from Helena, in Arkansas. Grant had a large quantity of supplies at Holly Springs. These, through carelessness or treachery, fell into the hands of Van Dorn on the 20th of December (1862), and Grant was compelled to fall back to Grand Junction to save his army. Taking advantage of this movement, a large force of Confederates gathered at Vicksburg under General J. C. Pemberton, for the protection of that post.

On the day when Grant's supplies were seized at Holly Springs, about twenty thousand National troops, led by General W. T. Sherman, left Memphis in transports, with siege guns, to

beleaguer Vicksburg. At Friar's Point they were joined by troops from Helena, and were met by Commodore Porter, whose fleet of gun-boats were at the mouth of the Yazoo River, just above Vicksburg. The two commanders arranged a plan for attacking the city in the rear, and proceeded to execute it. The troops and fleet went up the Yazoo River to capture some batteries which disputed the way to that rear; but Sherman was repulsed after a sharp battle at Chickasaw Bayou (December 28), and the project was abandoned for a time.

General John A. McClernand, the senior of Sherman in rank, arrived at headquarters, near Vicksburg, early in January, 1863, and took the chief command. He and Porter went up the Arkansas River with their forces, and on the 11th captured the important Fort Hindman at Arkansas Post. In the meantime General Grant had arranged his army into four corps, and with it descended the river from Memphis to prosecute the siege of Vicksburg with vigor. He was soon convinced that it could not be taken by direct assault. He tried to perfect the canal begun by Farragut, but failed; and then he sent a considerable land and naval force up the Yazoo to capture batteries at Haines's Bluff, and so gain a footing in the rear of Vicksburg. These were repulsed at Fort Pemberton, near Greenwood, late in March. Other channels among the brimming bayous and small rivers were diligently sought by the indomitable Porter, to gain the rear of the foredoomed city, but in vain, and again the enterprise was abandoned. The details of these efforts of the army and navy, during the spring of 1863, form one of the most wonderful chapters in the history of the war. The waters were then redundant, and the voyages were sometimes wild and perilous, the gun-boats sweeping on strong currents through overflowed swamps under lofty overarching trees draped with the trailing Spanish moss, and having their smoke-stacks leveled at times, and their wheels fearfully bruised.

While these operations against Vicksburg were in progress, there had been lively times on the bosom of the Mississippi. In February (1863), iron-clad vessels of Porter's fleet ran by the batteries at Vicksburg, and made considerable havoc among Confederate transports below that were supplying the troops there and at Port Hudson with stores. These venturesome National vessels were lost, and their crews were made prisoners. Later, when Grant had sent a strong land force down the west side of the river, Porter successfully ran by the batteries at Vicksburg with nearly his whole fleet and the transports, on the night of the 16th of April. Then Grant prepared for vigorous operations on the flank and rear of Vicksburg, on the line of the Big Black River. Porter also attacked and ran by the Confederate batteries at Grand Gulf, on the 27th of April, when Grant's army crossed the Mississippi a little below, pressed forward, and at Port Gibson gained a decisive victory in a battle fought there on the first of May.

In the meantime, Sherman, who had made another unsuccessful effort to capture the batteries at Haines's Bluff, by order of General Grant, marched down the west side of the Mississippi, crossed it, and joined the main army on the 8th of May. Then the whole force pushed rapidly toward Jackson, the capital of Mississippi, where General Joseph E. Johnston was in command of a Confederate army. After a severe battle at Raymond, on the 12th of May, in which the Confederates were defeated, and another near Jackson, on the 14th, when the insurgents were driven northward, the Nationals seized the State capital, and destroyed a large quantity of public

property there. Then the victorious army turned toward Vicksburg, and after defeating the Confederates under Pemberton at Champion Hills on the 16th of May, and at the passage of the Black River on the 17th, the National army swept on and closely invested Vicksburg, in the rear, on the 19th, receiving their supplies from a base on the Yazoo, established by Porter. For a fortnight the army had drawn its subsistence from the country through which it had passed. It now rested for a brief space after a wonderful week's work. Then, after two unsuccessful and disastrous assaults on Vicksburg, Grant began a regular siege of the works there, with the cooperation of Porter's fleet.

Chapter CXXVI

Investment and Siege of Vicksburg - Galveston - Banks in Louisiana - Siege and Surrender of Port Hudson - The Two Armies in Virginia - Peck and Longstreet at Suffolk - Moseby at Fairfax Court-House - Cavalry Battle - Cavalry Raids - Movements on Chancellorsville - Battle There - Death of "Stonewall Jackson" - Sedgewick's Escape - Retreat of the Army of the Potomac - Siege of Suffolk - The Confederate Army and Service - Power of the Confederates Abroad - Davis Recognized by the Pope - Napoleon, Mexico, and the Confederacy - Napoleon's Real Designs - Confederates Invade Maryland and Pennsylvania - Panic - Operations in Pennsylvania - Battle at Gettysburg - Seward's Circular.

AFTER Grant's last assault on Vicksburg, his effective men did not exceed twenty thousand in number. He determined to make the capture of Vicksburg an event of the near future, and called in reinforcements. They came in such numbers, that by the middle of June the investment of Vicksburg was made absolute. Sherman's corps was on the extreme right, McPherson's next and extending to the railway, and Ord's (late McClernand's) on the left, the investment in that direction being made complete by the divisions of Herron and Lanman, the latter lying across Stout's Bayou, and touching the bluffs on the river. Parke's corps, and the divisions of Smith and Kimball, were sent to Haines's Bluff, where fortifications commanding the land side had been erected to confront any attempt that Johnston might make in that direction. Meanwhile Vice-Admiral Porter had made complete and ample arrangements for the most efficient cooperation on the river, and his skill and zeal were felt throughout the siege, which continued until the first week in July.

Every day, shot and shell were hurled upon the city and the insurgent camps, from land and water. The inhabitants were compelled to seek shelter in caves dug out of the clay hills on which the city stands. In these, whole families, free and bond, lived for many weeks, while their houses without were perforated by the iron hail. Therein children were born, and persons died, and soldiers sought shelter from the tempest of war. Very soon famine afflicted the citizens. Fourteen ounces of food became a regular allowance for each person for forty-eight hours. The flesh of mules made savory dishes toward the end of the siege. Finally the besiegers undermined one of the principal forts of the enemy, in the line of the defenses on the land side, and it was blown up with fearful effect. Other mines were made ready for the infernal work, when Pemberton, despairing of expected aid from Johnston, made a proposition to Grant to surrender the post and his army. The generals met under the shadow of a live-oak tree in the rear of the town on the 3rd of July to arrange the terms of surrender, and on the 4th the stronghold of Vicksburg, with twenty-seven thousand men and a vast amount of ordnance, and other public property, were surrendered to the leader of the National forces.

From the time of the battle at Port Gibson to the fall of Vicksburg, General Grant had captured thirty thousand prisoners (among them fifteen general officers), with arms and ammunition for an army of sixty thousand men; also steamboats, locomotives, railroads, a vast amount of cotton, etc. He had lost, during that time, nine thousand eight hundred and thirty-three

men, of whom one thousand two hundred and thirty-three had been killed. By the experience of those few weeks, he had ascertained the real weakness of the Confederacy in that region.

On the night of the 4th of July (1863), the powerful fleet of Vice-Admiral Porter was lying quietly at the levee at Vicksburg, and in commemoration of that National holiday our troops regaled the citizens with a fine display of fireworks more harmless than those which, for more than forty nights, had coursed the heavens above them like malignant meteors.

Galveston had been recaptured by the Confederates on the first of January, 1863 but that victory was rendered almost fruitless by a close blockade of the post by National vessels. From that time General Banks had been cooperating with General Grant, and making efforts to repossess Louisiana. An expedition under General Weitzel and Commodore McKean Buchanan took possession of the remarkable Teche country in that State, when Banks concentrated his troops, about twelve thousand in number, at Baton Rouge (which was then held by General Grover), for the purpose of assisting Commodore Farragut in an attempt to pass the formidable batteries at Port Hudson, twenty-five miles up the Mississippi. That attempt was made on the night of the 13th of March, when a terrible contest occurred, in the darkness, between the vessels and the land batteries. Only Farragut's flag-ship (the Hartford) and another succeeded in passing by.

Banks now sent a large portion of his available troops into the interior of Louisiana, where General Richard Taylor was in command of a Confederate force. The Nationals were concentrated at Brashear City, on the Atchafalaya, and from that point they marched triumphantly to the Red River, accompanied by Banks in person. From Alexandria, early in May, that general wrote to his Government that the Confederate power in northern and central Louisiana was broken; and with this impression he moved eastward with his troops, crossed the Mississippi River, and late in May (1863) invested Port Hudson, then in command of the Confederate general, Frank Gardner. For forty days he besieged that post, during which time many gallant deeds were performed on each side. Banks was ably assisted by the squadron of Farragut - the Hartford, Albatross, Monongahela, Richmond, Essex and Tennessee, and some mortar-boats. Finally, at the close of June, the ammunition of the closely invested garrison was almost exhausted. When news of the fall of Vicksburg reached Gardner, he perceived that further attempts at resistance would be futile; and on the 9th of July he surrendered the post to Banks, with much spoil. The National loss during the siege was about three thousand men, and that of the Confederates, exclusive of prisoners, was about eight hundred. The loss of Vicksburg and Port Hudson was a severe calamity for the Confederates. It gave the final blow in the removal of the obstructions to the navigation of the Mississippi River by Confederate batteries, and thenceforth it was free. Powerful portions of the Confederacy were repossessed by the National Government, and wise men among the enemies of the Republic clearly perceived that their cause was hopeless.

At the moment when Vicksburg fell, the Army of the Potomac gained an equally important victory on the soil of Pennsylvania. We left that army on the northern side of the Rappahannock River, near Fredericksburg, in charge of General Joseph Hooker. From January to April (1863),

he was engaged in preparing for a vigorous summer campaign. His forces remained in comparative quiet for about three months, during which time they were reorganized and well-disciplined; and at the close of April, his army numbered one hundred thousand effective men. General Lee's army, on the other side of the river, had been divided; a large force under General Longstreet being required to watch the movements of the Nationals under General Peck, in the vicinity of Norfolk. Lee had in hand about sixty thousand well-drilled troops, lying behind strong intrenchments extending twenty-five miles along the line of the Rappahannock. For the space of three months some cavalry movements only, disturbed the two armies. General W. H. F. Lee, with a mounted force, attacked National troops at Gloucester, opposite Yorktown, early in February; and at midnight of the 8th of March, Colonel Moseby, at the head of a band of guerrillas, dashed into the village of Fairfax Court-House and carried off the commander of the Union forces there. A little later National cavalry under General Averill and Confederate horsemen led by General Fitzhugh Lee, had a severe battle near Kelly's Ford, on the Rappahannock, in which the former were repulsed. That was the first purely cavalry contest of the war.

Hooker became impatient. The time of the enlistment of many of his troops would soon expire, and he determined to put his army in motion toward Richmond early in April, notwithstanding his ranks were not full. Cavalry, under General Stoneman, were sent to destroy railways in Lee's rear, but were foiled by high water in the streams. After a pause, Hooker determined to attempt to turn Lee's flank, and for that purpose he sent ten thousand mounted men to raid in his rear. Then he threw thirty-six thousand troops of his own right wing across the Rappahannock, with orders to halt and intrench at Chancellorsville between the Confederate army and Richmond. This movement was so masked by a demonstration on Lee's front, by Hooker's left wing under General Sedgwick, that the right was well advanced before Lee was aware of his peril. These troops reached Chancellorsville in a region known as The Wilderness, on the evening of the 30th of April, when Hooker expected to see Lee, conscious of danger, fly toward Richmond. He did no such thing, but proceeded to strike the National army a heavy blow, for the twofold purpose of seizing the communications between the two parts of that army and compelling its commander to fight at a disadvantage, with only a portion of his troops in hand. For this purpose, Stonewall Jackson was sent with a heavy force, early in the morning of the first of May, to attack the Nationals, when Hooker sent out his troops to meet them. The Confederates moved upon Chancellorsville by two roads. A sharp engagement ensued, when the Nationals were pushed back to defensive position behind their intrenchments; but the efforts of Lee to seize these works were foiled.

Both armies were now in a perilous position. Hooker resolved to rest on the defensive; but Lee boldly detached the whole of Jackson's command, on the morning of the 2nd of May, and sent it under cover of the forest curtain of The Wilderness to make a secret flank movement and gain the rear of the Nationals. It was observed by the latter. Suddenly, Jackson burst from the woods with twenty-five thousand men, and falling upon Hooker's right, crumbled it, and sent the astounded column in confusion upon the remainder of the line. A desperate battle, in which nearly all the troops on both sides participated, was the consequence. It lasted until late in the evening,

when Jackson fell, mortally wounded by a bullet sent by mistake, in the gloom, by one of his own men. Jackson had been engaged in a personal reconnaissance with his staff and an escort; and when returning, in the darkness, to his lines, he and his companions were mistaken by their friends for Union cavalry.

Hooker now made disposition for a renewal of the conflict on the morning of the 3rd. He had called Reynolds's corps of more than twenty thousand men from Sedgwick, and these arrived late on Saturday evening (the 2nd), swelling his army to sixty thousand. Sedgwick, by Hooker's order, had crossed the Rappahannock, seized Fredericksburg and the Heights, and was pushing on toward Chancellorsville, when he was checked by troops sent by Lee, and compelled to retreat across the river at Banks's Ford, to save his army. This was accomplished on the night of the 4th and 5th of May. In the meantime there had been hard fighting at Chancellorsville. At dawn on Sunday morning, the 3rd of May, the dashing General Stuart, leading the column of the slain commander so much loved, shouted, when he saw the Nationals, "Charge, and remember Jackson!" and then fell heavily upon the troops commanded by General Sickles. The conflict was desperate and soon became general; and the National army, after a long struggle, was finally pushed from the field to a strong position on the roads Jack of Chancellorsville.

Lee's army was now united; that of Hooker was yet divided; and hearing of Sedgwick's critical situation, the latter determined to retreat to the north side of the Rappahannock. The Army of the Potomac passed the river in safety on the night of the 4th, when Lee, unable to follow, resumed his former position on the Heights of Fredericksburg. Both armies had lost heavily - the Nationals over seventeen thousand men including prisoners, and the Confederates about fifteen thousand. Meanwhile Stone-man's cavalry had been raiding on Lee's communications with Richmond, and a part of them, under Colonel Judson Kilpatrick, had swept down within two miles of that city. They destroyed much property, but failed to break up the railway communication between Lee and the Confederate capital. So far the raiding was a failure.

Longstreet, as we have observed, had been sent to confront General Peck in southeastern Virginia. The latter was strongly fortified near Suffolk, where he was besieged by Longstreet early in April, who expected to drive the Nationals from that post, and seizing Norfolk and its vicinity, make a demonstration against Fortress Monroe. He failed; and hearing of the struggle at Chancellorsville, he abandoned the siege and joined Lee with his large detachment.

Lee's army was now strong in material and moral force. Recent successes had greatly inspirited it. It was reorganized into three army corps, commanded respectively by Generals Longstreet, A. P. Hill, and Ewell. These were all able leaders, and each bore the commission of lieutenant-general. And at no time, probably, during the war was the Confederate army more complete in numbers, equipment and discipline, or furnished with more ample materials for carrying on the conflict, than it was at the middle of June, 1863. According to the most careful estimates made from the Confederate official returns, there were then at least five hundred thousand men on the army rolls, and more than three hundred thousand "present and fit for duty." Fully one-half of the white men of the Confederacy eligible to military duty, were then enrolled for

active service, while a large proportion of the other half were in the civil and military service in other capacities. Doubtless at least seven-tenths of the white adults were then in public business; while a large number of slaves, though legally emancipated, were employed in various labors, such as working on fortifications, as teamsters, etc. The following is the form of a voucher held by the Confederate government as the employer of slaves for such purposes. It is copied from the original before me:

"We, the subscribers, acknowledge to have received of John B. Stannard, First Corps of Engineers, the sums set opposite our names respectively, being in full for the services of our slaves on Drewry's Bluff, during the months of March and April, 1863, having signed duplicate receipts."

Richmond seemed secure from harm. Charleston was defiant, and with reason. Vicksburg and Port Hudson on the Mississippi, though seriously menaced, seemed impregnable against any force Grant or Banks might array before them and the appeals of General Johnston, near Jackson, for reinforcements, were regarded as notes of unnecessary alarm. The Confederates were encouraged by their friends in Europe with promises of aid and the desires of these for the acknowledgment of the independence of the "Confederate States of America" were strongly manifested. In England, public movements in favor of the Confederates were then prominent. Open-air meetings, organized by members of the aristocracy, were held, for the purpose of urging the British government to declare such recognition and in the spring of 1864 a Southern Independence Association was formed with a British peer (Lord Wharncliffe) as president, and a membership composed of powerful representatives of the Church, State, and Trade. But the British government wisely hesitated and notwithstanding the unpatriotic Peace-Faction in the city of New York had, six months before (November, 1862), waited upon Lord Lyons, the British minister at Washington, with an evident desire to have his government interfere in our affairs, and thus secure the independence of the Confederates, and the emissaries of the conspirators were specially active in Europe, the British ministry, restrained by the good Queen, steadily refused to take decided action in the matter. Only the Roman Pontiff, then a temporal prince, of all the rulers of the earth officially recognized Jefferson Davis as the head of a real government.

At the same time, a scheme of the emperor of the French for the destruction of the Republic of Mexico, and the establishment there of a monarchy ruled by a man of his own selection, and pledged to act in the interests of despotism, the Roman Catholic Church and the promotion of the domination of the Latin race, was in successful operation, by means of twenty thousand French soldiers and five thousand allied Mexicans. In this movement, it is alleged, the leaders of the great insurrection were the secret allies of the emperor, it being understood that as soon as he should obtain a firm footing in Mexico he should, for valuable commercial considerations agreed upon, acknowledge the independence of the Confederate States, and uphold it by force of arms if necessary; it also being understood that the government which Davis and his associates were to establish at the close of hostilities should, in no wise, offend Napoleon's imperialistic ideas. The slave-holding class were to be a privileged one, and be the rulers, and the great mass of the people were to be subordinated to the interests of that class. Therefore, the triumphal march of the

French invaders of Mexico, in the spring of 1863, was hailed with delight by the government at Richmond, while the great mass of the people were ignorant of the conspiracy on foot to deprive them of their sacred rights.

At the same time the perfidious emperor was deceiving the Confederate leaders concerning his real and deeper designs, which were both political and ecclesiastical. His political design evidently was to arrest the march of empire southward on the part of the United States. His religious design was to assist the Church party in Mexico, which had been defeated in 1857, in a recovery of its power, that the Roman Catholic Church might have undisputed sway in Central America. In a letter to the Spanish General Prim, in July, 1862, the emperor, after saying that the United States fed the factories of Europe with cotton, and asserting that it was not the interest of European governments to have our country hold dominion over the Gulf of Mexico, the Antilles, and the adjacent continent, he declared that if, with the assistance of France, Mexico should have a "stable government" - that is, a monarchy - "we shall have restored to the Latin race upon the opposite side of the ocean, its strength and prestige, we shall have guaranteed then security to our colonies in the Antilles, and to those of Spain we shall have established our beneficent influence in the centre of America; and in this influence, by creating immense openings to our commerce, will procure to us the matter indispensable to our industry"- that is, cotton. This contemplated blow against our great cotton interest was a prime element in Napoleon's scheme, for the consummation of which he coquetted with the Confederate leaders, and deceived them.

The Confederate government, greatly elated by the events at Chancellorsville, ordered Lee to invade Maryland again. His force was now almost equal in numbers to that of his antagonist, and in better spirits than were the Army of the Potomac. By a sudden flank movement, Lee caused Hooker to break up his encampment on the Rappahannock and move toward Washington, after some sharp cavalry fights above Fredericksburg. General Ewell, in command of Lee's left wing, was sent into the Shenandoah Valley through Chester Gap, and sweeping down toward the Potomac, drove General Milroy and seven thousand National troops across that stream, on the 15th of June. Meanwhile Longstreet, with a strong force, moved along the eastern bases of the Blue Ridge, watching for an opportunity to fall on Washington city; while Hooker moved in a parallel line to thwart him. Several cavalry engagements ensued; and fifteen hundred mounted Confederates dashed across the Potomac in pursuit of Milroy's wagon-train. They pushed up the Cumberland Valley as far as Chambersburg, plundering the people and causing intense alarm in all Pennsylvania.

Lee had, by skillful movements, kept Hooker in doubt as to his real object, until Ewell's corps had crossed the Potomac above Harper's Ferry on the 22nd and 23rd of June, and marched rapidly up the Cumberland Valley to within a few miles of the Susquehanna opposite Harrisburg, the capital of Pennsylvania. Another large body of Confederates, led by General Early, pushed on through Gettysburg to York, on the Susquehanna, levying contributions on friend and foe alike. Ewell and Early were speedily followed by Hill and Longstreet (June 25, 1863), and again the whole of Lee's army was in Maryland and Pennsylvania. It seemed, at one time, as if nothing could prevent that army penetrating to the Schuylkill and even to the Hudson. The panic north of

the Potomac was intense. Valuable goods that were portable were sent from Philadelphia to points above the Hudson Highlands, for safety. The people flew to arms everywhere to oppose the invaders.

The Army of the Potomac was now one hundred thousand strong. It was thrown across the river into Maryland, at and near Edwards's Ferry. Halleck (the general-in-chief) and Hooker differed most decidedly in opinions about some important military movements that were proposed, when the latter resigned and was succeeded by General George G. Meade, who held the command of that army until the close of the war. Meade entered upon his duties at Frederick (June 28), in Maryland, where the Army of the Potomac lay, ready to strike Lee's communications or to attack him, as circumstances might dictate.

Lee was preparing to cross the Susquehanna and push on to Philadelphia, when news reached him that the reinforced Army of the Potomac was threatening his flank and rear. Alarmed by this intelligence and the rapid gathering of the yeomanry on his front, he ordered the concentration of his army near Gettysburg, with the intention of crushing Meade's forces by a single blow, and then marching on Baltimore and Washington or, in case of failure, to secure a direct line of retreat into Virginia. In the meantime Meade was pushing toward the Susquehanna with cautious movement; and on the evening of the 30th of June he discovered Lee's evident intention to give battle at once.

The National cavalry, meanwhile, had been carefully reconnoitering; and on the previous day, Kilpatrick's mounted men had a sharp fight at Hanover, a few miles from Gettysburg, with some of Stuart's cavalry, and, assisted by General Custer, defeated them. Buford's division of National cavalry entered Gettysburg the same day; and the next day the left wing of Meade's army, led by General J. F. Reynolds, arrived near there. At the same time the corps of Hill and Longstreet were approaching from Chambersburg, and Ewell was marching down from Carlisle in full force. That night Buford's cavalry, six thousand strong, encamped between Reynolds and Hill.

On the morning of the first of July, Buford met the van of Lee's army, led by General Heth, between Seminary Ridge, a little out of Gettysburg, and a parallel ridge a little further west, when a sharp skirmish ensued, Reynolds, who was a few miles distant, hastened to the relief of Buford, and in a severe battle that followed, he was killed, and General Abner Doubleday took command of his troops. In the meantime General O. O. Howard came up with his corps. Lee's troops were then concentrated there, and the battle soon assumed grander proportions. The Nationals were finally pressed back; and under the general direction of Howard, they took a strong position on a range of rocky hills near Gettysburg, of which Culp's Hill and Little Round Top were the two extremes of the line, and Cemetery Hill, at the village, was the apex. There the Nationals rested that night, and the Confederates occupied Seminary Ridge.

General Meade, with the remainder of the Army of the Potomac, now hastened to Gettysburg, and he and Lee prepared cautiously to renew the battle. It did not begin until the middle of the afternoon of the 2d, when Lee fell, with great weight, upon Meade's left wing commanded by General Sickles. A most sanguinary battle ensued, extending to the centre on Cemetery Hill,

where General Hancock was in command. Heavy masses of Confederates were hurled against him, and these were thrown back with fearful losses on both sides. Meanwhile there had been a terrible struggle on the right and centre of the Nationals, where Generals Slocum and Howard were in command, the former on Culp's Hill, and the latter on Cemetery Hill. Against these a large portion of Ewell's corps had been sent. The latter were pushed back by Howard, but seized and occupied the works of Slocum, on the extreme right of Culp's Hill, that night. The battle ended at sunset on the left, but it was continued until about ten o'clock that night on the right.

Slocum renewed the battle at four o'clock on the morning of the 3d, when he drove the Confederates out of his lines after a hard struggle for four hours. There he held Ewell in check, while the contest raged elsewhere. Lee, perceiving the Little Round Top - a steep, rocky eminence - to be impregnable, proceeded, at a little past noon, to attack the more vulnerable centre. Upon this he opened one hundred and forty-five heavy cannon, chiefly against Cemetery Hill and its vicinity, occupied by Meade's centre. A hundred National great guns quickly answered; and for two hours a fearful cannonade that shook the country around was kept up. Then the Confederates, in heavy columns, preceded by a cloud of skirmishers, swept over the plain and assailed the National line with great fury. It was intended by Lee to give a crushing blow that should ensure victory. A terrible struggle followed, that covered the ground with the slain - men and horses. At sunset the Confederates were repulsed at all points; and the decisive battle of Gettysburg ended in triumph for the Army of the Potomac. In that fearful struggle, the Nationals lost in killed, wounded and missing, over twenty-three thousand men; the Confederates lost about thirty thousand, including fourteen thousand prisoners.

On the evening of the day after the battle (July 4, 1863) Lee began a retreat toward Virginia, followed the next day by Meade, who pursued as far as the Potomac, which had been filled to the brim by heavy rains; but the Confederate leader, by skillful management, kept the Nationals at bay until he had made ready to cross that stream by pontoons and fording. This he did with his shattered army, his artillery and trains, on the 14th of July, much to the disappointment of the loyal people. Perceiving the battle to be a decisive one in favor of the Union cause, and believing it to be a turning point in the war, the President of the United States recommended the people to observe the 15th of August next ensuing as a day for public National thanksgiving, praise, and prayer. And the Secretary of State (Mr. Seward), satisfied that the insurrection would soon be ended by the discomfiture of its supporters, sent a cheering circular to the diplomatic agents of the Republic abroad, in which he recited the most important events of the war to that time; declared that the country showed no sign of exhaustion of money, material or men that one loan was "purchased at par by our citizens at the rate of \$1,200,000 daily and that gold was selling in our markets at 23 to 28 per centum premium, while in the insurrectionary region it commanded twelve hundred per centum premium."

Chapter CXXVII

Partisan Opposition to the Government - Knights of the Golden Circle - The Draft - Riots in New York - Colored Troops in New York - Morgan's Great Raid - Meade and Lee in Virginia - Operations of the Two Armies in Virginia - Raid in Western Virginia - Rosecrans and Bragg in Tennessee - Streight's Great Raid - Bragg Driven to and from Chattanooga - Burnside in East Tennessee - Battle of Chickamauga - The Army at Chattanooga - Division in Mississippi - Battle at Wauhatchie - The Mule Charge - Events in East Tennessee - Battle on Lookout Mountain and on Missionary Ridge - Operations Against Charleston - Robert Small - Death of General Mitchell.

WHILE the loyal people were rejoicing because of the great deliverance at Gettysburg, and the Government was preparing for a final and decisive struggle with its foes, leading politicians of the Peace-Faction, evidently in affiliation with members of the disloyal organization known as Knights of the Golden Circle, were using every means in their power to defeat the patriotic purposes of the National Administration, and to stir up the people of the free-labor States to engage in a counter-revolution.

The association called Knights of the Golden Circle was organized, it is said, as early as 1835, by some of the leaders who were engaged in the nullification movements in South Carolina two or three years before. Its chief objects were the separation of the Union politically, at the line between the free-labor and slave-labor States; the seizure of some of the richest portions of Mexico and the Island of Cuba, and the establishment of an empire whose corner-stone should be Slavery. The bounds of that empire were within a circle, the centre of which was at Havana, in Cuba, with a radius of sixteen degrees of latitude and longitude, reaching northward to the Pennsylvania border and southward to the Isthmus of Darien and even beyond. It would include the West India Islands and those of the Caribbean Sea, with a large part of Eastern Mexico and the whole of Central America. The limits of this empire the projectors called "The Golden Circle," and the members of the association, "Knights of the Golden Circle," who formed the soul of all the "fillibustering" operations before the breaking out of the Civil War, from 1850 to 1857. When these failed, their energies were put forth for the destruction of the Union. "Castles" or "lodges," with a secret ritual, were formed in various Southern States, and their membership included many active politicians north of the Ohio River, in 1863.

These disloyal men in the northern States, countenanced by the unpatriotic Peace-Faction, became very vehement in their opposition to the Government when, in the summer of 1863, a draft or conscription to fill up the ranks of the army which had been authorized by Congress, was put into operation by the President. This act, the suspension of the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus, the arrest of seditious men, and other measures which the Government deemed necessary for the maintenance of the National authority, were denounced by the leaders of the party opposed to Mr. Lincoln's administration, as unconstitutional and outrageous. Instigated by raving political leaders, inflammatory speeches, and the daily utterances of the press that was in sympathy with the opponents of the draft, a mob, composed largely of the lower class of the Irish population in the city of New York, entered upon a fearful riot there early in July. It prevailed for

almost three days. The immediate pretext for the disturbance was the alleged oppression of the draft. The riot was begun by destroying the telegraph wires extending out of the city. Then the rioters paraded some of the streets and forced citizens to join them and after first uttering cries against the draft, they yelled, "Down with the Abolitionists! down with the nigger! Hurrah for Jeff Davis! The special objects of their wrath were the innocent colored people and their friends. Arson and plunder, maiming and murder, were their business and recreation, Men and women were clubbed to death in the streets, hung on lamp-posts or butchered in their houses. The infuriated rioters laid in ashes an asylum for colored orphan children; and the terrified inmates, who fled in every direction, were pursued, and some of the poor children were cruelly beaten and maimed. The colored people throughout the city were hunted and treated as if they were noxious wild beasts, and many fled to the country. Finally the police, aided by troops, suppressed the insurrection in the city, but not until several hundred human lives had been lost, and property to the amount of at least \$2,000,000 was destroyed.

This riot seems to have been only an irregular manifestation of an organized outbreak in New York city simultaneously with a similar insurrection projected in some of the western cities. But the draft went on in spite of all opposition; and the Knights of the Golden Circle and the Peace Faction were discomfited. The turn of affairs at Gettysburg made them more circumspect. They hesitated; and finally they postponed indefinitely an attempt to execute their scheme. And six months after the terrible "three days of July" - 13th, 14th and 15th in the city of New York, when no colored person's life was considered safe there, a regiment of negro soldiers, raised and equipped by the Loyal League of that city, marched down Broadway - its great thoroughfare - for the field of battle, escorted by many of the leading citizens of the metropolis, and cheered by thousands who covered the sidewalks and filled windows and balconies.

At about that time, the notorious guerrilla chief, John Morgan, made a famous raid through Kentucky, Southern Indiana and Ohio, entering Indiana from Kentucky, below Louisville, on the 8th of July, with about four thousand mounted men. This raid was intended as a signal for the uprising of the disloyal men in those States in favor of the Confederates. The lesson taught at Gettysburg was heeded, and they were quiet. But there was a marvelous uprising of sixty thousand loyal yeomen of Indiana and Ohio to capture or expel the invaders. Morgan went swiftly through the country, from village to village, plundering, destroying, and levying contributions. He first encountered stout resistance from Indiana militia, and was soon closely pursued by those of Ohio. Finally this bold raider was hemmed in and made a prisoner, with many of his followers, in southeastern Ohio, late in July, and the remainder were killed or dispersed.

Three days after General Lee escaped into Virginia, General Meade crossed the Potomac to follow his flying antagonist. The Nationals marched rapidly along the eastern base of the Blue Ridge, while the Confederates as rapidly went up the Shenandoah Valley, after trying to check Meade by threatening to re-enter Maryland. Failing in this, Lee hastened to avert the danger that menaced his front and flank. During that exciting race, several skirmishes occurred in the mountain passes; when Lee, by a quick and skillful movement while Meade was detained at Manassas Gap by a heavy skirmish, darted through Chester Gap, and crossing the Rappahannock,

took a position between that stream and the Rapid Anna. Meade advanced cautiously, and at the middle of September, he crossed the Rappahannock and drove Lee beyond the Rapid Anne', when the latter took a strongly defensive position. Meanwhile the National cavalry under Buford and Kilpatrick had been active between the two rivers, and had frequent skirmishes with Stuart's mounted troops.

Lee now attempted to turn the right flank of the Army of the Potomac to gain its rear and march rapidly on Washington. He had moved some distance for this purpose before Meade discovered his peril. Then a third race for the National Capital by the two armies over nearly the same course occurred. The Army of the Potomac won it, reaching Centreville Heights on the 15th of October. It was a race marked by the most stirring incidents, for there was much scouting and skirmishing on the way. At Jeffersonton, the National cavalry under General Gregg were routed; and at Auburn, the seat of John Minor Botts, a prominent Virginia statesman, Stuart, with two thousand Confederate cavalry, came very near being captured. From that point to Bristow's Station the race was sharp, for Centreville Heights was the goal. At Bristow's, a severe engagement occurred between the corps of Generals Warren and Hill. The latter was joined by that of Ewell; but before they could fall upon Warren, he withdrew in the night (October 14) and joined Meade at Centreville on the morning of the 15th.

The race was ended at Bristow's Station. Lee was beaten, and fell back to the Rappahannock, destroying the railway behind him. Meade repaired the road, and following Lee slowly, attacked him at Rappahannock Station early in November. A very sharp battle ensued. It was fought by detachments of the Fifth and Sixth corps, under General Sedgwick; and it was ended by a gallant charge on a redoubt and rifle-trenches. These were carried in the face of a tempest of grape-shot and minie bullets, when the Nationals swept down to a pontoon bridge, cut off the retreat of the Confederates from the abandoned works, made over sixteen hundred of them prisoners, and drove Lee's army toward Culpepper Court-House. There the latter had proposed to go into winter-quarters; but this disaster alarmed him, and he sought safety from his pursuer behind the Rapid Anne. His force was then fifty thousand strong, and Meade's numbered seventy thousand. With these the latter crossed the Rappahannock and lay quietly between the two rivers until late in November, while Lee occupied a line of strong defenses along Mine Run.

Feeling strong enough for the enterprise, Meade proceeded, on the 26th of November, to attempt a dislodgment of his antagonist. He crossed the Rapid Anna on that day, and pushed on in the direction of his foe, General Warren, in the advance, opened a battle; but Meade soon perceived that the Confederates were too strongly entrenched and weighty in numbers to give him hopes of success, and he withdrew. The Army of the Potomac went into winter-quarters on the north side of the Rapid Anne and so was ended the campaign of that army for the year 1863.

There had been comparative quiet in Western Virginia since the autumn of 1861 but in the summer and fall of 1863, that quiet was broken by an extensive raid over that region by National cavalry led by General W. W. Averill, who, before the close of the year, nearly purged West Virginia of armed Confederates, and seriously interrupted railway communication between the

army of Lee in Virginia and Bragg in Tennessee. We left the last-named officer and Rosecrans confronting each other in Tennessee, after the battle of Murfreesboro Bragg below the Duck River and Rosecrans at the scene of the battle. The two armies held that relative position from January to June, 1863 while the cavalry forces of each were active in minor operations. Confederate cavalry, four thousand strong, led by Generals Wharton and Forrest, attempted to capture Fort Donelson early in February, but failed. A little later General Van Dorn, with a considerable force of cavalry, was near Franklin, below Nashville, threatening Rosecrans's supplies at the latter place. In March, General Sheridan drove Van Dorn south of the Duck River; and in the same month Morgan was operating with considerable effect eastward of Murfreesboro. Van Dorn reappeared near Franklin, early in April, with about nine thousand Confederates; and on the 10th he attacked the Nationals there, who were commanded by General Gordon Granger. Van Dorn intended, if he won, to push on and seize Nashville; but he was repulsed, and retired to Spring Hill with a loss of about three hundred men.

In the meantime Rosecrans had sent out expeditions in various ways, the most remarkable of which was led by Colonel A. D. Streight, who left Nashville in steamers, debarked his troops at Fort Donelson, marched over to the Tennessee River, and moved up that stream to the borders of Mississippi and Alabama, getting horses by the way for the purpose of mounting his men. The latter service was nearly completed at Tuscumbia; and from that point Streight, with his troopers, swept in a curve bending eastward, through Alabama into Georgia, in the rear of Bragg's army. Their chief objects were Rome, where the Confederates had extensive iron-works, and Atlanta, the centre of an important system of railroads. They were pursued by the cavalry of Forrest and Roddy, and these parties skirmished and raced until Streight was within a few miles of Rome, when his exhausted horses and his ammunition failed him. Many of the poor beasts died; and when, on the 3rd of May (1863), the raiders were struck by their pursuers, the former were compelled to surrender. The captives were sent to Richmond and confined in the loathsome Libby Prison, from which Streight and one hundred of his officers escaped by burrowing under the foundations of that edifice.

The Army of the Cumberland, in three divisions, commanded respectively by Generals Thomas, McCook and Crittenden, began its march from Murfreesboro to Chattanooga, in northern Georgia, late in June. Bragg was then strongly intrenched on the line of the Duck River, but was pushed back to Tullahoma; and when he saw Rosecrans seize the mountain passes on his front, and seriously menace his flank, he turned and fled without giving a blow, his antagonist pressing hard upon his rear. Having the advantage of railway communication, the retreating army very easily kept ahead of their pursuers, and passing rapidly over the Cumberland Mountains toward the Tennessee River, they crossed that stream at Bridgeport, destroying the bridge behind them, and made a rapid march to Chattanooga.

The expulsion of Bragg's army from Tennessee alarmed and disheartened the Confederates, and they felt that everything depended on their holding Chattanooga, the key to East Tennessee and northern Georgia. Toward that point the Army of the Cumberland moved slowly; and late in August it had crossed the mountains, and was stretched along the Tennessee River from above

Chattanooga, many a league westward. On the 21st of August, National artillery placed on the eminence opposite Chattanooga, awakened the mountain echoes with their thunder, and sent screaming shells over the Confederate camp. Bragg was startled by a sense of immediate danger; and when, soon afterward, Generals Thomas and McCook crossed the Tennessee, with their corps, and took possession of the passes of Lookout Mountain on Bragg's flank, and Crittenden took post at Wauhatchie, in Lookout Valley, nearer the river, the Confederates abandoned Chattanooga, passed through the gaps of Missionary Ridge and encamped on the Chickamauga Creek near Lafayette, in northern Georgia, there to meet expected National forces when pressing through the gaps of Lookout Mountain and threatening their communications with Dalton and Resaca. From the lofty summit of Lookout Mountain, Crittenden had observed the retreat of Bragg from the Tennessee River, and he immediately led his forces into the Chattanooga Valley and encamped at Ross's Gap in Missionary Ridge, within three miles of the town.

General Burnside was then in command of the Army of the Ohio, and had been ordered to co-operate with Rosecrans. With twenty thousand men he climbed over the Cumberland Mountains into the magnificent Valley of East Tennessee, his baggage and stores carried, in many places, on the backs of pack-mules. On his entering the Valley, twenty thousand Confederates in East Tennessee, commanded by General Buckner, fled to Georgia and joined Bragg, when Burnside took a position near the Tennessee River, so as to have easy communication with Rosecrans at Chattanooga. The latter, meanwhile, erroneously supposing Bragg had begun a retreat toward Rome, had pushed through the mountain passes, when he was surprised to find that general, instead of retreating, concentrating his forces to attack the attenuated line of the Nationals, the extremities of which were fifty miles apart. Rosecrans proceeded at once to concentrate his own forces and very soon the two armies were confronting each other in battle array, on each side of Chickamauga Creek, in the vicinity of Crawfish Spring, each line extending toward the slopes of Missionary Ridge. General Thomas, who was on the extreme left of the National line, opened the battle on the morning of the 19th of September. It raged with great fierceness until dark, when the Nationals seemed to have the advantage. That night General Longstreet, whom Lee had sent from Virginia to assist Bragg, arrived with fresh troops which swelled the Confederate army to seventy thousand men, and gave to it a far better soldier than the chief leader. Rosecrans's army did not then exceed, in number, fifty-five thousand men.

On the morning of the 20th the contest was renewed after a thick fog had risen from the earth. There was a fearful struggle. A furious charge upon the National right had shattered it into fragments, and these fled in disorder toward Chattanooga. This tide carried with it the troops led by Rosecrans, Crittenden and McCook; and the commanding-general, unable to join Thomas, and believing the whole army would speedily be hurrying pell-mell toward Chattanooga, hastened to that place to provide for rallying them there. Generals Sheridan and J. C. Davis rallied a part of these troops, and Thomas stood firm, frustrating every effort to turn his flank. Forty-eight hours after the battle the army, which had been withdrawn to Chattanooga, was strongly intrenched there.

Victory crowned the Confederates in the battle of Chickamauga, but at the fearful cost of

about twenty-one thousand men killed, wounded, and made prisoners. The Nationals lost about nineteen thousand men. During the contest a little volunteer soldier named John Clem, then about twelve years of age, performed a deed of daring. He had been in the thickest of the fight when, separated from his companions, he was seen running with a musket in his hand by a mounted Confederate colonel, who called out, "Stop! you little Yankee devil!" The boy halted, with his musket to an order, when the colonel rode up to make him a prisoner. Young Clem, with swift motion, brought up his gun and shot the colonel dead. The boy escaped; and for this achievement he was made a sergeant, put on duty at the headquarters of the Army of the Cumberland, and placed on the roll of honor by General Rosecrans. He grew to manhood, married, and held a position in one of the departments of Government in Washington.

For a time the vanquished army suffered much at Chattanooga, for communication with their supplies by the Tennessee was cut off, the Confederates occupying Lookout Mountain and commanding that stream. Bragg hoped to starve his foes into submission. He strove to deprive them of all supplies, and severe struggles between detachments of the two armies were the consequences. Bragg failed. The National Government had determined to hold Chattanooga, and orders were given for the consolidation of the armies of the Cumberland and Tennessee, constituting the military division of the Mississippi, with General Grant as commander-in-chief. He had secured the free navigation of the Mississippi River, after the fall of Vicksburg and Port Hudson, by driving the Confederates, under Johnston, from the vicinity and strongly fortifying the first-named place; and when he took command of the new division, General Sherman was made the leader of the Army of the Tennessee, and General Thomas was placed in command of the Army of the Cumberland, Rosecrans having been ordered to St. Louis.

When Grant arrived at Chattanooga, he ordered Hooker, who was at Bridgeport, to advance to Lookout Valley, menace Bragg's flank, and protect the passage of supplies up the Tennessee to within a short distance from the famishing armies. This was promptly done. Hooker's main force took post at Wauhatchie, where he was attacked before daylight on the morning of the 29th of October. After a battle for three hours in the darkness, the Confederates were beaten and driven away. An amusing incident of this struggle occurred. When it began, about two hundred mules, frightened by the noise, broke from their tethers and dashed into the ranks of Wade Hampton's legion, and produced a great panic. The Confederates supposed it to be a charge of Hooker's cavalry, and fell back, at first, in great confusion. The incident was a theme for a mock-heroic poem of six stanzas in imitation of Tennyson's "Charge of the Light Brigade," two verses of which were as follows:

"Forward, the mule brigade - Was there a mule dismay'd? Not when their long ears felt All their ropes sundered. Theirs not to make reply - Theirs not to reason why - Theirs but to make them fly - On to the Georgia troops Broke the two hundred. Mules to the right of them - Mules to the left of them - Mules all behind them - Paw'd, neigh'd, and thundered; Breaking their own confines - Breaking through Longstreet's lines - Testing chivalric spines, Into the Georgia troops Storm'd the two hundred."

After this battle, the Tennessee was free for vessels with supplies for the National troops, and the two armies lay confronting each other, only about three miles apart.

Meanwhile there had been stirring events in the Valley of East Tennessee, where Burnside was trying to expel the Confederates. In these efforts he had spread his army considerably. Perceiving this, Bragg sent Longstreet to the Valley with a strong force to seize Knoxville and drive out the Nationals. He advanced swiftly and secretly and on the 20th of October he struck a startling blow at Burnside's outposts at Philadelphia. In obedience to a command from Grant, the latter concentrated his forces (Ninth Army Corps), fell back to Knoxville, and there intrenched. Longstreet pressed forward, and after some fighting by the way, he began a regular siege of Knoxville at the middle of November. He continued it to the close of the month, when Generals Granger and Sherman were sent to the relief of Burnside, and caused the swift flight of Longstreet toward Virginia. By this blunder, Bragg had lost the support of this superior commander.

Hostilities had again occurred near Chattanooga. General Sherman arrived there, with his army, from the West. So strengthened, Grant determined to attack Bragg in the absence of Longstreet. On the 23rd of November, General Thomas seized a commanding eminence in front of Missionary Ridge, called Orchard Knob, and fortified it; and Hooker was ordered to attack Bragg's left, on Lookout Mountain, the next morning, to divert attention from the movements of Sherman, who was to cross the Tennessee, above Chattanooga, and fall upon Bragg's right, on the Ridge. Hooker moved with vigor, fighting his way up the rugged wooded steep of Lookout Mountain with musket, rifle and cannon, driving the Confederates before him. During the heaviest of the struggle the mountain was hooded in vapor that arose from the Tennessee and hid the combatants from the view of the anxious spectators at Chattanooga. They could hear the thunders of the artillery, but the warriors were invisible. It was literally a battle in the clouds. Finally the Confederates were driven to the summit: and that night they fled down the northern slopes to the Chattanooga Valley, and joined their commander on Missionary Ridge. In the crisp air and the sunlight, the next morning, the Stars and Stripes were seen waving over "Pulpit Rock," on the crest of Lookout Mountain, from which, a few days before, Jefferson Davis had harangued the troops, assuring them that all was well with the Confederacy.

Sherman, in the meantime, had crossed the Tennessee River and secured a position on the northern end of Missionary Ridge, on which Bragg had concentrated all his forces, and there the Confederates were attacked on front and flank on the 25th of November. Hooker came down from Lookout Mountain, and entering Ross's Gap, attacked Bragg's left, while Sherman was assailing his right. There was a fearful struggle, beheld with intense interest by General Grant, who stood on Orchard Knob and directed the movements of the National army. At length the centre, under General Thomas, moved up the declivities; and very soon the Confederates were driven from the Ridge, when they fled toward Ringgold, followed by a portion of the National army. At Ringgold, a sharp engagement occurred, when the Confederates retreated to Dalton, the Nationals fell back, and Sherman hastened to the relief of Burnside, as already mentioned.

General Grant reported the Union loss, in the series of struggles which ended in victory at

Missionary Ridge, at five thousand six hundred and sixteen, in killed, wounded, and missing. The Confederate loss was about three thousand one hundred, killed and wounded, and a little more than six thousand prisoners. Grant had also captured forty pieces of artillery and about seven thousand small arms. In a letter to the victorious general, the President thanked him and his men for their skill and bravery in securing "a lodgment at Chattanooga and Knoxville." Congress voted thanks and a gold medal for Grant, and directed the President of the Republic to cause the latter to be struck, "with suitable emblems, devices, and inscriptions." The general was the recipient of other tokens of regard, of various kinds; and the legislatures of New York and Ohio voted him thanks in the name of the people of those great States.

During the first half of 1863, General J. G. Foster was in command of the National troops in North Carolina, with his headquarters at New Berne, from which point he sent out raiding parties to scatter Confederate forces who were gathering here and there to recover lost posts in that State. In these expeditions, many sharp skirmishes took place. The Nationals were generally successful, and confined their antagonists to the interior of the State. Finally, in July (1863), Foster was called to the command at Fortress Monroe, and left his troops in charge of General Palmer. Meanwhile there had been important occurrences in the vicinity of Charleston, South Carolina, the capture of that city being one objective of the National Government. Attempts had been made the previous year by General David Hunter (commanding the Department of the South) and Admiral Dupont, to seize that city, but failed. Dupont had received important information concerning military affairs at Charleston, from Robert Small, a slave, who was a pilot in the Confederate service. One night, at the middle of May (1862), assisted by some fellow-bondsmen, Small took the Confederate steamer Planter out of Charleston harbor, delivered her to Dupont, gave him valuable information, and entered the service of the Republic. Soon afterward the National land troops took a position on James Island, near Charleston; and at Secessionville, General Benham, with a small force, fought the Confederates at the middle of June, and was defeated. Further attempts to capture Charleston were then suspended.

Hunter was succeeded in the command of the department by General O. M. Mitchel, who, as we have observed, was called to Washington from Tennessee, where he chafed under Buell's command. He reached Hilton Head on the 16th of September, and with his usual vigor he devised plans and prepared to execute them for the public good. Hilton Head island was swarming with refugee slaves, and he at once took measures for their relief, laying out a village, causing neat and comfortable log-houses to be built for their residences, and finding employment for them. He was preparing to use his military force with vigor in his department; but before his arrangements were completed, he was smitten by a disease similar to the yellow fever, when he was conveyed to the more healthy locality of Beaufort, where he died on the 30th of October. From that time, until the spring of 1864, very little of importance occurred in the Department of the South, of which Hunter again became the commander.

Chapter CXXVIII

Efforts to Capture Charleston - "The Swamp Angel" - Siege of Fort Wagner - Sumter in Ruins - Events West of the Mississippi - Invasion of Missouri - Lawrence Sacked - Events in Arkansas and in the Indian Territory - Raid into Missouri - Struggle for Louisiana - Grant in New Orleans - Designs Against Texas - Forrest in Tennessee - Strength of the Nationals and Confederates Compared - High-Handed Measures - The British and the Confederates - Good Signs - Grant Lieutenant-General - Campaign of 1864 - Sherman's Raid in Mississippi - Massacre at Fort Pillow - Forrest's Exploits - Red River Expedition - The Expedition Abandoned - Negro Troops.

ALTHOUGH Charleston had become a comparatively unimportant point in the grand theatre of the war, its possession was coveted by the National Government because of the salutary moral effect which such conquest would produce. A strong effort to accomplish that purpose was made in the spring of 1863. On the 6th of April, Admiral Dupont crossed Charleston Bar with nine monitor or turreted iron vessels, leaving five gunboats outside as a reserve, and proceeded to attack Fort Sumter, the most formidable obstacle in his way to the city. At the same time a cooperating force of land troops, four thousand strong, under General Truman Seymour, took a masked position on Folly Island. As Dupont approached, the cannon of the Confederates on Sumter and the adjacent batteries were silent until the vessels were entangled in an unsuspected network of torpedoes and other obstructions, when nearly three hundred guns opened a concentric fire upon the fleet, driving them back to the ocean and destroying the Keokuk, one of the smallest of the ironclads. The land troops could do nothing until Fort Sumter was reduced, and the enterprise was a failure.

In June following, General Quincy A. Gillmore succeeded General Hunter in the command of the Southern Department. He found himself at the head of eighteen thousand men, with a generous supply of ordnance, small arms, and stores. An expedition against Charleston, by land and water, was immediately planned. Gillmore determined to seize Morris Island, on which was strong Fort Wagner that commanded Fort Sumter. That island and its military works in his possession, he might batter down Fort Sumter with heavy siege guns, and lay Charleston in ashes with his shells, if it was not surrendered. Dupont did not approve the plan; and early in July, Admiral John A. Dahlgren took his place. General Alfred H. Terry was sent with a force to James Island to mask Gillmore's intentions, when National troops were suddenly landed on Morris Island, and, with the aid of batteries on Folly Island, they drove the Confederates into Fort Wagner. Then Gillmore planted a line of batteries across Morris Island to confront that fort, which he found to be much stronger than he suspected. The Nationals assaulted it (July 11) and were repulsed, when a simultaneous bombardment by sea and land was determined on. This was done on the 18th of July, when a hundred great guns opened on the fort from the ships and the land-batteries. Meanwhile General Terry had been attacked by a force sent from Charleston, by Beauregard, to surprise him. But the vigilance of Terry never slept, and the Confederates were easily repulsed. The Nationals were then withdrawn from James Island and joined the main body of troops on Morris Island.

At sunset, on the 18th, Gillmore's forces moved in two columns, to attack Fort Wagner. A violent thunder-storm was raging. One column was led by General Strong, the other by Colonel H. L. Putnam, acting as brigadier. The struggle was brief but fearful. Both columns of the Nationals were repulsed, with great slaughter in their ranks, losing, in the aggregate, full fifteen hundred men. Strong and Putnam were mortally wounded; and Colonel Robert G. Shaw, who was at the head of the first regiment of colored troops organized in the free-labor States, was instantly killed. Because he commanded colored troops, Shaw was intensely hated by the Confederates and they foolishly thought they had dishonored him when, as they proclaimed, they had buried his body "in a pit under a heap of his niggers."

Gillmore now abandoned the plan for capturing Fort Wagner by direct assault, and began a regular siege. With infinite labor a battery was constructed in a morass half-way between Morris and James islands, upon a platform of heavy timbers standing in the deep black mud. When a lieutenant of engineers was ordered to construct it he said, "It is impossible." His commanding officer replied, "There is no such word as impossible; call for what you need." The lieutenant, who was a wag, made a requisition on the quartermaster for "one hundred men eighteen feet high to wade in mud sixteen feet deep"; and he gravely inquired of the engineer whether these men might be spliced, if required. The lieutenant was arrested for contempt, but was soon released, and he built a redoubt with the services of men of ordinary height. Upon the redoubt was erected a Parrott gun, which they called "The Swamp Angel," that sent shells into Charleston, five miles distant. One of these entered St. Michael's Church near the roof, and destroyed the table on the wall that contained the ten commandments, obliterating all of them excepting two - "Thou shalt not kill. Thou shalt not commit adultery."

General Gillmore was ready for another attack on Forts Wagner and Sumter on the 17th of August, and on that day the guns of twelve batteries and of the fleet opened upon them. Before night the granite walls of Fort Sumter began to crumble and its cannons ceased to roar, under the pressure of Dahlgren's guns. The land troops pushed their parallels nearer and nearer Fort Wagner; while the fleet guns continually pounded away, day after day, until the 6th of September, when General Terry was prepared to storm the latter work. Then it was ascertained that the Confederates had evacuated it and fled from Morris Island. Gillmore took possession of Fort Wagner and turned its guns on Fort Sumter, battering it dreadfully and driving away (it was supposed) its garrison. But that sentinel which had so long guarded the gate to Charleston harbor, only slumbered; and when on the night of the 8th, an armed force from the ships, in small boats, attempted to take possession of it, a vigilant garrison that had been lying quietly there, suddenly arose and repulsed the assailants with great loss to the latter. Finally, late in October (1863), Gillmore brought his heaviest guns to bear on Sumter, and reduced the once proud fort to a heap of ruins. Charleston now, as a commercial mart, had no existence. For months not a blockade-runner had entered its harbor, and its wealth and trade had departed. In a military point of view, as we have observed, it was absolutely of very little importance. Let us leave the Atlantic coast, and consider stirring events in the interior.

A thousand miles westward of the sea-coast the war was still going on, but more feebly than at

first. The Confederates reoccupied all Texas in 1863, and carried on a sort of guerrilla warfare in Arkansas and Missouri during a part of that year. In the earlier months, Marmaduke was active with his mounted men. He rushed over the border from Arkansas into Missouri, and fell upon Springfield in January, but was repulsed with a loss of two hundred men. After some other reverses, he fell back; and at Little Rock, the capital of Arkansas, he planned a formidable raid into Missouri, chiefly for the purpose of seizing National stores at Cape Girardeau, on the Mississippi. He invaded the State with eight thousand men, and was met at the Cape by General McNeil, on the 20th of April, who, after a sharp engagement, drove Marmaduke out of Missouri. Other bands of Confederates, under various leaders, roamed over the western borders of Arkansas, and, at one time, seriously menaced Fort Blunt, in the Indian Territory. There was a sharp engagement at Honey Springs, in that Territory, on the 17th of July, between Nationals under General Blunt and Confederates in strong force led by General Cooper, in which the latter were defeated, and a part of them fled into northern Texas. Guerrilla bands in Blunt's rear did much mischief. One of them, led by a white savage named Quantrell, fell upon the defenceless town of Lawrence, in Kansas, on the 13th of August, and murdered one hundred and forty of the inhabitants. They also laid one hundred and eighty-five buildings in ashes, and escaped.

Earlier than this, the strongly fortified post of Helena, on the Mississippi, in eastern Arkansas, became a coveted object and on the 3rd of July (1863) eight thousand Confederates, under General Price and others, ignorant of the strength of the post, attacked it. General Steele was in command there. After a sharp fight, the Confederates were repulsed with a loss of twenty percent of their number. That section of Arkansas was then abandoned by the Confederates; and on the 10th of August, Steele left Helena with twelve thousand troops and forty pieces of cannon, to attempt the capture of Little Rock. He pushed back Marmaduke, who confronted him; and early in September he moved on the State capital in two columns, one on each side of the Arkansas River. The Confederates there, after setting fire to several steamboats, abandoned the place on the evening of the 10th (September) and fled to Arkadelphia, on the Wachita River. Meanwhile General Blunt had been trying to bring the Confederates and their Indian allies in western Arkansas to battle, but had failed. He took possession of Fort Smith (September 1) and garrisoned it; and on the 4th of October, while he was on his way from Kansas to that post with an escort of one hundred cavalry, they were attacked near Baxter's Springs, on the Cherokee Reservation, and scattered, by six hundred guerrillas led by the notorious Quantrell who plundered and burnt the accompanying train of the Nationals. Blunt's forces were nearly all killed or disabled in the conflict. The wounded were murdered; and Blunt and only about a dozen followers barely escaped, with their lives, to Little Fort Blair. Some of Blunt's escort fled, at first, without firing a shot. Had they acted more bravely, they could have driven off their assailants in ten minutes, Blunt declared.

Finding their supplies nearly exhausted, the Confederates in that region made a raid into Missouri as far as Booneville, at the close of September; but they were driven back into Arkansas by Generals E. B. Brown and McNeil. No other military movements of much importance occurred in Missouri and Arkansas for some time after this, excepting an attack made by Marmaduke upon Pine Bluff, on the Arkansas River, on the 25th of October, 1863. The little garrison there was

commanded by Colonel Powell Clayton, and these, with the assistance of two hundred negroes in making barricades, fought the assailants (who were two thousand strong, with twelve pieces of artillery) for several hours, and drove them away. Quiet prevailed for some time afterward.

When General Banks left Alexandria, on the Red River, and marched to the siege of Port Hudson, General Taylor, whom he had driven into the wilds of western Louisiana, returned, occupied that abandoned city and Opelousas, and garrisoned Fort de Russy. Then he swept vigorously over the country in the direction of the Mississippi River and New Orleans. With a part of his command he captured Brashear City on the 24th of June (1863), with an immense amount of public property, and made a thousand National troops prisoners. At about the same time another portion of the Confederates, under General Green, operating in the vicinity of Donaldsonville, on the Mississippi, were driven out of the district. Finally, at the middle of July, when Banks's troops were released, on the fall of Port Hudson, they expelled Taylor and his forces from the country eastward of the Atchafalaya. This was the last struggle of Taylor's forces to gain a foothold on the Mississippi.

General Banks now turned his thoughts to aggressive movements. General Grant visited him at New Orleans early in September, and was in that city when he was summoned to Chattanooga. There it was determined that Banks should make an attempt to recover Texas and he speedily sent four thousand troops under General Franklin, accompanied by four gun-boats commanded by Lieutenant Crocker, to seize the Confederate post at Sabine Pass, on the boundary line between Louisiana and Texas. Owing to a premature attack by the gun-boats, the expedition was a disastrous failure. Then Banks concentrated his land forces on the Atchafalaya, for the purpose of penetrating Texas from the east by way of Shreveport, on the Red River; but this design was abandoned for a time, and it was concluded to attempt to seize and hold the coast harbor of that Commonwealth. To mask this movement, General C. C. Washburne, with a considerable body of troops, moved across Louisiana toward Alexandria, when about six thousand other Nationals under General Dana, with some war vessels, sailed for the Rio Grande. The troops landed, and drove Confederate cavalry up that river. The Nationals pressed on; and on the 6th of November encamped at Brownsville, opposite Matamoros. At the close of the year, the National troops occupied all the strong positions on the Texan coast excepting Galveston Island and a formidable work near the mouth of the Brazos and the Confederates had abandoned all Texas west of the Colorado River. Meanwhile N. B. Forrest, who had become a noted guerrilla chief, had broken into western Tennessee, from Mississippi, with four thousand Confederate soldiers, and making Jackson, in the firstmentioned State, his headquarters (December, 1863), had sent out foraging parties in various directions. General Hurlburt, at Memphis, tried to catch him, but failed.

There were many hopeful signs of success for the defenders of the life of the Republic at the opening of the third year of the Civil War, 1864. The debt of the National Government was then more than \$1,000,000,000; but the public credit never stood higher. The loyal people stood by the Government, and trusted it with a fidelity and faith that was truly sublime. At the same time the Confederate debt was at least \$1,000,000,000, with a prospective increase during the year to double that amount. The Confederate government had contracted loans abroad to the amount

almost of 15,000,000, of which sum the members of the Southern Independence Association in England (composed chiefly of the British aristocracy) loaned large share and lost it, the security offered for the Confederate bonds being cotton to be forwarded, and which was never delivered. The producers of the Confederacy, better informed than their English sympathizers, were unwilling to trust the promise of their government and withheld supplies, for they preconceived the worthlessness of the bonds and paper currency of the Confederates. The people there were no longer willing to volunteer for the military service; and Davis and his associates at Richmond, in their desperation, proceeded to the exercise of a despotic act that has no parallel in the history of civilized nations. By the passage of a law they declared that every white man in the Confederacy, liable to bear arms, to be in the military service; and that, upon his failure to report for duty at a military station within a certain time, he was liable to the penalty of death as a deserter! They devised schemes of retaliation also cruel measures toward the colored troops in the National service and their white commanders were proposed. They refused to regard captive negro troops as prisoners of war; and by threats of dire vengeance, they tried to deter the colored men from enlisting in the National service.

While the authorities at Richmond were preparing to carry out these measures, they received a despatch from Lord John Russell, the British Foreign Secretary, which deprived them of the last prop of hope for the recognition of the independence of the Confederate States from any foreign State excepting that of the Roman pontiff. That despatch gave them notice that no more vessels should be fitted out in Great Britain (nor tolerated in British waters) for depredating on the commerce of the United States by persons employed by the "so-called Confederate States." The last expression, which absolutely ignored the very existence of the "Confederate States" was very significant, and also very offensive to Davis and his associates. The latter replied sharply, protesting against the studied insult and thenceforward the Confederates regarded the British government as their enemy. That government, perceiving the weakness of the Confederacy which it had tried to foster, stood firm, and so did our own. Regardless of the menaces of the Confederate leaders, the President determined to defend the colored troops against the vengeance of their late masters, and to prosecute the war with greater vigor. "The signs," he said, look better." More than fifty thousand square miles of territory had already been recovered from the Confederates. There were about eight hundred thousand National troops in the field, while the Confederates had only about half that number; and the former were disposed to act on the offensive, while the latter were generally standing on the defensive.

Early in 1864, Congress created the office of lieutenant-general. The President nominated Ulysses S. Grant to fill it, and the Senate confirmed the nomination. Grant was made general-in-chief of the armies of the Republic, and he fixed his headquarters with that of the Army of the Potomac. He believed that mercy required that war should be made sharp and decisive, so as to end it speedily, and he acted accordingly. He believed his government to be right and its assailants wrong; and with all the zeal born of positive convictions, he prepared for the campaign of 1864. Two grand expeditions were planned - one for the capture of Richmond, the other for the seizure of the great railroad centre, Atlanta, in Georgia. To the Army of the Potomac, commanded by General Meade, was assigned the task of taking Richmond; and to General

Sherman was given the command of the forces destined for Atlanta. Meanwhile important events had occurred in the Valley of the Mississippi.

When General Sherman was called to Chattanooga, he left General J. B. McPherson in command at Vicksburg; but soon after Bragg was driven southward from Chattanooga, Sherman suddenly reappeared in Mississippi and at the head of twenty thousand troops, he made a most destructive raid (February, 1 864) from Jackson to the intersection of important railways at Meridian, in that State. His object was to inflict as much injury as possible upon the Confederate cause and its physical strength. Like Grant, he believed in the righteousness and efficacy of making war terrible. The line of his march from Jackson, eastward, presented a black path of desolation. No public property of the Confederates was spared. The station-houses and the rolling stock of the railway were burned. The track was torn up, and the rails, heated by the burning ties cast into heaps, were twisted and ruined and were often, by bending them, while red-hot, around a sapling, converted into what the men called "Jeff Davis's neckties." General Sherman intended to push on to Montgomery, Alabama, and then, if circumstances appeared favorable, to go southward and attack Mobile.

At Meridian, General Sherman waited for General W. S. Smith to join him with a considerable force of cavalry; but that officer was held back by Forrest and others. After waiting in vain for a week, Sherman laid Meridian in ashes and returned to Vicksburg with four hundred prisoners and five thousand liberated slaves. This raid spread great alarm over the Confederacy; for General (Bishop) Polk, in command of the insurgents in that region, made but a feeble resistance. General Joseph E. Johnston, in command of Bragg's army in northern Georgia, had sent troops to reinforce Polk but was compelled to recall them when his own army was menaced by a National force under General Palmer, which had been sent down from Chattanooga. Johnston fought Palmer between Ringgold and Dalton (February, 1864), and drove him back to Chattanooga.

Some weeks later, General Forrest, having an enlarged command, made a rapid raid through Tennessee and Kentucky; and on the 13th of April he laid siege to Fort Pillow, on the Mississippi, above Memphis, which was garrisoned chiefly by colored troops. He assailed it successfully, with a cry of "No quarter" and when the garrison threw down their arms and begged for mercy, they were nearly all slaughtered. "Forrest's motto," said Major Charles W. Gibson, of his command, to the writer, "was, War means fight, and fight means kill - we want but few prisoners." An unsuccessful attempt was made to intercept him in his retreat from the scene of the massacre. Troops sent out from Memphis, a few weeks later, by General Smith, to hunt him up and beat him, in Mississippi, were defeated in a severe battle with him on the 10th of June, at Gun Town, on the Mobile and Ohio Railway, and were driven back with great loss. Twelve thousand men, led by General A. J. Smith, went out for the same purpose, and fought and defeated Forrest near Tupelo on the 14th of June, and then retreated to Memphis; and not long afterward, when Smith was in Mississippi with ten thousand men, the bold raider, at the head of three thousand cavalry, flanked him, dashed into Memphis in broad daylight, in search of National officers, and escaped into Mississippi.

At the beginning of 1864, another attempt was made to recover Texas, by an invasion by way of the Red River and Shreveport. General Banks was ordered to organize an expedition for the purpose, and General Sherman was directed to send troops to aid him. Admiral Porter was also directed to place a fleet of gunboats on the Red River to assist in the enterprise; and General Steele, at Little Rock, Arkansas, was ordered to co-operate with the expedition. Banks's column, led by General Franklin, moved from Brashear City by way of Opelousas, and reached Alexandria on the 26th of March. The detachment from Sherman's army, led by General A. J. Smith, had already gone up the Red River in transports, captured Fort de Russy, and taken possession of Alexandria on the 16th of March, followed by Porter's fleet of gunboats.

Banks moved forward with his whole force; and early in April the army was at Natchitoches, eighty miles further up the river, at which point Porter's vessels arrived, after encountering much difficulty in passing the rapids at Alexandria on account of low water. His larger gunboats could proceed no further than Grand Ecore. Banks pushed on toward Shreveport, and Porter's lighter vessels went up the river with a body of troops under E. Kilby Smith. The Confederates had been gathering force under Generals Taylor, Price and Green, and were driven before the Nationals until they reached Sabine Cross Roads, where they made a stand on the 8th of April. A sharp battle ensued between them and the advance of Banks's army. There was a hard struggle for the mastery. Franklin's troops came to the aid of the latter late in the afternoon; but their antagonists fought so well and desperately that the whole body of the Nationals were routed, with heavy loss, and fled in some confusion. The fugitives were received three miles from the battle-field, at a place called Pleasant Grove, by the division of General Emory; and there another severe engagement took place, in which the Nationals were victorious. The latter fell back, however, fifteen miles, pursued by the Confederates; and the next day (April 9) another heavy battle was fought at Pleasant Hill, which resulted in a victory for Banks. That officer now wished to renew the march for Texas but his associates counselled a still further retreat to the Red River, at Grand Ecore, where Porter's larger vessels lay. There they were joined by the troops under E. Kilby Smith, that went up the river in transports, and had some sharp fighting.

The river was still falling. Food and water for man and beast, in that region, could not be procured excepting with great difficulty, and it was determined to continue the retreat to Alexandria. After much difficulty the fleet passed the bar at Grand Ecore on the 17th of April. The army moved from that point on the 21st, and entered Alexandria on the 27th, after an encounter with the Confederates at the passage of the Cane River. So many difficulties lay before the National army, that the expedition against Shreveport was abandoned, and the land and naval forces prepared to return to the Mississippi River.

A serious impediment to such a movement now presented itself. The water in the rapids of the Red River at Alexandria was so shallow that the fleet could not repass them. General Hunter had just appeared at Alexandria with orders to close the Red River campaign as speedily as possible, for the troops from General Sherman were wanted eastward of the Mississippi. The call was urgent. To get the fleet below the rapids was now the first work to be done. It was proposed to dam the river above the rapids, and send the vessels over the rocks upon the bosom of a flood that

might be set free through sluices. Porter did not believe in the feasibility of such a project. Banks did, and set Lieutenant-Colonel Joseph Bailey, of a Michigan regiment, to attempt it. By skill and industry the work was accomplished; and every gun-boat, great and small, reached the deep water below the rapids in safety, the crowd of spectators on the shores greeting the achievement with loud huzzas. The whole expedition now pushed toward the Mississippi River, where Porter resumed the service of patrolling that stream. General E. R. S. Canby took command of Banks's forces on the Atchafalaya and General Smith, with his detachment, returned to Mississippi. A strong confronting force of Confederates had kept Steele from co-operating with the expedition. He had moved from Little Rock with eight thousand men, pushed back the Confederates, and on the 5th of April captured the important post of Camden on the Wachita River; but after a severe battle at Jenkinson's Ferry, on the Sabine River, Steele abandoned Camden and returned to Little Rock. So ended this disastrous campaign.

We have observed that colored troops were employed as soldiers in the National service, and that the Confederates were disposed to treat them and their white leaders with cruelty. Let us take a hasty glance at the history of their employment in the army.

When the President called for troops, in April, 1861, to put down the rising insurrection, some colored men in the city of New York hired a room and began to drill in military tactics. The sympathizers with the insurgents threatened them with violence; and the Superintendent of Police felt compelled, in order to secure the public peace, to order them to cease drilling. So they waited until they were called for.

More than a year afterward, General Hunter, in command of the Department of the South, ordered the organization of negro regiments in his department. This measure raised a tempest of indignation in the National Congress among the sympathizers with the insurgents. On motion of Vickliffe of Kentucky, the Secretary of War was asked whether Hunter had organized a regiment of fugitive slaves, and whether the Government had authorized the act. Hunter was allowed to make explicit answers himself. To the first question he replied No regiment of fugitive slaves has been or is being organized in this department. There is, however, a fine regiment of persons whose late masters are fugitive rebels - men who everywhere fly before the appearance of the National flag, leaving their servants behind them to shift for themselves as best they can." A few weeks later, Secretary Stanton, by special order, directed General Rufus Saxton, military governor of the sea-coast islands, to "arm, uniform, equip and receive into the service of the United States, such number of volunteers of African descent, not exceeding five thousand," as would be useful.

General G. W. Phelps, in command above New Orleans, in the summer of 1862, finding crowds of colored people flocking to his camp, asked permission of General Butler to arm and equip negro regiments. Butler had no authority to do so. He recommended Phelps to employ them in servile work on fortifications. Phelps replied, "I am not willing to become the mere slave-driver you propose, having no qualifications that way," and throwing up his commission, returned to Vermont. Very soon afterward Butler called for negro volunteers from the free colored men in

New Orleans, and full regiments were formed.

Another year passed by, and yet very few of the thousands of colored men made free by the proclamation of emancipation were found in arms. There was a universal prejudice against them but as the war went on that prejudice, like others, gave way, and in the summer of 1863 the President was authorized by Congress to accept colored volunteers. From that time such troops were freely enlisted wherever the Government authority prevailed; and nearly two hundred thousand of them fought in the ranks for the preservation of the Republic, and their own freedom. Their brethren, who were yet in bondage, were then freely used by the Confederates, in the military service; not, however, with arms in their hands. The Confederates never armed them. It might have been a fatal experiment. They were organized under white leaders, and were "armed and equipped" with axes, shovels, spades, pick-axes, and blankets.

The natural docility of the negro made him an excellent man to discipline for a soldier and his faithfulness and courage were never surpassed, in strength and endurance, by the white man's faithfulness and courage. Their conduct throughout the war was most remarkable. Their numbers, in some of the revolted States, were nearly equal to those of the white people; and in the absence of the men of the latter race, in the army, the whole region which they occupied was absolutely at their mercy. There were, at first, apprehensions that the negroes, perceiving their opportunity and advantage, would rise in insurrection and assert their right to freedom. On the contrary, they worked faithfully and patiently for their masters, on the plantations, and there is no record of an attempt, by individuals or in numbers, of that vast servile population, to gain their liberty. Not a woman or child was injured by their slaves; on the contrary, they were the trusted protectors from violence, of the wives and children of the Confederate soldiers. They had faith that God would, in his own good time, deliver them from bondage; and in that faith they patiently waited and suffered. Because of their faithfulness and forbearance, when they might have filled the land with horror, the colored population of the South deserve the everlasting gratitude and good-will of the white people there, whose families they protected and by their labor supplied with food and clothing during the terrible Civil War. History furnishes no parallel to the noble conduct of the negroes toward those who were making war for the purpose of perpetuating the slavery of their race.

Chapter CXXIX

Another Invasion of Missouri and Its Results - Morgan in East Tennessee - Cavalry Operations against Richmond - Campaign of the Army of the Potomac Begun - Battles in the Wilderness and near Spottsylvania Court-House - Sheridan's Raid - Operations Between Petersburg and Richmond - Kautz's Raid - Struggles of Grant and Lee - Battle at Cool Arbor - The Nationals Cross the James and Invest Petersburg - Confederate Invasion of Maryland - Salvation of Washington - A Plundering Raid to Chambersburg - Sheridan in the Shenandoah Valley - His Brilliant Campaign - Richmond Threatened - Siege of Petersburg - Capture of Fort Harrison - Medal to Colored Troops - Losses - Sherman's Campaign in Georgia.

THE Confederates were emboldened by the failure of the Red River expedition and the expulsion of Steele from the region below the Arkansas River; and raiding bands awed the Unionists into silence and inactivity. This state of things gave Price an opportunity early in the autumn to invade Missouri again, this time chiefly with a political object in view. Secret societies, in sympathy with the Knights of the Golden Circle, had been formed in Missouri and neighboring Southern States, whose object was to give aid to the Confederate cause and assist in the election of General McClellan (who had been nominated by the Democratic party) to the office of President of the United States. Price had been promised twenty thousand recruits, if he should enter Missouri with a respectable military force. He and General Shelby went over the Missouri border late in September (1864), with twenty thousand followers, and pushed on to Pilot Knob, half-way to St. Louis. But the promised recruits did not appear. The vigilant Rosecrans, in command of the Department of the Missouri, had discovered the plans of the disloyalists, and by some arrests had so frightened them that they prudently remained in concealment. Price was sorely disappointed; and he soon perceived that a web of great peril was gathering around him. At Pilot Knob, General Ewing, with a brigade of National troops, struck him an astounding blow. Soon afterward, these, with other troops under Generals A. J. Smith and Mower, sent Price flying westward toward Kansas, closely pursued. The exciting chase was enlivened by severe skirmishes and late in November, Price was a fugitive in western Arkansas, with a broken and dispirited army. This was the last invasion of Missouri.

When Longstreet retired Iron, Knoxville, he lingered awhile between there and the Virginia border; but he finally went to the aid of Lee's menaced army. Morgan, the guerrilla chief, remained in East Tennessee until the close of the following May (1864), when he went over the mountains and raided through the richest portions of Kentucky. General Burbridge went after him, and soon drove him and his shattered columns back into East Tennessee. He was surprised at Greenville, where he was shot dead in a vineyard while attempting to escape. Soon afterward the region between Knoxville and the Virginia line became the theatre of some stirring minor events while General Breckenridge was in command of the Confederates there.

Let us now resume the consideration of the military movements against Richmond and Atlanta.

The campaign of the Army of the Potomac under General Meade, against the Army of

Northern Virginia led by General Lee, in the spring of 1864, was preceded by some movements for the capture of Richmond and the liberation of Union soldiers confined in Libby Prison, and on Belle Isle in the James River at that city. Treachery defeated the purpose for which, in February, General B. F. Butler, in command of the Department of Virginia and North Carolina, sent fifteen hundred troops, foot and horse, under General Wistar, against Richmond. General Kilpatrick, with five thousand of his cavalry, came from the Army of the Potomac to cooperate with him. They swept within the other lines of the defenses of Richmond, on the first of March and Colonel Dahlgren, son of the admiral of that name, with another portion of that cavalry, was repulsed the next day, and was killed. A few days later, General Custer, with his horsemen, threatened Lee's communications in the direction of the Shenandoah Valley. The movements of Wistar were made fruitless, owing to a deserter, who gave the Confederates warning of it, and they were prepared to meet it.

The grand movement of the Army of the Potomac began in May. When it crossed the Rapid Anna and tried to go swiftly by Lee's flank under cover of the dense woods of the Wilderness, and plant itself between the Confederate army and Richmond, the vigilant Lee discovered the movement and boldly attacked the Nationals. The two armies numbered, in the aggregate, about two hundred thousand men and that mighty host fought desperately for almost two days (May 5th and 6th) on one of the most remarkable battle-fields ever known. The ground was covered with a thick growth of pines, cedars, and shrub-oaks, with tangled underbrush and vines, wherein regular military movements were impossible. Cavalry could not contend; and no single vision could discern a thousand men at one time. In that mysterious land the brave General Wadsworth of the Genesee Valley was killed, and the slaughter of troops was fearful. Both armies were badly shattered; and there was no victory for either. The Confederates withdrew to their intrenchments and the Nationals, led by General Warren, hastened to the open country near Spottsylvania Court-House.

Lieutenant-General Grant was the guiding-spirit in the National army. He was determined to flank Lee; but when his troops emerged from the Wilderness, he found the Confederates in heavy force and rapidly gathering athwart his path. Arrangements were immediately made for another battle, during which the gallant General Sedgwick, leader of the Sixth corps, was killed by a Confederate sharp-shooter. Both armies were cautious in their movements; and finally, on the morning of the 10th (May, 1864), when all was in readiness, a furious conflict began and raged all day with dreadful losses on each side. On the following morning, General Grant sent to the President the famous despatch, in which he said I propose to fight it out on this line, if it takes all summer."

On the 12th, another sanguinary battle was opened. General Hancock, after the most gallant struggle, broke through the Confederate line and gained a great advantage; but the fierce conflict continued until twilight, and did not entirely cease until midnight, when Lee suddenly withdrew behind a second line of intrenchments, and appeared as strong as ever. Yet Grant, stubborn and bold, was not disheartened. He sent cheering despatches to the government; and pressing forward, fought another desperate battle on the Ny, not far from Spottsylvania Court-House. Lee

was repulsed. Grant's flanking movement was temporarily checked, but he speedily resumed it. The losses on both sides, during about a fortnight, had been fearful. That of the Army of the Potomac was about forty thousand men, killed, wounded, and prisoners and that of the Army of Northern Virginia was about thirty thousand.

In the meantime, General Sheridan had been raiding in Lee's rear with a greater part of the National cavalry. Like Kilpatrick, he swept down into the Confederate outworks at Richmond, but with more successful results, for he destroyed the railway communication between Lee's army and that city. At the same time there was a cooperating force in the Shenandoah Valley, first under General Sigel and then under General Hunter; but they did not accomplish much of importance besides destroying a vast amount of property. There was another co-operating force below Richmond, commanded by General Butler. He had been joined by Gillmore's troops, which had been ordered up from Charleston and with about twenty-five thousand men he went up the James River in armed transports, seized City Point at the mouth of the Appomattox River, and took possession of the Peninsula of Bermuda Hundred. He cast up a line of intrenchments across it from the Appomattox to the James and destroyed the railway between Petersburg and Richmond, so cutting off direct communication between the Confederate capital and the South. At the same time General A. V. Kautz went up from Suffolk with three thousand cavalry, to destroy the railways south and west from Petersburg; but before he struck them, Beauregard, who had been called from Charleston, had filled that city with defenders. The withdrawal of Gillmore's troops relieved Charleston of immediate danger; and when Butler went up the James, Beauregard was summoned to Richmond. At Petersburg he received hourly reinforcements, and some of them he massed in front of Butler's forces, along the line of the railway. Finally, on the morning of the 16th of May, while a dense fog brooded over the country, he attempted to turn Butler's right flank. A sharp conflict ensued, in which the Nationals had about four thousand men engaged, and the Confederates about three thousand. It ended by the retirement of Butler's forces within their intrenchments. For several days afterward there was considerable skirmishing in front of Butler's lines, when he received orders to send nearly two-thirds of his effective men to the north side of the James River to assist the army contending with Lee in the vicinity of the Chickahominy. Butler complied with the requisition, which deprived him of all power to make further offensive movements. "The necessities of the Army of the Potomac," he said, "have bottled me up at Bermuda Hundred."

While General Butler's main army was making movements toward Richmond, Kautz was out upon another raid on the railways leading to that city from the south and southwest. He left Bermuda Hundred on the 12th of May, with two mounted brigades; passed near Fort Darling, on Drewry's Bluff, and sweeping on an arc of a circle by Chesterfield Court-House, struck the Richmond and Danville Railway eleven miles west of the Confederate capital. After again striking it at other points, he swept around eastward, divided his forces, and with a part of them crossed to the Southside Railway, while another portion proceeded to the junction of the Danville and Southside roads. Then he went eastward with his whole force, striking and destroying the Weldon Railway far toward the North Carolina line, and then made his way back to City Point. In this raid Kautz had seriously damaged the railroads that lay in his track, and took to City Point

one hundred and fifty prisoners.

After the struggles near Spottsylvania Court-House, Grant moved steadily on toward Richmond, while Lee moved on a parallel line to thwart his antagonist's plans. At the passage of the North Anne, they fought a severe battle on the 23rd of May. There, in close communication with the Central Virginia Railway, Lee had evidently determined to make a stand. Over that railway, Breckenridge, who had beaten Sigel in the Shenandoah Valley, was hastening to reinforce Lee, and Grant resolved to dislodge his antagonist before aid should reach him. This was accomplished, when Lee withdrew to a stronger position where Grant did not attack him. The Army of the Potomac pressed steadily forward, with Sheridan's cavalry in the advance, and on the 28th of May, the entire force of the Nationals were south of the Pamunkey River, with an uninterrupted communication with their new base of supplies at the ruins of the White House near the mouth of that stream. Lee had moved by a shorter road, and occupied a strong position on the Chickahominy River, which commanded a turnpike and two railways that led to Richmond.

Across the Chickahominy River was the only direct pathway to the Confederate capital, and to pursue it, Lee must be dislodged. The cavalry of both armies had sharp engagements at the close of May, while reconnaissances were going on; when Grant, believing he could not successfully assail his antagonist in his strong position, began another flanking movement with the intention of crossing the Chickahominy near Cool Arbor, where Sheridan had gained an advantageous foothold. There the army was reinforced by ten thousand men sent from Bermuda Hundred, led by General W. F. Smith; and there, from the 1st to the 3d of June (1864), there was a fearful struggle on the old battle-ground of Lee and McClellan two years before. On the 3d, one of the most sanguinary battles of the war was fought. It was brief, but terrible. Within the space of twenty minutes after the first shot was fired, ten thousand Union soldiers were killed or wounded. The battle ended at one o'clock in the afternoon, the Nationals holding their ground. They moved gradually to the left, and on the 7th of June that wing touched the Chickahominy River. Then Sheridan was sent to destroy the railways on Lee's left, which he did as far as Gordonsville.

General Grant now determined to transfer his army to the south side of the James River, cut off the chief sources of supply of men and provisions for Lee's army from the South, and attempt the capture of Richmond from that direction. At near the middle of June the whole army crossed the Chickahominy at Long Bridge, and moved to the James by way of Charles City Court-House. They crossed that river in boats and on pontoon bridges; and on the 16th of June, when the entire army was over, General Grant made his headquarters at City Point. A portion of the Army of the Fames, under General Butler, had made an unsuccessful attempt to capture Petersburg before Lee should send down troops to reinforce Beauregard, who had cast up strong lines of intrenchments around that city. These works were confronted by the Army of the Potomac on the evening of the 16th of June; and from that time until the 30th of July, there was much severe fighting, with great loss of life, in unsuccessful attempts of the Union troops to take the place by storm and destroy railway communications with it.

There was a brief lull in the operations against Petersburg and Richmond, at about the

beginning of July. During that time, General Early, with about fifteen thousand Confederate troops, swept down the Shenandoah Valley and across the Potomac at Williamsport, driving General Sigel before him, and penetrating Maryland to Hagerstown and Frederick. This formidable raid was designed to draw a large body of troops from Grant to the defence of the National Capital; also for plunder. When Grant heard of it, he sent General Wright, with the Sixth corps, to protect Washington. General Lewis Wallace, then in command of the Middle Department, with his headquarters at Baltimore, proceeded from that city, with a few troops hastily collected, to confront the invaders, and on the 9th of July he met and fought Early's host on the Monocacy River not far from Frederick. Wallace had been joined by a portion of Ricketts's brigade from the advance of the Sixth corps. This handful of warriors, after fighting overwhelming numbers eight hours, were defeated, with heavy loss, when Early pushed on toward Washington. But the vanquished troops had really won a victory for their country, for they detained the invaders long enough to allow the Sixth and Nineteenth corps to reach and secure the National Capital. When General Early perceived this, he pushed across the Potomac with a large amount of plunder, closely pursued by General Wright to the Shenandoah Valley, through Snicker's Gap, where, after a sharp conflict on the 19th (July), the invaders retreated up the Valley and the pursuers returned to Washington.

It was soon discovered that Early had not gone to join Lee, as was suspected, but remained in the Valley with all his force. Some of his troops were worsted in a fight with Nationals under General Averill, near Winchester, on the 20th; and they soon afterward pushed General Crook, in command of the Army of Western Virginia, back toward the Potomac, with considerable loss. Then Early sent General McCausland, Bradley Johnson and other officers, with three thousand followers, all mounted, on a plundering tour in Maryland and Pennsylvania. They swept, in excentric lines, over the country, thereby distracting the armed defenders of it and on the 30th of July entered the defenceless and almost deserted village of Chambersburg, in Pennsylvania, where they demanded a tribute of \$200,000 in gold, or \$500,000 in paper currency, to insure the town from destruction. It was impossible to give the tribute, and two-thirds of the village was laid in ashes. No time was given for the removal of the infirm, the sick, or the women and children. The incendiaries did not remain long enough to see the ruin they had initiated for General Averill, who was ten miles distant, moved against them, and chased them back into Virginia. This raid caused the Sixth and Nineteenth corps, commanded respectively by Generals Wright and Emory, to be sent into the Shenandoah Valley, where the National forces, now thirty thousand strong, were placed under the chief command of General Sheridan, early in August.

At the middle of September, General Grant visited Sheridan, at Charles- town. He found him ready for action against Early. Satisfied that his plan of operations was feasible, the lieutenant-general said to the energetic leader, "Go in." In these two words the chief expressed his confidence in Sheridan's judgment and skill. He did "go in;" and very soon he sent Early "whirling up the Valley," as he expressed it. He fought and conquered him at Winchester on the 19th of September (1864), when the Confederates fell back to the strong position of Fisher's Hill, near Strasburg. Sheridan drove them from there on the 22d, at the end of a sharp battle, in which Early lost heavily, and was chased to Port Republic, near which the pursuers burned his

wagon-trains. The National cavalry followed him to Staunton, where the Confederates took refuge in the ranges of the Blue Ridge. Sheridan's forces fell back to a strong position behind Cedar Creek, and that leader departed for Washington city with the belief that the Valley was purged of Confederates in arms. It was a mistake. A month later, Early, reinforced, fell with crushing weight upon the Nationals at Cedar Creek, commanded by General Wright, and, for a time, their destruction seemed inevitable. They fell back to Middletown and beyond, where they turned upon the pursuers, and a desperate battle ensued.

When the battle commenced, Sheridan was in Winchester on his way to the army. The sound of conflict fell upon his ear, and, mounting his powerful black horse, he pushed on toward Cedar Creek. Presently he met the van of fugitives hurrying from the lost battle-field, at that stream, who told him a piteous tale of disaster. Sheridan ordered the retreating artillery to be parked on each side of the turnpike, and telling his escort to follow, he dashed forward, his horse on a swinging gallop, and at that pace he rode nearly twelve miles to the scene of conflict. The fugitives became thicker and thicker every moment. But Sheridan did not stop to chide nor coax but as his powerful black steed thundered over that magnificent stone road which traverses the Shenandoah Valley, he waved his hat and shouted to the tumultuous crowds Face the other way, boys face the other way We are going back to our camp to lick them out of their boots The man and the act were marvelously magnetic in their effects. The tide of disordered troops was instantly turned, and flowed swiftly in the wake of their young commander. As he dashed into the lines, and rode along the front of forming regiments, he gave to each most stirring words of cheer and encouragement, and declared in substance, "We'll have all those camps and cannon back again." The men believed him, and showing their faith by their works, secured a speedy fulfillment of the prophecy. General Wright had already brought order out of confusion. A very severe struggle ensued, and very soon Early was again sent "whirling" up the Valley. The National cavalry of Emory's corps, falling upon both flanks, caused the Confederates to flee in hot haste up the Valley pike, in great disorder, to Fisher's Hill, leaving the highway strewn with abandoned hindrances to flight. The road was clogged with masses of men, wagons, cannon and caissons, in utter confusion, and these were left behind. This short but brilliant campaign of Sheridan, which nearly annihilated Early's force, ended hostilities in the Shenandoah Valley.

Let us now turn again toward Petersburg and Richmond, for a moment. General Butler had thrown a pontoon-bridge across the James River at Deep Bottom, within ten miles of Richmond, over which troops passed to the north side of that stream and menaced the Confederate capital. Lee was alarmed by the movement and withdrew a large force from Petersburg to defend Richmond, believing the latter city would be immediately attacked and there it was that General Grant made the unsuccessful attempts just mentioned, to penetrate the Confederate lines before Petersburg. He had mined under one of the principal forts, and it was blown up on the morning of the 30th of July, with terrible effect. In the place of the fortification was left a crater of loose earth two hundred feet in length, full fifty feet in width, and from twenty-five to thirty feet in depth. The fort, its guns and other munitions of war, with three hundred men, had been thrown high in air, and annihilated. Then the great guns of the Nationals opened a heavy cannonade upon the remainder of the works, with precision and fearful effect, all along the lines; but owing partly

to the slowness of motion of a portion of the assaulting force, the result was a most disastrous failure on the part of the assailants.

A fortnight later Grant sent another expedition to the north side of the James, at Deep Bottom, composed of the divisions of Birney and Hancock, with cavalry led by General Gregg. They had sharp engagements with the Confederates on the 13th, 16th and 18th of August, in which the Nationals lost about five thousand men without gaining any special advantage excepting the incidental one of giving assistance to troops sent to seize the Weldon railway, south of Petersburg. This General Warren effected on the 18th of August. Three days afterward he repulsed a Confederate force who attempted to repossess the portion of the road held by the Unionists; and on the same day General Hancock, who had returned from the north side of the James, struck the Weldon road at Reams's Station, and destroyed the track for some distance. The Nationals were finally driven from the road with considerable loss.

For little more than a month after this, there was comparative quiet in the vicinity of Petersburg and Richmond. The National troops were moved simultaneously toward each city. General Butler, with the Tenth Army Corps under General Birney, and the Eighteenth corps under General Ord, moved upon Fort Harrison, on the north side of the James, and captured it on the 29th of September. These troops charged upon another fort near by, and were repulsed with heavy loss. Among the slain was General Burnham. General Ord was severely wounded. The captured Fort Harrison was named Fort Burnham in honor of the slain general. In these assaults the gallantry of the colored troops was so conspicuous, that General Butler presented to each of the more meritorious ones a silver medal, which bore a device commemorative of their valor.

In the meantime, General Meade had sent General Warren with two divisions of his corps, General Parke with two divisions of the Ninth corps, and General Gregg with his cavalry, to attempt the extension of the National left on the Weldon road. The chief object of the movement was to mask the more important operations of Butler at that time. But it resulted in severe fighting on the first and second days of October (1864), with varying fortunes for both parties.

Now there was another pause but not a settled rest for about a month, when the greater portion of the Army of the Potomac was massed on the Confederate right, south of the James; and on the 27th of October, they assailed Lee's works on Hatcher's Run, westward of the Weldon road. A severe struggle ensued. The Nationals were repulsed, and on the 29th they withdrew to their intrenchments in front of Petersburg. Very little of importance was done by the Army of the Potomac after that, until the opening of the campaign in the spring of 1865, excepting the extension of their line to Hatcher's Run. The losses of that army had been fearful during six months, from the beginning of May until November, 1864. The aggregate number in killed, wounded, missing and prisoners, was over eighty-eight thousand men, of whom nearly ten thousand were killed in battle. Add to these the losses in the Army of the James during the same time, and the sum would be full one hundred thousand men.

The command of the troops engaged in the campaign against Atlanta was, as we have

observed, entrusted to General Wm. T. Sherman, who had succeeded General Grant in command of the Military Division of the Mississippi. With a force composed of the Army of the Cumberland led by General George H. Thomas, the Army of the Tennessee led by General J. B. McPherson, and the Army of the Ohio commanded by General J. M. Schofield, Sherman moved southward from the vicinity of Chattanooga on the 6th of May, 1864. The aggregate number of his soldiers was about one hundred thousand men. These were confronted by about fifty-five thousand men, led by General Joseph E. Johnston, and arranged in three corps commanded respectively by Generals Hardee, Hood, and Polk. This army then lay at Dalton, at the parting of the ways, one leading into East Tennessee, and the other into West Tennessee. To strike that position in front was impracticable, or, at least, perilous, for the Confederates were very strongly posted; and Sherman began there a series of successful flank movements. When he menaced the flanks of the Confederates at Dalton by seeking a passage through Snake Hill Gap, on the left, the insurgents fell back to a point near Resaca Station at the Oostanaula River, on the line of the railway between Chattanooga and Atlanta. At that place a sharp battle occurred on the 15th of May, when the Confederates were driven across the Oostanaula. Johnston fired the bridge that spanned that stream, cutting off direct pursuit immediately. Generals Thomas, Hooker, McPherson, Schofield, and other noted leaders were engaged in the fight; and as soon as a temporary bridge was constructed, the next morning, Thomas pursued Hardee (who covered the retreat) directly, while McPherson and Schofield kept on their flanks. The Confederates fled from post to post, burning bridges behind them, until they reached a mountainous region covering the Allatoona Pass. There Johnston halted, with the Etowah River between his troops and the National forces and then both armies took a brief rest.

These flanking movements had resulted so favorably to the Nationals, that Sherman resolved to pursue them. He determined to flank Johnston out of his strong position at Allatoona Pass, by concentrating his forces at Dallas, westward of him. In attempting to thwart this movement, the Confederates brought on an engagement near Dallas, on the 25th of May. The battle was indecisive, and was followed by a very stormy night, during which Johnston's men used the pickaxe and spade so industriously that by morning Sherman found his antagonist strongly entrenched, with lines extending from Dallas to Marietta. Between these towns was a broken, wooded country, and in that region there was much severe fighting for several days. At length Johnston was compelled to evacuate Allatoona Pass (June 1, 1864), when it was garrisoned by Sherman and made his second base of supplies, the first being at Chattanooga. The burned bridges were rebuilt and well guarded, and full possession of the railway in his rear was obtained by Sherman. At Allatoona he was reinforced on the 8th by troops under General Frank Blair, which made his number of effective men nearly what it was when he moved from Chattanooga.

Chapter CXXX

The Armies at Marietta - Death of Bishop Polk - Hood in Command - Battles around Atlanta - Thomas Sent to Nashville - Hood Chased into Alabama - Sherman's March to the Sea - Evacuation of Savannah - Events in Florida and North Carolina - Invasion of Tennessee - Hood's Defeats and Escape - Confederate Cruisers - Capture of the "Alabama" - Farragut near Mobile - Election of President - Sherman in the Carolinas - Evacuation of Charleston - Grierson's Raid - Capture of Fort Fisher - Battles at Averysboro' and Bentonville - Wilson's Raid - Capture of Mobile - Operations Below Petersburg - Sheridan's Raid - Lee's Attempt to Escape - Stoneman's Raid - Movements for Peace.

SOON after evacuating Allatoona Pass, General Johnston was compelled to abandon other posts before the approach of Sherman's strengthened army. The latter pressed vigorously forward toward the Kenesaw Mountains that overlooks Marietta. Around these great hills and upon their slopes and summits, and also upon Lost and Pine Mountains, the Confederates had cast up intrenchments and planted signal stations but after a desperate struggle - fighting battle after battle for the space of about a month, while rain was falling copiously almost without intermission - the Confederates were forced to leave all these strong positions. They fled toward the Chattahoochee River, in the direction of Atlanta, closely pursued by the Nationals. One of their corps commanders (Bishop Polk) had been instantly killed by a shell on the summit of Pine Mountain, and the insurgent armies had suffered fearful losses in that terrible struggle. So persistently did Johnston dispute the way from Dalton, in northern Georgia, to Atlanta, that when he reached the intrenchments at the latter place, he had lost nearly one-fourth of his army.

When, on the evening of July 2d, Sherman's cavalry threatened Johnston's flanks and menaced the ferry of the Chattahoochee, the Confederates abandoned the Great Kenesaw, and fled; and at dawn the next morning, when National skirmishers planted the Stars and Stripes over the Confederate battery on the summit of that eminence, they saw the hosts of their enemies flying in hot haste toward Atlanta. At eight o'clock Sherman rode into Marietta, a conqueror, close upon the heels of Johnston's army. He hoped to strike the Confederates a fatal blow while they were crossing the Chattahoochee; but Johnston, by quick and skillful movements, passed that stream without molestation, and made a stand along the line of it. General Howard laid a pontoon bridge two miles above the ferry where Johnston had crossed, and at the same time there was a general movement of Sherman's forces all along his line. The imperiled Confederates were compelled to abandon the works which they had thrown up near the Chattahoochee, and retreat to a new line that covered Atlanta, their left resting on the Chattahoochee and their right on Peach Tree Creek. Now, toward the middle of July, the two armies rested; and Johnston, an able and judicious leader, was succeeded by General J. B. Hood, of Texas, a dashing and less cautious officer than his predecessor. At that time (July 10), or sixty-five days after Sherman put his army in motion southward, he was master of the whole country north and west of the river on the banks of which he was resting (or nearly one-half of Georgia), and had accomplished one of the major objects of the campaign, namely, the advancement of the National lines from the Tennessee to the Chattahoochee.

The possession of Atlanta, the key-point of military advantage in the campaign in that region was the next prize to be contended for. The Nationals advanced at a little past the middle of July, destroying railways and skirmishing bravely; and on the 20th the Confederates, led by Hood in person, fell upon the corps of Howard, Hooker and Palmer, with heavy force. The assailants were repulsed after a sharp battle, in which both parties suffered severely.

There were now indications that Hood intended to evacuate Atlanta, when the Nationals moved rapidly toward the city, encountering strong intrenchments. Before these a part of Hood's army held their antagonists; while the main body, led by General Hardee, made a long night march, gained the rear of Sherman's forces on the morning of the 22nd of July, and fell upon them with crushing weight of numbers that day. A terrific battle ensued, lasting many hours; and after a brief interval, one still more sanguinary was begun, which resulted in victory for the Nationals and the retreat of the Confederates to their works. During that day, General McPherson, who was at the head of the Army of the Tennessee, while reconnoitering in a wood, was shot dead by a Confederate sharp-shooter (Major McPherson); and General Logan took his place in command. Yet another sanguinary battle was fought on the 28th of July, before Atlanta, when the Confederates were again driven to their lines, with heavy losses; and from that time until the close of August, hostilities in that region were confined, chiefly, to raids upon railways and the interruption of the communications of each army with its supplies. Finally, on the 31st of August, the forces of Howard and Hardee had a severe battle at Jonesboro, twenty miles below Atlanta, in which the Confederates were defeated. When Hood heard of this disaster, he perceived his peril, and blowing up his magazine at Atlanta, formed a junction with Hardee, and with his whole army soon recrossed the Chattahoochee. By his rash acts, Hood had wasted nearly one-half of his infantry in the space of a few weeks. The Nationals entered Atlanta on the 2nd of September, 1864.

The chief object of the Southern campaign was now in possession of the National forces. Much of September was passed in the reorganization of the two armies, with the Chattahoochee separating them. Satisfied that Hood was preparing to attempt the seizure of Tennessee, Sherman sent General Thomas to Nashville to organize new troops that were to be concentrated there. Meanwhile Hood had planned and attempted the seizure of stores at Allatoona Pass, but had been foiled. Sherman started after him and chased him into northern Alabama, and there relinquishing the pursuit, returned to Atlanta, destroying the railway behind him.

Late in October, Sherman prepared for his famous march from Atlanta to the sea. To General Thomas he assigned the absolute command of a large portion of his army, cut loose from all communications with the North, and on the morning of the 14th of November marched from Atlanta with sixty-five thousand men, in two columns, commanded respectively by Generals Howard and Slocum, preceded by General Kilpatrick with five thousand cavalry. The army subsisted off the country, wherein they found ample supplies. They also met with very little opposition in its march of thirty-six days through the heart of Georgia. It was a military promenade, requiring very little military skill in the performance, and as little personal prowess. Finally, as the Nationals approached the Atlantic seaboard, they attacked and captured Fort

McAllister, on the Ogeechee River. That was on the 13th of December; and four days afterward, the army being before Savannah, Sherman demanded its surrender. Hardee was there with fifteen thousand men, and on the 20th (December, 1864) they evacuated the city and fled to Charleston. On the following day, Sherman entered the city in triumph. By his march through Georgia, he had discovered that the Confederacy was a mere shell in that region. Here we will leave him, and consider events elsewhere.

Early in 1864, intimations came from Florida that its citizens desired reunion with the National Government, but were hindered by Confederate troops there, led by General Finnegan. General Gillmore, then holding Charleston tightly in his grasp, sent General Truman Seymour to assist the Floridians. At the head of six thousand troops, Seymour went up the St. John's River, drove the Confederates from Jacksonville, and pursued them into the interior. In the heart of a cypress swamp at Olustee Station, on a railway that crossed the Peninsula, Seymour encountered Finnegan strongly posted. A sharp battle occurred on the 20th of February (1864), when the Nationals were repulsed and retreated to Jacksonville, destroying Confederate stores valued at \$ 1,000,000. At about the same time, Admiral Bailey destroyed Confederate salt-works on the coast of Florida, valued at \$3,000,000.

In the spring of 1864, some stirring events occurred on the coast of North Carolina, the most notable of which was the capture of Plymouth (April 17), near the mouth of the Roanoke River, with sixteen hundred National troops, by the Confederate General Hoke. The Union troops were commanded by General Wessels. Hoke was assisted by the Albemarle, a powerful "ram." This vessel well-guarded these waters for several months, when, on the night of the 27th of October, it was destroyed with a torpedo by Lieutenant Cushing of the National navy. The night was intensely dark. Cushing, with thirteen men, went into Plymouth harbor in a boat, with a torpedo, and made for the ram through a barricade of logs. When they were within twenty yards of the "ram," they were discovered but in the face of a terrible shower of bullets, they thrust the torpedo under the Albemarle, and it exploded with fatal effect. At that moment, a bolt from the ram went crashing through Cushing's boat. He and his men leaped into the water; but only himself and another escaped death from bullets and drowning, and were saved on a cutter that accompanied the torpedo boat. After that the war in that region consisted chiefly of skirmishes between detachments of the two armies. Gillmore's guns kept watch and ward over Charleston, while he and some of his troops, as we have observed, went to the James River.

General Hood, according to Sherman's expectations, pushed across the Tennessee River, near Florence, preceded by Forrest and his cavalry, who raided in lower Tennessee for some time, eluding National troops sent against him. He cooperated with Hood's army after its passage of the river, late in October; and at Johnsville, on the Tennessee, he destroyed National stores valued at \$1,500,000. Hood had been reinforced by General Taylor, from Louisiana, and pushed vigorously on toward Nashville with fifty thousand troops. General Thomas was at that place with twenty thousand troops; and he had as many more under his command scattered over Tennessee and northern Alabama, in active service against the invading army.

General Schofield, who had advanced to the Duck River, first encountered Hood, and fell back gradually to Franklin, where he took a stand on the 30th of November, and cast up intrenchments. His chief care had been to impede the march of the invaders, and to cover his train until it should reach Nashville. Hood came up in the afternoon of that day and a desperate battle was fought, which raged until near midnight. At the first onset, the Confederates drove the Nationals from their works and captured all their guns but in a gallant counter-charge, all that the latter had lost were recovered, with ten battle-flags and three hundred captive insurgents as trophies of victory. Hood had lost one-sixth of his available force in the struggle. Schofield retreated to Nashville, with all his guns, closely pursued by Hood, who invested that post with forty thousand men at the beginning of December.

In the meantime, General Thomas had been reinforced by troops under General A. J. Smith, who had been driving Price out of Missouri. Hood's cavalry was superior to that of Thomas in numbers, and the latter kept the invaders in front of Nashville as long as possible, to enable him to collect there horses and means for transportation. Finally, at the middle of December, the Nationals moved upon the Confederates. The Fourth corps, led by General T. J. Wood, attacked them vigorously and drove them back to the foot of the Harpeth Hills. The next day (December 16) the same troops and others advanced, and after a severe battle, the invaders were sent flying southward with great precipitation and much confusion, and were closely pursued several days, Hood turning to fight occasionally. At the close of the month, Hood, with his shattered army covered by Forrest's cavalry, escaped across the Tennessee, and he became no longer formidable. In the course of four months, Thomas had made eleven thousand five hundred Confederates prisoners of war, and captured seventy-two pieces of artillery. His own loss was about ten thousand men, or less than one-half that of his antagonists.

At the beginning of 1864, Confederate cruisers on the ocean had captured one hundred and ninety-three American merchant-ships, whose aggregate cargoes were valued at over \$13,400,000. We have already noticed the depredations of the Alabama. Another rover, called the Sumter, after a short but destructive career, was blockaded and sold at Gibraltar, early in 1862. The Florida and Georgia, both built in Great Britain, captured and destroyed scores of ships; and in 1864, British shipyards furnished three other formidable cruisers for the use of the Confederates, in spite of the remonstrances of the American minister (Charles Francis Adams) in London.

The Alabama was the most formidable of them all. She was commanded by Captain Raphael Semmes, a native of Maryland, who died in August, 1877, in the sixty-ninth year of his age. She continued her depredations on the high seas, eluding the Government vessels until the 19th of June, 1864, when she encountered the Kearsarge, Captain John A. Winslow, off the port of Cherbourg, France. They fought desperately for an hour, when the Alabama, badly bruised, began to sink. Her flag was struck, and twenty minutes afterward she went to the bottom of the sea, leaving her commander and his crew struggling for life in the water. At that moment the Deerhound, a yacht, with its owner (an English gentleman) and his family, appeared. The Englishman sympathized with the Confederates, and went out from Cherbourg ostensibly to see

the contest, but really to bear away Semmes and his officers from the grasp of the Nationals should misfortune befall them. These officers, with a few of the crew, were rescued by the yacht and borne in safety to England, where the commander of the Alabama was honored with a public dinner (at Southampton); and Admiral Anson, of the royal navy, headed a list of subscribers to a fund raised for the purchase of an elegant sword to be presented to Semmes as a token of sympathy and esteem. The "common people" of the Alabama were saved by the boats of her antagonist, and some French vessels.

The news of Winslow's victory was received with joy by the friends of the Government; and it was determined to close the ports of Wilmington and Mobile, the only ones open to blockade-runners. For that purpose Admiral Farragut appeared off the entrance to Mobile (August 5, 1864) with a fleet of eighteen vessels, four of them iron-clads. Five thousand troops under General Gordon Granger had been sent by General Canby from New Orleans, to co-operate with the fleet. The latter (the wooden vessels lashed together in couples) sailed in between the two forts that guarded the entrance - Fort Morgan on the main and Fort Gaines on Dauphin Island. In order to have a general oversight of all the movements, the admiral was fast-bound to the rigging at the maintop of his flag-ship (Hartford), that he might not be dislodged by the shock of battle. Through a tube extending from his lofty position to the deck, he gave orders clearly in the midst of the uproar of battle and in that perilous situation he remained during the passage by the forts and the severe conflict with Confederate vessels that followed. In that passage one of his iron-clad gunboats (Tecumseh) was destroyed by a torpedo, but the rest of the fleet was only slightly bruised. When he had passed the forts, a formidable ram two hundred feet long, named Tennessee, was seen coming swiftly down the bay with other gunboats. These made a ferocious dash at the fleet but after a sharp conflict, brief and decisive, the Tennessee was captured and victory remained with the Nationals.

The forts were now attacked by land and water, and were captured - Fort Gaines on the 7th of August, and Fort Morgan on the 23rd. With these were surrendered one hundred great guns and over fourteen hundred men. The port of Mobile was effectually closed, and vigorous measures were adopted for ending the war. On the 3rd of September the President called for three hundred thousand men to reinforce the armies in the field. A most cheerful response was made and in view of omens of peace in the near future, the President issued a request that the people should, in their respective places of public worship, on a specified Sabbath-day, offer united thanksgivings to God for his blessings.

In the fall of 1864, a very exciting canvass for the election of President of the Republic occurred. President Lincoln had been nominated by the Republicans, with Andrew Johnson of Tennessee for Vice-President. The Democrats nominated General George B. McClellan of the army for President, and George H. Pendleton of Ohio for Vice-President. The sentiments of the Peace-Faction prevailed among the adherents of McClellan and Pendleton, and they had the support of all the sympathizers with the Confederates, in the free-labor States. The consequence was that only one of these States (New Jersey) gave them the electoral vote, and Lincoln and Johnson, supported by the loyal people, were chosen by an unprecedented majority.

We left General Sherman and his army at Savannah. After resting for about a month, they began a rapid march through South Carolina, in widely separated columns, and so distracted the Confederates that they did not concentrate a large body of troops anywhere. Incessant rains flooded the country, and the swamp-lands were overflowed; but Sherman pressed forward toward Columbia, the capital of the State, and captured it on the 17th of February, 1865. This disaster caused the Confederates to evacuate Charles. ton. Hardee and his troops fled into North Carolina and joined the forces there, commanded by General Joseph E. Johnston. Colored troops entered the abandoned city and put out the fires which the Confederates had kindled when they fled. A few weeks afterward, on the anniversary of the evacuation of Fort Sumter four years before, Major Anderson, with his own hand, raised over the ruins of that fortress the identical Union flag which he had carried away from it in April, 1861.

Through the carelessness or folly of General Wade Hampton, who commanded the rear-guard at the evacuation of Columbus, the city was set on fire and a large part of it was laid in ashes. Sherman soon passed on to Fayetteville, in North Carolina, which place he reached on the 12th of March, leaving behind him a blackened path of desolation, forty miles in width. Most of the fighting on that march was done by the cavalry of Kilpatrick and Wheeler. From Fayetteville Sherman communicated with General Schofield, who was in command on the coast; and finding Johnston in front of him with forty thousand troops, he rested his army a few days.

At near the close of 1864, when Sherman was approaching the sea from Atlanta, a destructive raid through northern Mississippi was made by General Grierson with twenty-five hundred well-mounted men. He left Memphis on the 21st of December, and pushed forward to the Mobile and Ohio Railway, which he struck at Tupelo and destroyed all the way to Okolona, burning Confederate stores and alarming the whole country. After a successful contest at Okolona, Grierson went westward, distracting his foes by feints. He struck the Mississippi Central Railroad at Winona Station, and after several skirmishes he made his way to Vicksburg with trophies consisting of five hundred prisoners, eight hundred beeves, and a thousand liberated slaves. During this raid Grierson destroyed ninety-five railway cars, three hundred wagons, and thirty full warehouses.

It was late in 1864 when an attempt was made to close the port of Wilmington by the capture of Fort Fisher, at the mouth of the Cape Fear River. The expedition sent against that post was composed of a powerful fleet of war-vessels commanded by Admiral D. D. Porter, and land troops under the immediate command of General Godfrey Weitzel, accompanied by General B. F. Butler, who was in charge of the department whence the troops were taken. The attempt (December 25, 1864) was unsuccessful but another made in February following, by the same fleet, and land troops led by General Alfred H. Terry, resulted in the capture of the fort and garrison on the 15th of that month. Terry was then joined by Schofield, who, being the senior officer, took the chief command. The fleet destroyed two Anglo-Confederate cruisers lying in the Cape Fear River, and the National army entered Wilmington as victors on the 22nd of February.

Sherman's rest at Fayetteville lasted only three days. Then he moved his army forward in

another distracting march that puzzled his antagonists. On the 16th of March, while moving eastward toward Goldsboro, his troops fought twenty thousand Confederates under General Hardee, at Averysboro, and defeated them. Two days afterward, a part of the army under General Slocum were attacked by the whole of Johnston's forces, near Bentonville. The conflict was terrible. Sherman's army had been surprised, and nothing but the most desperate efforts saved it from destruction. It received six distinct assaults by the combined forces of Hoke, Hardee and Cheatham, under the immediate command of General Johnston himself. The conflict ended at twilight. It had been conducted chiefly by General Jefferson C. Davis, of the Fourteenth Army Corps. Had the battle been lost by the Nationals, the results might have been most disastrous to the Union cause. Sherman's army might have been annihilated; so, also, might Grant's, at Petersburg, and the struggle would have been prolonged. It was won by the army of the Republic, and its enemies retreated hastily toward Raleigh, the capital of North Carolina. Sherman was joined by Schofield and Terry at Goldsboro, when he hastened to City Point on the James River, by water, and there consulted the President and General Grant about future operations. He was back to his army three days after he left it.

After the sealing of Mobile harbor, arrangements were made for the capture of that city and gaining possession of Alabama. General Canby, in command of the Department of the Gulf, moved twenty-five thousand troops against Mobile, in March, 1865. At the same time General Wilson, of Thomas's army, with thirteen thousand horsemen and about two thousand foot-soldiers, swept down from the Tennessee to co-operate with Canby. In the space of thirty days, Wilson raided six hundred and fifty miles through Alabama and Georgia, meeting with scarcely any opposition but from Forrest's cavalry, whom he kept from assisting the besieged Confederates at Mobile. Wilson captured cities and towns and destroyed an immense amount of public property. Meanwhile Canby was reducing Mobile to submission and on the 10th and 11th of April, General Maury, in command there, fled up the Alabama River with nine thousand troops, leaving five thousand men as prisoners, with one hundred and fifty cannon, in the hands of the victors. The war was now virtually at an end in the Gulf region.

During the winter of 1864-65, the Army of the Potomac and of the James lay in comparative quiet in front of Petersburg and Richmond, holding the Confederate government and army so tightly in their grasp that the latter could not form a junction with Johnston's forces, nor interfere with Sherman's and Thomas's operations in the South and West. Early in December, Meade had sent Warren to destroy Lee's means of transportation of supplies over the Weldon Railway, near the North Carolina line; and early in February a heavy flanking column, horse and foot, stretched across that road beyond the Confederate right, to Dinwiddie Court-House, seeking an opportunity to turn the right flank of Lee's army. Severe struggles ensued, with heavy losses, and resulted in the permanent extension of the National line to Hatcher's Run, and the railway from City Point to that stream.

Grant now prepared to make a general and vigorous movement against Richmond; and late in February, he ordered General Sheridan to destroy all communications with that city north of the James River and to seize Lynchburg, a great depot of Confederate supplies. That officer was then

in the Shenandoah Valley. With Generals Merritt and Custer, he left Winchester on the 27th, with ten thousand men, horse and foot; went up the Valley to Staunton, scattering Early's forces at Waynesboro; and crossed the Blue Ridge and destroyed the railway as far as Charlottesville. Lynchburg was evidently too strong for him; so he divided his troops and sent one party to break up the railway toward that city, and the other to disable the James River Canal, by which large supplies of provisions entered the Confederate capital. Then Sheridan passed around the left of Lee's forces and joined the Army of the Potomac on the 27th of March. This destructive raid alarmed Lee, who saw that the salvation of his army and of the Confederacy now depended upon his forming a junction with Johnston's forces in North Carolina. For that purpose he concentrated his army near Grant's centre, in front of Petersburg, and made a furious assault (March 25, 1865) upon Fort Steadman, a strong point in the National lines, hoping to break through there but he was repulsed with heavy loss, and his chances for reaching North Carolina were more remote than ever.

During the early part of the preceding winter, General Stoneman and his cavalry had made a campaign in southwestern Virginia; and early in February that commander was ordered to make a raid into South Carolina in aid of Sherman's movements. But that general was so successful that Stoneman's help was not needed, and he was directed to march eastward and destroy the Virginia and Tennessee Railroad as far toward Lynchburg as possible. When this was done, he turned southward and struck the North Carolina Railway between Danville and Greensboro. Some of his troops penetrated to Salisbury, where the Confederates hid many Union prisoners. There they destroyed a vast amount of public property; but the Union prisoners had been removed, and were not released. Then a part of Stoneman's force destroyed (April 19) by fire the magnificent railway bridge, eleven hundred feet long, of the South Carolina Railway, that spanned the Catawba River; while the leader and the main body went into East Tennessee. During this raid, the National cavalry captured six thousand prisoners, thirty-one pieces of artillery, and a large number of small arms.

It was evident in the early spring that a few more heavy blows would end the Confederacy and the war. Individuals had made efforts from time to time to secure a peace without conquering the enemies of the Republic by force of arms. In the summer of 1864, the late Horace Greeley made such an attempt. At about the same time, two other civilians made their way to Richmond, for the purpose; and at near the close of the year the venerable Maryland politician, the late Francis P. Blair, visited the Confederate capital on the same errand. He conferred with Jefferson Davis, who, in a letter addressed to him, expressed his willingness to renew the effort to enter into a conference with a view to secure peace to the two countries." When Mr. Blair communicated the contents of this letter to President Lincoln, the latter expressed his willingness to receive any agent of the Confederacy to confer, with a view, he said, "to securing peace for the people of our common country." The latter expression stowed Davis that he could not treat for peace on the basis of independence for the Southern States; nevertheless, so loud was the popular clamor for peace, that he appointed Alexander H. Stephens, John A. Campbell, and R. M. T. Hunter commissioners, who were permitted to proceed as far as Hampton Roads, by water, but were not allowed to land. There they were met by President Lincoln and Secretary Seward. The President

assured the commissioners that peace might be secured only on the condition of absolute submission, everywhere within the bounds of the Republic, to the National authority; and that there could be no secession from the position taken on the subject of slavery. He told them that Congress had just adopted an amendment to the National Constitution, which would be ratified by the loyal people, for the prohibition of slavery in every part of the Republic.

The conference was fruitless except in obtaining a clearer definition of the views of the Government and the Confederate leaders. The result was very unsatisfactory to the latter. At a large public meeting held in Richmond on the 5th of February, Mr. Davis, speaking in reference to Mr. Lincoln's expression, our common country," said Sooner than we should be united again, I would be willing to yield up everything I have on earth, and, if it were possible, would sacrifice my life a thousand times before I would succumb." And at a great war-meeting held on the 9th, at which R. M. T. Hunter presided, it was resolved that the Confederates would never lay down their arms until their independence was won. This being their determination, the National Government had no alternative, and was compelled to prosecute the war to a final dispersion of the armed forces seeking to destroy its existence.

The confidence assumed by Davis and his associates seems to have been inspired by hopes yet entertained of receiving foreign aid. Henry S. Foote, a member of the Confederate Congress (once United States Senator from Mississippi), says in his War of the Rebellion "The fact was well known to me that Mr. Davis and his friends were confidently looking for foreign aid, and from several quarters. It was stated, in my hearing, by several special friends of the Confederate president, that one hundred thousand French soldiers were expected to arrive within the limits of the Confederate States, by way of Mexico and it was more than rumored that a secret compact, wholly unauthorized by the Confederate constitution, with certain Polish commissioners, who had lately been on a visit to Richmond, had been effected, by means of which Mr. Davis would now be supplied with some twenty or thirty thousand additional troops, then refugees from Poland, and sojourning in several European states, which would be completely at the command of the president for any purpose whatever." Mr. Foote adds, in that connection, that he was satisfied that Mr. Davis would, in sending peace commissioners, "so manacle their hands by instructions, as to render impossible all attempts at successful negotiation."

Chapter CXXXI

A Desperate Struggle - Battle at the Five Forks - Assault on Petersburg - Panic in Richmond - Flight of the Confederate Government - Richmond on Fire - National Troops Enter It - Trophies and Confederate Archives - Rejoicings - Seward's Speech - Evacuation of Petersburg - Lee Becomes Despondent, is Defeated, and Surrenders at Appomattox Court-House - Lee's Farewell Address - Lincoln in Richmond - Proclamation of Peace - Assassination of the President - The Assassin's Fate - Johnson President - A Murderous Plot - Proposal by the Confederate Leader Rejected by General Johnston - Surrender of General Johnston and Others - Capture of Jefferson Davis - Leniency toward Him.

AFTER Lee's effort to break through the National line at Fort Steadman, it was resolved to make a grand movement against the Confederate right. Large bodies of troops were drawn from the Army of the James, under General Ord. General Sheridan, with ten thousand horsemen, was placed on the extreme left of the National army. The Ninth corps, under General Parke, and the force commanded by General Weitzel, were left on the north side of the James to hold the extended line of the National intrenchments, then full thirty-five miles in length; and General Grant gave wide discretion to the commander on the left, concerning attacks upon the Confederate line during the contemplated grand movement. "I would have it particularly enjoined upon corps commanders," he said, that in case of an attack from the enemy, those not attacked are not to wait for orders from the commanding officers of the army to which they may belong, but that they will move promptly, and notify the commander of their action." General Benham was in charge of the immense depository of supplies at City Point.

Two days after Sheridan's return from his great raid at the close of March, the forward movement was begun. Lee perceived his own imminent peril; and leaving Longstreet with eight thousand men to protect Richmond, he massed the remainder of his army at the point of most apparent danger. Then began a fierce and desperate struggle for the mastery. It was made on the part of the Nationals chiefly by the Fifth corps, under Warren, with the cooperation of Sheridan. The latter, holding a position called the Five Forks, was struck so suddenly and severely by troops under Pickett and Bushrod Johnson, that his force was driven back to Dinwiddie Court-House, in great confusion, hotly pursued. Warren was sent to Sheridan's aid; and near Five Forks a sanguinary battle was fought on the 1st of April. The Confederates were defeated and fled westward in great disorder, leaving five thousand of their comrades behind as prisoners of war. Many of the Confederates perished in the battle; and the loss of the Nationals was about a thousand men.

On the evening of the battle at the Five Forks, and before the shouts of victory there had reached the National line before Petersburg, General Grant had ordered his great guns all along that line to open a destructive cannonade upon the city and the Confederate works. The assault was kept up until four o'clock in the morning. It was an awful night for the few inhabitants remaining in Petersburg, and for the soldiers in the trenches. At dawn the works were assailed by infantry. Parke, with the Ninth corps, carried the outer works on his front, but was checked at an

inner line; and the Nationals were successful on their extreme left, in crushing Lee's right wing. Longstreet had hastened down from Richmond to assist him, but he was too late. The Confederate right was shattered beyond recovery; and the Southside Railway, on which Lee placed great dependence, was struck by Sheridan at three different points.

Lee now perceived that he could no longer hold Petersburg, or the capital, with safety to his army, then reduced, by enormous losses in the space of a few days, to about thirty-five thousand men, and he resolved to maintain his position, if possible, until night, and then retreat with the hope of making his way to Johnston, in North Carolina, by way of the Danville railroad. He telegraphed to Davis at Richmond, in substance: "My lines are broken in three places; Richmond must be evacuated this evening." It was Sabbath morning, the 2nd of April, and the message was delivered to Davis in St. Paul's Church. He quietly left the fane with deeply anxious features, and for a moment a painful silence prevailed. The religious services were closed and before Dr. Minnegerode, the rector, dismissed the congregation, he gave notice that General Ewell, the commander in Richmond, desired the local forces to assemble at three o'clock in the afternoon.

For hours the people of the city were kept in the most anxious suspense, for the "government" was as silent as the sphynx. Panic gradually took the place of judgment; and when, toward evening, wagons were seen a-loading with trunks and boxes at the departments, and were driven to the Danville Railway station, and it became evident that Davis and his cabinet were preparing to flee, the wildest confusion and alarm prevailed. Prominent Confederates also prepared to fly, they knew not whither; and at eight o'clock in the evening, Davis abandoned his capital and sought personal safety in flight. This act was a marked commentary on his assertion made in a speech a few weeks before "If it were possible, I would be willing to sacrifice my life a thousand times before I would succumb." His wife had fled to Danville a few days before, and there awaited his coming. At nine o'clock in the evening, the Virginia legislature fled. The Confederate congress had already gone, having left an order for the cotton, tobacco, and other property in the city, to be burned. At midnight, all signs of a "government" had disappeared; and at three o'clock in the morning, incendiary fires were lighted. There was a fresh breeze from the south, and very soon a large portion of the chief business section of Richmond was enveloped in flames. Drunken incendiaries fired buildings not in the pathway of the great conflagration; and until dawn the city was a Pandemonium. Most of the Confederate troops had fled; and at an early hour in the morning, General Weitzel, in command of the forces on the north side of the James, entered Richmond with his colored regiments and put out the fires. Lieutenant Johnston Livingston De Peyster, of Weitzel's staff, ascended to the roof of the Virginia State-House and there unfurled the National Flag, where it had not been seen floating for four years.

Meanwhile, Davis and his associates fled to Danville, whither Lee hoped to follow. They had left the inhabitants of the capital defenseless and that city on fire; and they also abandoned five thousand of their sick and wounded in the hospitals, and a thousand soldiers, to become prisoners of war. They also left, as trophies for the victors, five hundred pieces of artillery, five thousand small arms, many locomotives and cars, and a large amount of other public property. They carried with them what gold they could seize in their haste also the archives of the Confederate

government, together with their great seal which had just arrived from England, but which was never stamped upon any public document. A part of the archives were captured by National troops, and the remainder were subsequently sold to our Government by the Confederate ex-minister to Mexico.

Tidings of the fall of Richmond went over the land on that memorable day of April, 1865, and produced great joy in every loyal bosom. Before sunset public demonstrations of delight and satisfaction were everywhere visible. At the National Capital, all the public offices were closed, and all business among those who were in sympathy with the Government was suspended. There was an immense gathering of people in Wall street, New York, on that day, to listen to the voices of patriotic orators; and from the tower of Trinity Church, which looks down upon that great mart of money changers, the bells chimed music in airs consonant with the public feeling.

The people lingered long; and a deep religious feeling, born of joy and - gratitude, pervaded that almost innumerable throng. That feeling was remarkably manifested when thousands of voices joined in chanting the Christian Doxology to the grand air of Old Hundred.

In Washington city, the loyal people gathered in a great throng and visited Mr. Seward, the Secretary of State. They called for a speech, when he appeared and said: I am now about writing my foreign despatches. What shall I tell the Emperor of China? I shall thank him, in your name, for never having permitted a piratical flag to enter a harbor of the empire. What shall I say to the Sultan of Turkey? I shall thank him for always having surrendered rebel insurgents who have taken refuge in his kingdom. What shall I say to the Emperor of the French? I shall say to him that he can go to Richmond to-morrow and get his tobacco, so long held under blockade there, provided the rebels have not used it up. To Lord John Russell, I will say, the British merchants will find the cotton exported from our ports, under treaty with the United States, cheaper than cotton obtained by running the blockade. As for Earl Russell himself, I need not tell him that this is a war for freedom and national independence, and the rights of human nature, and not a war for empire; and if Great Britain should only be just to the United States, Canada will remain undisturbed by us, so long as she prefers the authority of the noble Queen to voluntary incorporation in the United States. What shall I tell the King of Prussia? I will tell him that the Germans have been faithful to the standard of the Union, as his excellent minister, Baron Gerolt, has been constant in his friendship to the United States during his long residence in this country. To the Emperor of Austria, I shall say that he has proved himself a very wise man, for he told us at the beginning, that he had no sympathy with the rebels anywhere." In these few words, Secretary Seward revealed the fact that while Great Britain and France - Christian nations - were assisting the enemies of our Republic to destroy it, Pagan China and Mohammedan Turkey, animated by principles of right and justice, were its abiding friends.

Lee, after he had advised the evacuation of Richmond, perceiving that he could no longer hold Petersburg, abandoned it. He stole away so silently on the evening of the 2d, that the suspicions of the Union pickets were not awakened; and when, at dawn, it was discovered that the intrenchments of the Confederates in front of Petersburg had been abandoned, Lee's army were

miles away to the westward, seeking to join the columns at Richmond, in a flight for safety. Lee concentrated his broken army at Amelia Court-House, where they might reach the Danville Railway. He had ordered stores to be sent from Danville to that point for the use of his army; but when, on Sunday afternoon, the loaded trains reached Amelia Court-House, a despatch reached the officer in charge, directing him to continue the train on to Richmond for the transportation of the "government" and the archives. The stupid officer did not leave the supplies at Amelia, but took them on to Richmond, and they were there destroyed in the conflagration. This was a fatal mistake and when Lee reached Amelia Court-House, with his half-famished army, and found no supplies there, hope forsook him, for his plans were thwarted. He could not move on for want of provisions and forage; and in the meantime, Sheridan gained a position between the Confederates and Lee's avenue of escape. For several days the latter made desperate efforts to break through the National line, cavalry and infantry, that stood across his path, but failed. Finally, on the 9th of April, he made overtures for capitulation.

On the 7th, Grant had written a note to Lee, suggesting that the events of the past week should convince him of the hopelessness of further resistance on the part of the Army of Northern Virginia. "I feel that it is so," Grant wrote, and regard it as my duty to shift from myself the responsibility of any further effusion of blood by asking of you the surrender of that portion of the Confederate States army known as the Army of Northern Virginia. To this, Lee replied, that he did not believe further resistance would be vain, but reciprocating Grant's desire to avoid useless effusion of blood, he said Before considering your proposition, I ask the terms you will offer on condition of its surrender." After dispatching his reply to Grant, Lee resumed his march westward toward Lynchburg, under cover of the darkness. He hoped to escape to the shelter of the mountains beyond Lynchburg. So silent was his retreat, that it was not discovered until the morning of the 8th, when the National army pushed on in pursuit of the fugitives.

On receiving Lee's answer, the lieutenant-general replied "There is but one condition I would insist upon, namely, that the men and officers surrendered shall be disqualified for taking up arms against the Government of the United States, until properly exchanged;" and he proposed to meet Lee in person, or to delegate officers for the purpose of definitely arranging the terms of surrender.

Hoping to escape, after his uninterrupted night march, Lee sent a note to General Grant, saying he did not propose to surrender. "To be frank," he said, I do not think the emergency has arisen to call for the surrender of this army." He then proposed to meet Grant on the morning of the 9th to confer upon the subject of peace. The lieutenant-general replied that he had no authority to treat on the topic of peace, and that a meeting for such a purpose would be useless," he said, are well understood. "The terms upon which peace can be By the South laying down their arms, they will hasten that most desirable event, save thousands of human lives, and hundreds of millions of property not yet destroyed." In the meantime Sheridan had settled the question, and rendered further parley unnecessary. He stood across Lee's path on the morning of the 9th, near Appomattox Court-House. The latter saw that his only hope of escape was in cutting his way successfully through Sheridan's line. This he attempted at day-break with his

whole army, then numbering not more than ten thousand effective men. He failed again. Appalled, the Confederates staggered back, and displayed a white flag before the van of the troopers of General Custer. Then Lee wrote to Grant: I received your note of this morning on the picket-line, whither I had come to meet you, and ascertain definitely what terms were embraced in your proposal of yesterday, with reference to the surrender of this army. I now ask an interview, in accordance with an offer contained in your letter of yesterday, for that purpose."

Grant sent Lee word that he assented to his request, and arrangements were made for an interview in the parlor of the neat brick dwelling of Wilmer McLean at Appomattox Court-House. There, at two o'clock on Palm-Sunday (April 9, 1865), the two commanders met, with courteous recognition. General Grant was accompanied by his chief aide-de-camp, Colonel Parker, a great-nephew of the celebrated Seneca chief, Red Jacket General Lee, by Colonel Marshall, his adjutant-general, a great-grandson of Chief-Justice Marshall of the Supreme Court of the United States. The terms of surrender were discussed and settled. They were put in the form of a written proposition by Grant, and a written acceptance by Lee. Having been engrossed, they were signed by the generals, at half-past three o'clock, on a neat mahogany centre-table, with a marble top.

The terms prescribed by General Grant were extremely lenient and magnanimous, considering the circumstances. They required Lee and his men to give their parole of honor that they would not take up arms against their Government until regularly exchanged; gave to the officers their sidearms, baggage, and private horses; and pledged the faith of the Government that they should not be punished for their treason and rebellion so long as they should respect that parole and be obedient to the laws. Grant even went so far, in his generosity, at Lee's suggestion, that he gave instructions to the proper officers to allow such cavalymen of the Confederate army as owned their horses to retain them, as they would, he said, need them for tilling their farms.

With the freedom of utterance which the generosity of the victor had given him, General Lee, on the following day, issued an extraordinary farewell Address to his Army, in which, in very guarded language, he told his soldiers, in effect, that in taking up arms against their country and trying to destroy the Republic in whose government he and they had always shared as equals, they had done a patriotic act, and for which they would take with them "the satisfaction that proceeds from conscientiousness of duty faithfully performed therefore, he invoked God's blessing upon their acts. He gave them to understand that they had no "country "-no government to which their allegiance was due, excepting the territory and the rulers within the bounds of the Southern Confederacy; and he spoke of his "unceasing admiration of their "constancy and devotion to that country," which had "endeared them to their countrymen."

When the terms of surrender were agreed upon, the Confederate soldiers were provided with food from the National stores; and on Wednesday, the 12th of April, 1865, they laid down their arms. Transportation and food were provided by the Government to large numbers of the troops on their journey homeward. The number paroled was about twenty-five thousand men, of whom not more than nine thousand men had arms in their hands. With the men were surrendered about

sixteen thousand small arms, one hundred and fifty pieces of artillery, seventy-one stand of colors, about eleven hundred wagons and caissons, and four thousand horses and mules. The official announcement of the great victory was sent over the land with the speed of lightning, by the Secretary of War, and an order for a salute of two hundred guns at the headquarters of every army, and at the Military Academy at West Point.

President Lincoln had been at City Point and vicinity, for several days before the fall of Richmond, anxiously watching the current of events. On the day after the Confederate capital was evacuated, he went up to that city on Admiral Porter's flag-ship, the Malvern; and while on his way to Weitzel's headquarters, at the late residence of Jefferson Davis, he was saluted with the loud cheers and grateful ejaculations of a vast concourse of emancipated slaves, who had been told that the tall man was their liberator. On the day of Lee's surrender, he returned to Washington and on the 11th he issued a proclamation, in which he demanded, henceforth, for our vessels in foreign ports, on penalty of retaliation, those privileges and immunities which had hitherto been denied them on the plea of according equal belligerent rights to the Republic and its internal enemies. On the following day an order was issued from the War Department, putting an end to all drafting and recruiting for the National army, and the purchase of munitions of war and supplies. This virtual proclamation of the end of the war went over the land on the anniversary of the evacuation of Fort Sumter (April 14), while General Anderson was replacing the old flag over the ruins of that fortress. Preparations were a-making for a National Thanksgiving, and the beams of returning peace illuminated the Republic, so to speak, when suddenly a dark cloud appeared and overspread the firmament with a gloomy pall. Before midnight the telegraph flashed the sad tidings over the land that the President had been assassinated. He was sitting in a theatre at Washington, with his wife and friends, when John Wilkes Booth, an actor by profession, entered his box stealthily and shot Mr. Lincoln in the back of his head with a Derringer pistol. The assassin then rushed to the front of the box with a gleaming dagger in his hand, and shouted "Sic semper tyrannis" - so may it always be with tyrants - the motto on the seal of Virginia. Then he leaped upon the stage, hooted and spurred for a night ride; and shouting to the audience, "The South is avenged!" he escaped by a back door, mounted a horse that was in readiness for him, dashed across the Anacosta and found temporary shelter among sympathizing Maryland slaveholders. Then he fled into Virginia, where he was overtaken by pursuers in a barn below Fredericksburg, which was set on fire; and as the assassin emerged from the flames he was shot by a sergeant named Boston Corbett.

The President expired early in the morning of the 15th of April. His body was taken, in solemn procession, to his home in Springfield, Illinois, by way of Baltimore, Philadelphia, New York, Albany and western cities, everywhere receiving tokens of the people's love and grief. Funeral honors were displayed in many cities in the land. Six hours after the demise of the Chief Magistrate, Andrew Johnson, the Vice-President, who was his constitutional successor, took the oath of office as President of the United States, administered by Chief-Justice Chase.

There seems to be a warrant for the belief, that the assassination of the President was only a part of a plan, in which the murder of the cabinet ministers, General Grant, and prominent

Republicans, was contemplated for on the same evening a murderous attack was made upon Secretary Seward, at his own house, by an ex-Confederate soldier. Secretary Stanton was absent from his home, and was not visited. It was a night of horrors at the capital and President Johnson issued a proclamation early in May, signed by himself and Mr. Hunter, the Assistant Secretary of State, in which he declared that there was evidence in the Bureau of Military Justice that there had been a conspiracy formed by Jefferson Davis, Jacob Thompson, Clement C. Clay, Beverly Tucker, George N. Saunders and William C. Cleary, and other rebels and traitors against the Government of the United States, harbored in Canada, to assassinate the President and Secretary of State; and he offered a reward of \$25,000 apiece for their arrest, excepting Cleary, a clerk, for whom \$10,000 were offered.

With the surrender of General Lee at Appomattox, the war was virtually ended. But only the Army of Northern Virginia had surrendered. That of Johnston, in North Carolina, and smaller bodies elsewhere, were yet in arms. When Sherman heard of the evacuation of Richmond and Petersburg, he put his whole army in motion and moved on Johnston, who was at Smithfield, on the Neuse River, with full thirty thousand men, starting at daybreak on the 10th of April, for the purpose of striking his rear. Johnston had just heard of the surrender of Lee, and retreated through Raleigh, and along the course of the railway westward, toward Greensboro'. At the same time Davis and his cabinet, who had made Danville the seat of the Confederate government for a few days, had fled from that place to Greensboro', with anxious solicitude for themselves and their treasures. They had proposed to Johnston that he should disperse his army excepting two or three batteries of artillery, and as many infantry as he could mount, and with these should form a body-guard for the "government," and strike for the Mississippi and beyond, with Mexico as their final objective. Johnston, a man of honor, spurned this base and selfish proposal to desert his companions-in-arms far away from their homes and unprovided for, and subject the people in the region where the army would be disbanded to the sore evils of plunder, which lawless bands of starving men would engage in. Governed by the principles of justice and humanity, he had the moral courage to do his duty according to the dictates of conscience, and refused to fight any more in a hopeless cause. He stated frankly to the people of his military department, that "war could no longer be continued by them, except as robbers," and that he should take immediate steps to save the army and people from further evil and to "avoid the crime of waging a hopeless war." On the 26th of April, Johnston, and the army under his command, excepting a body of cavalry led by Wade Hampton, surrendered to Sherman, near Durham Station, in Orange county, North Carolina, on the same generous terms accorded to Lee and his troops. The number surrendered and paroled was about twenty-five thousand, with one hundred and eight pieces of artillery, and about fifteen thousand small arms. The whole number of his troops present and elsewhere was seventy thousand. On the 4th of May, General Taylor surrendered the Confederate forces in Alabama to General Canby, at Citronville; and the Confederate navy in the Tombigbee River was surrendered to Admiral Farragut at the same time. The last conflict in the terrible Civil War occurred near Brazos Santiago, in Texas, on the 13th of May, when hostilities entirely ceased.

Jefferson Davis, as we have observed, set up his "government" at Danville, after his flight from

Richmond. On the 5th of April, he issued a proclamation from that place, in his usual style. "Let us but will it," he said, "and we are free. Animated by that confidence in spirit and fortitude which never yet failed me, I announce to you, my fellow-countrymen, that it is my purpose to maintain your cause with my whole heart and soul; that I will never consent to abandon to the enemy one foot of the soil of any one of the States of the Confederacy." This was followed a few days afterward by his proposition to Johnston to abandon his army and protect the "government" in its flight to Mexico. In his proclamation, Davis declared his purpose to defend Virginia, and that "no peace should ever be made with the infamous invaders of her territory;" now he ingloriously abandoned Virginia. When he heard of the surrender of Johnston's army, and the ring of Stoneman's sabres fell upon his ears, he and his cabinet, escorted by two thousand cavalry, fled across rivers and swamps, with their forces, toward the Gulf of Mexico; for the way to the Mississippi and beyond was barred. Rumors of Stoneman, of Wilson, and even of Sheridan being on their track quickened their flight while their escort so rapidly dwindled that when they reached Washington, in Georgia, the troopers were not more than sufficient to make a respectable raiding party. There all the cabinet ministers but Postmaster-General Reagan, left Davis, whose wife and children, and Mrs. Davis's sister (Miss Howell) had accompanied the fugitive government from Danville. Now, for prudential reasons, this family took another but nearly parallel route for the shores of the Gulf of Mexico, traveling in wagons. Information soon reached Davis that some Confederate soldiers, believing that his wife had the treasure taken from Richmond with her, had formed a plot to seize all her trunks and search for it. He instantly hastened to the rescue of his family and property, and to provide for their protection. For this purpose he and a few followers rode rapidly eighteen miles and joined his family near Irwinsville, the capital of Irwin county, Georgia, nearly due south from Macon. They had just pitched tents for the night; and the wearied president of the ruined Confederacy lay down to rest, intending to retrace his steps in the morning.

One hundred thousand dollars had been offered by the Government for Davis's capture. Vigilance was thereby made keen and active. General Wilson was at Macon when he heard of Davis's flight toward the Gulf, and sent out two bodies of cavalry to intercept him. One was composed of Michigan men, under Lieutenant-Colonel Pritchard, and the others were from Wisconsin, led by Lieutenant-Colonel Hardin. Discovering Davis's halting place, both parties approached the camp of the sleeping fugitives simultaneously from opposite directions, and, mistaking each other for enemies, in the gray light of early dawn, they exchanged shots. The noise aroused the slumberers. The camp was surrounded; and Davis, while attempting to escape partially disguised in a woman's water-proof cloak, and a shawl thrown over his head by Miss Howell, was captured by Pritchard and his men. The whole fugitive party were taken to Macon. Thence they were sent to Savannah, and conveyed by water to Fortress Monroe, where Davis was confined in comfortable quarters in a casemate. There he remained a long time, when he was admitted to bail. He was never tried, and still lives (1877), an uncompromising enemy of the Republic which he tried to destroy.

Chapter CXXXII

Peace - the Armies Return Home - Address to the Soldiers by the General-in-Chief - Disbanding of the Armies - A Problem Solved - The Navy: Its Growth and Work - The Blockade and Blockade-Runners, and the Results - Exchange of Prisoners - Davis's Proclamations - Exchange of Prisoners Stopped - Treatment of Union Prisoners - Lee's Ignorance - The Responsibility Properly Placed - Hospitals - United States Sanitary and Christian Commissions.

WHEN the Civil War, waged by the armies in the field, had ended, the people turned to the pursuits of peace. There was joy and hope in every loyal bosom in the land and the friends of the Union everywhere found expression to their feelings in the following hymn, composed by George H. Boker, and sung by the Loyal League of Philadelphia on the anniversary of the nation's independence, just four years after the National Congress met at the Capitol to provide for the suppression of the great insurrection and the salvation of the Republic:

Thank God the bloody days are past, Our patient hopes are crown'd at last; And sounds of bugle, drum and fife But lead our heroes home from strife!

"Thank God there beams o'erland and sea Our blazing Star of victory And everywhere, from main to main, The old flag flies and rules again!

"Thank God oh dark and trodden race, Your Lord no longer veils his face But through the clouds and woes of fight Shines on your souls a brighter light!

"Thank God we see, on every hand, Breast-high the rip'ning grain-crops stand The orchards bend, the herds increase, But oh, thank God thank God for Peace!"

Before this hymn was chanted, the soldiers of the great armies of the Republic who had saved the nation from political death, and, incidentally, had achieved the work of emancipation for an enslaved race, were making their way homeward. They were everywhere received with the warmest demonstrations of gratitude and affection. In almost every village and city there were public receptions of returning companies and regiments; and their tattered banners are cherished as precious mementoes of a noble work finished by those who bore them through the perils of the battle-field. With the exception of a few soldiers who were left in Virginia and North Carolina, those who confronted Lee and Johnston and achieved a victory over both, were marched to the vicinity of the National Capital and during two memorable days (May 22d, 23d, 1865) they moved through that city, in long procession, with tens of thousands of tear-moistened eyes gazing upon them, and passed in review before the Chief Magistrate of the nation and his ministers. Human vision had never beheld a spectacle like that, in all its aspects. Then began the work of disbanding the armies, by mustering out of service officers and men and on the 2nd of June (1865), the general-in-chief (Grant) issued the following address to them Soldiers of the Armies of the United States: By your patriotic devotion to your country in the hour of danger and alarm, and your magnificent fighting, bravery and endurance, you have maintained the supremacy of the

Union and the Constitution, overthrown all armed opposition to the enforcement of the laws and of the proclamation forever abolishing slavery - the cause and pretext of the Rebellion - and opened the way to the rightful authorities to restore order, and inaugurate peace on a permanent and enduring basis on every foot of American soil. Your marches, sieges and battles, in distance, duration, resolution and brilliancy of results, dims the lustre of the world's past military achievements, and will be the patriot's precedent in defence of liberty and right in all time to come. In obedience to your country's call, you left your homes and families, and volunteered in her defence. Victory has crowned your valor, and secured the purpose of your patriotic hearts; and with the gratitude of your countrymen, and the highest honors a great and free nation can accord, you will soon be permitted to return to your homes and families, conscious of having discharged the highest duty of American citizens. To achieve these glorious triumphs and secure to yourselves, your fellow-countrymen and posterity, the blessings of free institutions, tens of thousands of your gallant comrades have fallen, and sealed the priceless legacy with their blood. The graves of these, a grateful nation bedews with tears. It honors their memories, and will ever cherish and support their stricken families."

The Civil War in America was more extended in area and more destructive of life and property than any recorded in history. The whole number of men called into the military and naval service during the war, to save the Union, was 2,656,533, of whom nearly 200,000 were colored. About 1,400,000 men were in actual service, and 60,000 were killed in the field. There were 30,000 mortally wounded; and 184,000 died in hospitals and camps. Full 300,000 Union soldiers perished during the war, and it is supposed the Confederates lost an equal number. On both sides there were a large number more or less disabled for life. It is estimated that, during the war, 1,000,000 men, taken from the active pursuits of life, were sacrificed, to feed the ambition of a comparatively few men who wished to form an empire with human slavery as its corner-stone, and who tried to pull down our grand structure of free government, that they might build their forbidding fabric upon its ruins. That war burdened the industry of the whole nation with a loss and debt of over \$6,000,000,000. But it gave freedom to about 4,000,000 slaves, and purged our National escutcheon of a monstrous stain.

The disbanding of the army went steadily on from the first of June (1865), and by the middle of November following, nearly 800,000 of the 1,000,000 of the soldiers whose names were on the rolls on the first of May had been mustered out of service and returned to their several avocations. The wonderful spectacle was exhibited for the contemplation of the civilized world, of vast armies of men surrounded by all the paraphernalia of war, transformed, in the space of one hundred and fifty days, into a vast army of citizens engaged in the blessed pursuits of peace. No argument in favor of free institutions and a republican form of government, so conclusive and potential as this, was ever before presented to the feelings and judgment of the nations of the earth. The important political problem of the nineteenth century was solved by our Civil War. Our Republic no longer appeared as an experiment, but as a demonstration.

The National navy has an equal claim to the gratitude of the loyal people of our country, for its services during the war were of incalculable value. It attracted less attention than the army,

because our vessels of war were engaged chiefly in the blockade service, or as auxiliaries of the army along the rivers and sea-coasts. In that service, especially in the latter portion of it, the labors of the officers and seamen were arduous in the extreme and there were occasions for the display of prowess and skill equal to any required in the open ocean service. A history of the part performed by our gun-boat squadron on the rivers would form a most marvelous chapter in the annals of the Civil War.

At the breaking out of hostilities, the navy was exceedingly weak, as we have observed on page 1463, and by its geographical disposition, was, for a time, almost powerless, as we have already observed. It had been reduced during fifty years of peace to the smallest proportions, and was kept in existence only by the necessity of affording protection for the continually expanding commercial interests of the nation. Its men numbered only seven thousand six hundred at the beginning of 1861 and of its officers, three hundred and twenty-two proved treacherous in the day of trial, abandoned their flag, and entered the service of the enemies of their country. Under the able management of Mr. Fox, the energetic Assistant-Secretary of the Navy, the marine arm of the public service was speedily and wonderfully strengthened. Even while in its weakness, a decree went forth for the blockade of the Southern ports, in the face of the protests and menaces of foreign governments. Ingenuity and mechanical skill developed amazing inventions. The "Monitor," with its revolving turret, was perfected and changed the mode of naval warfare. Rams were constructed for river service. Large numbers of vessels were built; others were purchased; and men from the merchant marine were invited to officer and man them. Dockyards were enlarged and filled with workmen. The places of the treasonable deserters were soon filled. Volunteers flocked to the ships, and the number of seven thousand six hundred men that composed our navy when the war broke out, had increased to fifty-one thousand before it was ended. During the four years of the war, no less than two hundred and eight war-vessels were constructed and fitted out, and four hundred and fourteen vessels were purchased and converted into war-ships. Of these, three hundred and thirteen were steamers. Many of them were iron-clads; and the aggregate cost was \$19,000,000.

The blockading service was performed with great vigor and success, under the triple stimulus of patriotism, duty, and the chances for personal emolument. While the British government professed to be neutral, swarms of swift steamers were fitted out by British merchants, and, laden with every kind of supplies for the insurgents, were sent to "run the blockade." The profits of such operations, if successful, were enormous, but the risks were equally so; and it is believed that a true balance-sheet would show that there were no profits left with these violators of law. Over fifteen hundred of these blockade-runners were captured or destroyed by our National vessels, during the war; and the aggregate value of property captured and condemned, as lawful prize, before November following the close of the war, was \$22,000,000. That sum was subsequently enlarged by new decisions. The value of the vessels so captured or destroyed, added to the value of goods in them, swelled the amount of loss to the British blockade-runners, to full \$30,000,000.

There is a dark chapter in the history of the Civil War, over which the writer would gladly draw the veil of forgetfulness, if it were possible. It relates to Union prisoners and their treatment.

Soon after hostilities commenced and there were captives taken, the question was considered by President Lincoln's cabinet, Can the Government exchange prisoners with rebels against its authority, without acknowledging them as belligerents? Humanity took precedence of the law of nations, and an arrangement was made for an exchange. The business went on successfully until it was violently interrupted by Jefferson Davis at near the close of 1862. His anger had been kindled because of the employment of negroes in the military service, by the National Government; also by some proceedings of General Butler at New Orleans, already noticed. He first issued the savage proclamation (December 23, 1862) mentioned on page 1576, ordering Butler, and all commissioned officers serving under him, to be hanged, when caught, without trial, as outlaws. This was followed (January 12, 1863) by another proclamation, in which he announced his determination to deliver all officers of the National army commanding negro troops that might be captured after that date, to the respective State authorities to be hanged, and to treat those troops as rebels against their masters. The government paused. In Congress, measures for retaliation were proposed but humanity and not policy bore sway, and such measures were not adopted. The exchange of prisoners, however, was interrupted for the Confederate Commissioner, under instructions from Davis, refused to consider captive colored troops as prisoners of war. In several instances no quarter had been given them, in battle or afterward; and the black flag was carried against officers commanding them. And when, in August, 1863, the National Commissioner (Meredith) demanded that negro troops and their officers should be treated as prisoners of war, the Confederate Commissioner (Ould) replied "We will die in the last ditch before giving up the right to send slaves back into slavery." That determination, acted upon by Davis and his associates, caused an absolute cessation of the exchange of prisoners, for the Government would not be unjust toward any class of its defenders, especially the weaker. The consequence was that the number and sufferings of the Union prisoners fearfully increased, and the horrors of the prisons and prison-pens at Richmond, Salisbury, Charleston, Millen, and Andersonville occurred.

Well-supported facts seem fairly to warrant the unpleasant conclusion, that Davis's proclamations were made by him for the purpose of obstructing exchanges, that the Union prisoners might, by long and acute suffering, be rendered physically and mentally useless as soldiers thereafter. The United States Sanitary Commission appointed a committee, of which the eminent Dr. Valentine Mott of New York was chairman, to ascertain by inquiry and observation, as far as possible, into the matter of alleged cruelty to Union prisoners. They reported in September, 1864, saying: It is the same story everywhere; prisoners of war treated worse than convicts; shut up either in suffocating buildings, or in out-door inclosures, without even the shelter that is provided for the beasts of the field unsupplied with sufficient food; supplied with food and water injurious and even poisonous compelled to live on floors often covered with human filth, or on ground saturated with it compelled to breathe an air oppressed with an intolerable stench hemmed in by a fatal dead-line, and in hourly danger of being shot by unrestrained and brutal guards; despondent even to madness, idiocy, and suicide; sick, of disease (so congruous in character as to appear and spread, like the plague) caused by the torrid sun, by decaying food, by filth, by vermin, by malaria, and by cold; removed at the last moment, and by hundreds at a time, to hospitals corrupt as a sepulchre, there, with a few remedies, little bare and no sympathy, to die in wretchedness and despair, not only among strangers, but among enemies

too resentful either to have pity or to show mercy. These are positive facts. Tens of thousands of helpless men have been, and are now being, disabled and destroyed by a process as certain as poison, and as cruel as the torture or burning at the stake, because nearly as agonizing and more prolonged. This spectacle is daily beheld and allowed by the rebel government. No supposition of negligence, or indifference, or accident, or inefficiency, or destitution, or necessity, can account for all this. So many, and such positive forms of abuse and wrong cannot come from negative causes. The conclusion is unavoidable, therefore, that these privations and sufferings have been designedly inflicted by the military and other authorities of the rebel government, and cannot have been due to causes which such authorities could not control." One of the chief instruments employed in the infliction of cruelties upon Union prisoners was Brigadier General John H. Winder, an inciter of the mob which attacked the Massachusetts troops in Baltimore. So notorious for his cruel acts had he become, that when (at the age of seventy years) he was sent to Georgia to carry on his horrid work at Andersonville, the Richmond Examiner exclaimed: "Thank God Richmond has, at last, got rid of old Winder! God have mercy upon those to whom he has been sent!"

Testimony given by Confederates themselves, confirm the statements made by the prisoners. So early as September, 1862, Augustus R. Wright, chairman of a committee of the Confederate house of representatives, made a report on the prisons at Richmond confining Union captives, to George W. Randolph, then the Confederate Secretary of War, in which report it was said that the state of things was "terrible beyond description; that "the committee could not stay in the room over a few seconds;" that a change must be made, and that the committee makes the report to the Secretary of War, and not to the House, because, in the latter case, it would be printed, and, for the honor of the nation, such things must be kept secret." In December, 1863, Henry S. Foote, a member of the Confederate House of Representatives, offered a resolution for the appointment of a committee of inquiry concerning the alleged ill-treatment of Union prisoners. His humane resolution was voted down. In the course of his remarks in its favor, Mr. Foote read testimony which, he said, was on record in the Confederate War Department, to prove that the charges of cruelty were true. Referring to Northrup, the Confederate Commissary-General, he said: "This man has placed our government in the attitude charged by the enemy, and has attempted to starve the prisoners in our hands." He cited an elaborate report made by the Commissary-General to the Secretary of War (Seddon), in which he used this significant language: For the subsistence of a human Yankee carcass, a vegetable diet is the most proper," the terrible meaning of which is obvious. Foote, also, in a letter written at Montreal, in the spring of 1865, concerning the escape of Streight and his men from Libby Prison, by mining, declared that a "government officer of respectability" told him "that a systematic scheme was on foot for subjecting these unfortunate men to starvation." He further declared that Northrup's proposition was endorsed by Seddon, the Secretary of War, who said substantially in that endorsement, that "the time had arrived for retaliation upon the prisoners of war of the enemy." In that letter Foote proved (1) that the starving of Union prisoners was known to the Confederate authorities; (2) that the Confederate Commissary-General proposed it; (3) that the Confederate Secretary of War approved and officially endorsed it (4) that the Confederate Commissioner of Exchange knew it; and (5) that the Confederate House of Representatives knew of it, and endeavored to prevent an investigation.

Foote said the positive proof was in the War Department. A greater portion of these documents were burned when the Confederate Government fled from Richmond. Such is the testimony of one of the legislators of the Confederacy, who, it may be presumed, knew, personally, the facts of the case. And it is a matter of record, that a committee of the "United States Christian Commission," appeared before the lines of Lee's army and sought access to the Union prisoners in Richmond and on Belle Isle, in the James River there, to afford them relief, with the understanding that similar commissions would be allowed to visit Confederate captives. But they were not allowed to pass, because, as Confederate witnesses testify, the authorities at Richmond dared not let the outside world know, from competent witnesses, the horrible truths which such a visit would have revealed. But General Robert E. Lee (whose family resided on Franklin street in Richmond, from the rear gallery of whose residence he could, with his field-glass, have looked into the faces of the starving and freezing prisoners on Belle Isle, and who, after the autumn of 1863, was never a hundred miles from that city) testified before the "National Committee on Reconstruction," in February, 1866, that he was not aware of any bad treatment suffered by Union prisoners - not aware that any of them died of cold and starvation - that no report was ever made to him of the sad condition of Union prisoners anywhere - that he never knew who was in command at Andersonville, Salisbury, and other gathering-places of Union prisoners, until after the war, and that he "knew nothing in the world" of the alleged cruelties about which complaints had been made!

When the starvation plan had succeeded in reducing forty thousand Union prisoners to skeletons, generally no better for service than so many dead men, a proposition was made by the Confederate authorities for a resumption of exchanges. Again humanity took precedence of expediency, and these poor creatures in Confederate prisons were exchanged for as many prisoners who had been well fed and otherwise comfortably provided for in the North. This was attested by the Confederate Commissioner of Exchange, who, in a letter to General Winder, from City Point, where exchanges had been resumed, said exultingly: "The arrangement I have made works largely in our favor. We get rid of a set of miserable wretches, and receive some of the best material I ever saw."

Let us turn from the consideration of this unpleasant subject to that of the noble efforts made to relieve the suffering of soldiers in the field, the camp, and the hospital. It is just, however, before so doing, to ask the reader to remember, always, that the great body of the Southern people were not only entirely guiltless of the proven cruelties practiced toward the Union prisoners, but were kept in profound ignorance of them. The responsibility rests upon the few selfish political leaders in the great conspiracy and insurrection, from the beginning to the end, who, whenever it suited their purposes, defied all moral and civil law. To these men belongs the responsibility of involving this happy and prosperous nation in a most destructive Civil War, with all its awful consequences and to them our brethren of the late slave-labor States are indebted for whatever evil reports have affected them. A reign of terror under the Richmond despotism crushed out all freedom of speech and action in the Confederacy, as Castle Thunder might testify. The people of the South, as good, benevolent, humane, refined, kind-hearted and Christian-like in character and deeds as any on the face of the earth, have unjustly suffered reproaches because of

the wrongs committed by self-constituted political leaders who misrepresented them.

The arrangements by the Government for the care of the sick and wounded soldiers of the National army were ample and complete. When the war closed there were two hundred and four general hospitals fully equipped, with a capacity of nearly 137,000 beds. Besides these there were numerous temporary and flying hospitals, the former in camps and on vessels, and the latter on battle-fields. The report of the Surgeon-General (Joseph K. Barnes), at the close of the war, showed that from the beginning of hostilities in 1861, to July 1, 1865, there had been treated in the general hospitals alone, 1,057,423 cases, among whom the average rate of mortality was only eight per cent. Much smaller than had ever been known before in any army. That of the army of the United States in the war with Mexico was a little over ten per cent. Of the British in the Crimean campaign, it was nearly twenty per cent., and of their French allies there still greater.

The low rate of mortality in the Union army was due to several favorable circumstances, the chief of which was the employment, by the Government, of a sufficient number of skillful surgeons a bountiful provision in all the hospitals of every necessary; the beneficent labors of the two powerful and popular organizations known as the United States Sanitary Commission and the United States Christian Commission, and the untiring labors of women everywhere. The latter worked with tenderness and devotion in hospitals, in camps, and even on or near the field of battle, as most efficient nurses. By their presence they continually brought images of home to the sick or wounded soldier, and cheered and consoled him with healing words more efficacious sometimes than the apothecary's medicine. To this catalogue of hygienic instrumentalities, must be added the potent and benevolent influences of a hundred thousand army chaplains. As a class they were faithful servants of their Divine Master, and ever ready to minister to a mind diseased." They formed a trusted link between the soldier and his home - a ladder for the angels of thought and affection between his Bethel and his heaven on Earth - telling the bereaved, in written words, of the joy and hope of loved ones at the gate - of death or, better still, sending to anxious hearts the balm of consolation in sweet epistles giving the cheering news of convalescence. The most profound respect and gratitude are due by the people of our land to the chaplains of the hospitals of the army and navy.

Allusion has been made on page 1511 to the origin of the United States Sanitary Commission, and to the United States Christian Commission. On the 16th of June, 1861, the Secretary of War (Mr. Cameron) issued an order appointing Henry W. Bellows, A. D. Bache, Jeffries Wyman, W. H. Van Buren, R. C. Wood, George W. Cullum and Alexander Shiras, in conjunction with such others as might associate with them, a Commission of Inquiry and Advice, in respect of the Sanitary Interests of the United States Forces." The functions of the Commission are indicated by the title. They appointed a board of managers, with Dr. Bellows (who may be regarded as the founder of the Commission) at its head. He submitted a plan of organization, to which the President and Secretary of War gave their sanction by affixing their signatures to it, and it became the constitution of the Commission. Its seal bore the words, "UNITED STATES SANITARY COMMISSION," with the date of its organization. Upon the face of the seal was an escutcheon, bearing the figure of Mercy, winged, with the symbol of Christianity upon her bosom and a cup of

consolation in her hand, coming down from the clouds to visit wounded soldiers on the battle-field. Frederick Law Olmstead was chosen resident secretary, and became the general manager of the affairs of the Commission.

This Commission went to work most vigorously, to supplement the Government deficiencies in supplying comforts for the sick and wounded. They appealed to the people, and the response was marvelous. Supplies and money flowed in in sufficient volume to meet all demands. All over the country, men, women and children, singly and collectively, were working for it, and contributing to it. Fairs were held in large cities, which turned immense sums of money into its treasury. With these funds it supplied the sick and wounded with delicacies, ice, stimulants, fruits, etc., and with trained nurses, while the Government supplied all regular rations. In a single fair, in the city of New York, the net receipts were \$1,181,500. In the little city of Poughkeepsie, on the Hudson, whose population was then about 16,000, the net profits of the fair were over \$16,000. Branches of the Commission were established agents were employed; corps of nurses were organized; ambulances, army-wagons and steamboats of its own were employed in the transportation of the sick and wounded, and supplies. It followed the army closely in all campaigns. Its ear, always open, caught the first sounds of battle everywhere, and before the smoke of conflict was lifted from the field, there was the Sanitary Commission, like an omnipresent minister of good, with wagons, supplies, tents and nurses, ready to afford instant relief. Like a guardian angel it was always at the side of the soldier in moments of greatest need. When the war ceased, and the record of the work of the Sanitary Commission was made plain, it was found that the loyal people of the land had given to it supplies valued at about five million dollars.

The United States Christian Commission was a kindred organization, working in harmony with the United States Sanitary Commission, and performed great labors for the spiritual and temporal good of the soldiers. It had its origin in the Young Men's Christian Association of New York, and was first suggested by Vincent Colyer, an artist of that city, and an earnest worker in useful fields of benevolence. He, with Frank W. Ballard and Mrs. Dr. Harris, who represented the Ladies' Aid Society of Philadelphia, went to Washington City immediately after the first battle at Bull's Run, to do Christian work in the camps and hospitals there. Every facility for visiting the camps were given to Mr. Colyer by the military authorities, and they even gave him permission to go to the Confederate camps if they would allow him to do so. He distributed bibles, tracts and hymnbooks among the soldiers, held prayer-meetings, and labored most zealously, in many ways, for their spiritual good. Finally Mr. Colyer suggested the combination of all the Young Men's Christian Associations in the land, in the formation of a society similar to that of the United States Sanitary Commission. It was acted upon in September, 1861, when arrangements were made for holding a National Convention of such associations. A convention assembled in the city of New York on the 14th of November, and the United States Christian Commission was organized, with George H. Stuart of Philadelphia as president. Its specific work was to be chiefly for the moral and religious welfare of the soldiers, which was conducted by means of oral instruction and the circulation of the bible and other proper books, with pamphlets, newspapers, etc., among the men in hospitals, camps, and ships.

This noble Commission, of which Vincent Colyer was the real founder, began earnest work at once, on the same general plan of the other Commission. It did not confine its labors wholly to spiritual and intellectual ministrations, but also to the distribution of a vast amount of food, hospital stores, delicacies, and clothing. It, too, followed the great armies and co-operated efficiently with the chaplains of the army and navy, by supplying the soldiers and sailors with the scriptures and a vast number and variety of other good books. Chapels for religious labors and public worship were erected at permanent camps, and in many ways there was cast about the soldier a salutary religious influence. Money and supplies came to the Commission as a free-will offering from the patriotic people, mostly collected by the women of various denominations of the Christian Church, and amounted in value to six million dollars.

While the two great organizations here noticed were at work, others, in large numbers, but less conspicuous, were laboring for the same holy purpose. Associations for the relief of the freedmen, and for sailors, also for promoting enlistments for the military and naval service, were organized; and everywhere the most active and disinterested benevolence was manifested. High authority has said, It is more blessed to give than to receive. If so, then the loyal people of our land were eminently blessed; for it is estimated that through these two great Commissions, various associations, and by private contributions, they made free gifts of their substance to the amount of five hundred million dollars.

While these associations were at work for the benefit of the Union soldiers, similar efforts, though not on so grand a scale, were put forth by the benevolent-minded in the slave-labor States for the benefit of the Confederate soldiers. They labored in the good work most zealously to the extent of their ability, and conferred vast benefits upon the sick and wounded soldiers of the Confederate army. We have no special reports of the result of their labors; but we know that it was a great blessing to the recipients of the kindly care, especially of the women of the South. Among the variety of organizations for benevolent purposes was one called The Confederate Association for the Relief of Maimed Soldiers. The object of that association was to supply artificial limbs gratuitously to soldiers who had lost their natural ones. An annual subscription of \$10 constituted a member; of \$300, a life-member; and of \$100, an honorary director. Upon a certificate of membership, before me, is a rude wood-cut representation of the proposed seal of the Confederate States.

Chapter CXXXIII

Reorganization of the Union - President Johnson's Plan - Thirteenth Amendment - Character of the President - Justice for the Freedmen - Motives of Lincoln and Johnson Contrasted - A Pitiful Trick - Action in the Disorganized States - The Test Oath - "Reconstruction" Committee - President, Offended, Makes War on Congress - His Political Tour - His Vetoes - The President and Secretary Stanton - French Troops in Mexico - Napoleon's Designs and Perfidy - British Interference - Suffrage in the District of Columbia - President Threatened with Impeachment - Acts of Congress Vetoed and Passed - Extra Sessions - Unlawful Conduct of the President.

AFTER the terrible convulsions produced by the Civil War, by which State governments had been paralyzed, a hoary and deep-rooted social system had been overthrown, and throughout a number of the commonwealths of the Republic there had been a disruption of every kind of business, the powers of the National government were invoked to bring about a general reorganization of the disorganized elements, political, social, and industrial. There was nothing to be reconstructed for nothing worth preserving had been destroyed. No State, as a component part of the Republic, had been severed from the others, for secession was an impossibility. When the war ended, the States, geographically and politically, remained as they were before it began. The insurrection against the authority of the National Government only placed the constitutions of some of the States in a condition of suspended animation. They needed only the stimulant of competent official authority exercised by the National Government to reanimate them. All the States were politically equal-living members of the great Commonwealth, before, during, and at the close of the Civil War. Some of them, incapacitated for healthful functional action, were awaiting resuscitation at the hands of the only healer, the National Government. To that resuscitation that reorganization and fitting them for active life - the General Government soon directed its efforts.

President Johnson took a preliminary step toward reorganization, on the 29th of April, 1865, when he proclaimed the removal of restrictions upon commercial intercourse between all the States. A month later (May 29) he issued a proclamation stating the terms by which the people of the paralyzed States, with specified exceptions, might receive full amnesty and pardon, and be reinvested with the right to exercise the functions of citizenship, supposed to have been destroyed by participation in the insurrection. This was soon followed by the appointment by the President of provisional governors for seven of those States which had formed the original fabric known as the "Confederate States of America," clothed with authority to assemble citizens in convention who had taken the amnesty oath, with power to reorganize State governments, and secure the election of representatives in the National Congress. The plan was to restore to the States named their former position in the Union without any provision for securing to the freedmen the right to the exercise of citizenship which the amendment to the National Constitution, then before the State legislatures, would justly entitle them to. This amendment, known as the XIIIth, was adopted by Congress early in 1865, and was as follows:

"SECTION 1. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime,

whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

"SECTION 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation."

This amendment was adopted by a large majority. When the result of the vote was known, the Republican members of the House of Representatives instantly sprang to their feet and applauded with cheers and clapping of hands. The spectators in the crowded galleries waved their hats and made the chamber ring with enthusiastic plaudits. Hundreds of ladies rose in their seats in the galleries and gave emphasis to their plaudits by waving their handkerchiefs and participating in the general demonstration of enthusiasm, and added to the intense excitement of a scene that will long be remembered by those who were fortunate enough to witness it. The amendment was sent to the several State legislatures for ratification and on the 18th of December following, the Secretary of State (Mr. Seward) declared that it had, by such ratification, become a part of the fundamental law of the land.

When Andrew Johnson was inaugurated President, there were painful apprehensions among men who knew him most intimately, that he would not be faithful to the trust reposed in him by the loyal people of the land. Notwithstanding the strength of our government had been made manifest by the shock of Civil War which it had survived, it was equally manifest that it was surrounded with great perils. A pilot was needed at the helm of the ship of state possessed of a combination of moral and intellectual forces of a rare order - sound morality, strong and unwavering convictions, firmness of will, sobriety of conduct, calmness of temper, a thorough knowledge of men, an accurate and impartial judgment, a willingness to take counsel, a clear perception of righteousness, and the acuteness of a true statesman. Circumstances had occurred which justly created a doubt in the public mind whether the new President possessed all these qualities, so requisite at that critical time, and these doubts soon became settled convictions. His total disregard of the highest interests of the freedmen, and the fact that the President was making haste to pardon a large number of those who had been active in the service of the Confederates and would exercise a controlling influence in the States which he was equally in haste to reorganize on his own plan, startled the loyal men of the country, and made them doubt the sincerity of his vehement declaration of intentions to punish the leading enemies of our Government. To a delegation from New Hampshire, who waited upon him soon after his inauguration, he said: Treason is a crime, and must be punished as a crime. It must not be regarded as a mere difference of political opinion. It must not be excused as an unsuccessful rebellion, to be overlooked and forgiven. It is a crime before which all other crimes sink into insignificance." Such, and even more severe language was used by the President when speaking of the leading Confederates; and, as we have seen, he charged Jefferson Davis and others with being accessories in the murder of Mr. Lincoln, and offered large rewards for their arrest. It was feared by some that the President would deal too harshly with the offenders; but events soon dispelled the illusion.

The poor freedmen relied with bright hopes upon the President's promise to be their Moses" in

leading them completely out of bondage; but they soon found that he was unwilling to do more than secure their personal freedom. He was unwilling to invest them with civil rights, which deprivation he knew would virtually remand them to slavery. The political party which had emancipated them and elevated Mr. Johnson to his high position, felt that justice, not expediency, should be the rule in the readjustment of the affairs of the Republic; and it was demanded, as an act of National honor, that the freedman when made a citizen by the Constitution, should have equal civil and political rights and privileges with other citizens, such as the elective franchise. In the spring of 1864, President Lincoln suggested to the governor of Louisiana, the propriety of giving that franchise to the colored people. "They would probably keep," he said, almost prophetically, "in some trying time to come, the jewel of Liberty in the family of freedom." For an ignoble purpose, President Johnson proposed to his provisional governor of Mississippi, to give the franchise to such of the freedmen as could read the National Constitution and possessed property worth two hundred and fifty dollars. He well knew that an extremely small number could avail themselves of the privilege, as the laws of Mississippi made it a punishable offence to teach a colored person to read and in the condition of slavery, not one could hold property. It was a pitiful trick, which he was not ashamed to avow. In his letter to the governor, he said:

Do this, and, as a consequence, the radicals (in other words the most earnest Republicans), who are wild upon negro suffrage, will be completely foiled in their attempt to keep the Southern States from renewing their relations with the Union."

Within a hundred days after his inauguration, President Johnson took issue with the Republican party upon vital points of principle and policy; and at the close of 1865, it was plain to the comprehension of sagacious observers, that the Chief Magistrate was more friendly to the late enemies of his country than consistency with his professions, or the safety of the Republic, would allow. It was soon perceived that politicians in the North who had sympathized with the Confederates during the war, and the newspapers in their interest which had advocated the cause of the insurgents, had assumed a belligerent tone toward Congress and the loyal people, which greatly disturbed the latter by unpleasant forebodings.

In the meantime measures had been taken for perfecting peaceful relations among the whole people of the Republic, by a revival of industrial pursuits and a restoration of harmony of interests. The order for a blockade of the Southern ports was rescinded late in June (1865); most of the restrictions upon inter-State commerce were removed in August State prisoners were paroled in October; and on the first day of December, the first important measure adopted, after the assembling of Congress, was the repeal of the act suspending the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus.

During that period (June to December), Johnson's provisional governors had been diligent in carrying out his plan of reorganization before Congress should meet, and, possibly, interfere with it. Before the first of December five of the disorganized States had ratified the XIIIth amendment of the Constitution, cited on page 1703. They had, also, caused the formation of constitutions for their respective States and the election of representatives in the National Congress. The President

had hurried on his work, by directing the provisional governors to resign their powers into the hands of others who had been elected under the new constitutions. Some of these governors-elect had been active participants in the insurrection and some of the Congressmen-elect in these States had been, it was said, active workers against the Government. These facts greatly disturbed the loyal people. They had witnessed with great anxiety the evident usurpations of power by the President, the exercise of which, as he had done, belonged exclusively to the functions of the representatives of the people in Congress assembled. The prescriptions of the Constitution are clear on that point. Yet the people waited patiently for the meeting of Congress in December, with the quieting knowledge that a majority of loyal men would be there, and that each House had the right to judge of the qualifications of its own members. It was a settled belief that disloyal men would not be allowed to enter either House over the bar of a test-oath prescribed by law, passed on the 22nd of July, 1862. That law required every member to make oath that he had not "voluntarily borne arms against the United States since he had been a citizen thereof, or voluntarily given aid, countenance, counsel or encouragement to persons engaged in hostilities thereto," and had never "yielded voluntary support to any pretended government, authority, power, or constitution within the United States, hostile or inimical thereto."

The subject of reorganization was among the first business of the Thirty. ninth Congress which assembled on the 4th of December, 1865. On the first day of the session, by a vote of 133 against 36, Congress agreed to a joint resolution to appoint a joint committee to be composed of nine members of the House and six of the Senate, to inquire into the condition of the States which formed the so-called Confederate States of America, and report whether they, or any of them, are entitled to be represented in either House of Congress, with leave to report at any time, by bill or otherwise; and until such report shall have been made and finally acted upon by Congress, no member shall be received in either House from any of the so-called Confederate States and all papers relating to the representatives of the said States, shall be referred to the said committee. This hotly was known by the misnamed "Reconstruction Committee." It should have been "Reorganization Committee."

This action of Congress was a virtual condemnation of the President's usurpations. It was a legitimate interference of the representatives of the people with his chosen policy of reorganization, and he was highly offended. He soon manifested open and violent hostility to the legislative branch of the Government, and maintained that position during the whole of his administration. In a speech to the populace of the capital on the 22nd of February, 1866 - a speech which every good American would gladly blot from memory and from the records of our country, if possible - the President, evidently under the malign influence of an unfortunate habit, forgetting the dignity of his station, and insensible to the gravity of the question at issue, actually denounced by name leading members of Congress, and the Republican party which had given him their generous confidence. In that speech he used slang phrases in speaking of public men, such as "dead duck," and exhibited a recklessness of assertion which no sober statesman would have uttered. The American people felt humiliated by this exhibition of the weakness of their Chief Magistrate.

But this exhibition was a small matter compared with what occurred later in the year (August and September, 1866) when the President and a part of his cabinet, with the pretext of honoring the memory of Senator Douglas by being present at the dedication of a monument to his memory erected at Chicago, on the 6th of September, made a political tour by a circuitous way through several States, to that city and beyond. He harangued the people by the way, in language utterly unbecoming the Chief Magistrate of a nation, and attempted to sow the dangerous seeds of sedition, by denouncing Congress as an illegal body because some of the disorganized States were not represented in it declaring that it "deserved no respect from the people, and that a majority of the members were traitors, trying to break up the Government." That journey of the President, so disgraceful in all its features - its low partisan object, its immoral performances, and its pitiful results - forms a dismal paragraph in the history of the Republic.

That tour was suggested and its performances were inspired by the gathering in convention, at Philadelphia, on the 14th of August (1866), chiefly of men who had been engaged in the insurrection, and their sympathizers at the North. Their object was to form a new party, with President Johnson as their standard-bearer but so discordant were the elements gathered there, that no one was allowed to debate questions of public interest, for fear of producing a disruption and the consequent failure of the scheme. It did utterly fail. Soon afterward a convention of loyal men from the South was held at Philadelphia, in which representative Republicans in the North participated. The President's journey being wholly for a partisan purpose, members of the latter convention followed in his track, making speeches in many places in support of the measures of Congress for effecting reorganization. They applied the antidote where the President had administered poison, and neutralized its effects.

So disgraceful was the conduct of the President when at Cleveland and St. Louis, in the attitude of a mere demagogue making a tour for a partisan purpose, under a false pretense, that the Common Council of Cincinnati, on his return journey, refused to accord him a public reception. The Common Council of Pittsburg, in Pennsylvania, did the same; and when, on the 15th of September, Mr. Johnson and his party returned to the Capital, the country felt a relief from a sense of deep mortification.

Having, soon after the meeting of Congress, laid aside the mask of assumed friendship for those who had labored most earnestly for the suppression of the insurrection and for the good of the freedmen, the President used the veto power - his most efficient weapon - in trying to thwart the representatives of the people in their efforts to reorganize the disorganized States, and to quickly secure a full and permanent restoration of the Union on the basis of equal and exact justice. In February, 1866, he vetoed an act for enlarging the operations of the Freedmen's Bureau, which had been established for the relief of freedmen, refugees, and for the cultivation of abandoned lands. In March he vetoed an act known as the Civil Rights Law, which was intended to secure to all citizens, without regard to color or previous condition of slavery, equal civil rights in the Republic. These acts became laws in spite of his veto, by the Constitutional vote of two-thirds of each House in their favor. The President's uncompromising warfare upon the legislative branch of the Republic, disgusted his ministers, who could not agree with him, and they

resigned with the exception of Edwin M. Stanton, the Secretary of War. The friends of the Republic urged him to remain, believing his retention of the bureau at that critical period in the life of the nation would be conducive to the public benefit. He did so, and became the object of the mad President's bitter hatred.

Congress worked assiduously in efforts to perfect the reorganization of the Republic and on the 29th of July, after a long and laborious session, adjourned. On the 2nd of April, the President, in a proclamation, had formally declared the Civil War to be at an end and the first fruits of the Congressional plan of reorganization was seen by the restoration of the State of Tennessee to the Union, six days before the adjournment of the National Legislature. Meanwhile notable events in the foreign relations of the Government had occurred. The Emperor of the French had been informed by Secretary Seward that the continuation of French troops in Mexico was not agreeable to the United States and on the 5th of April (1866) Napoleon's Minister for Foreign Affairs gave assurances to our Government that those troops would be withdrawn within a specified time. This was done; and the Grand Duke Maximilian, of Austria, whom Louis Napoleon had, by military power, placed on a throne in our neighboring republic, with the title of Emperor, was deserted by the perfidious ruler of France. The deceived and betrayed Maximilian, after struggling against the native republican government for awhile, was captured and shot and his loving wife, Carlotta, overwhelmed by her misfortunes and grief, became a hopeless lunatic. Such was the sorrowful ending of one of the schemes of the Emperor of the French for the gratification of his ambition. He had itched to aid the Confederates, with a hope that the severance of our Union would give him an opportunity to successfully defy the "Monroe Doctrine," and extend the domination of the Latin race and the Latin church on the American continent, as well as monarchical institutions. As a pretext for sending soldiers to our frontiers, primarily to be ready to assist the enemies of the Republic should expediency warrant the act, the Emperor of the French picked a quarrel with Mexico, overturned its republican government, established a monarchy and supported it by French bayonets until the strength of our Union was made manifest to him.

The British ministry, too, as we have seen, itched to help the Confederates destroy our Republic, and had done so in a large degree, until they were satisfied of the enormous reserved power of our Union against the combined and cowardly attacks of European powers and of internal foes, when they abandoned the insurgents whom they had deceived with false promises, and sneeringly called their political organization the "so-called Confederate States of America." Notwithstanding this faithlessness to their traditions, and fairly implied, if not absolutely stated, treaty stipulations on the part of the rulers of Great Britain, our Government was faithful to them all. When, in the spring of 1866, a military organization of Irish residents in our country, known as the Fenian Brotherhood, associated for the avowed purpose of freeing Ireland from British domination, made a movement, in May and June, for a formidable invasion of the neighboring British Province of Canada, the United States Government, instead of investing them with "belligerent rights," was true to its pledges to Great Britain concerning neutrality laws, interfered, and suppressed the warlike movement. But these are now things of the past, and should not be held in remembrance with any unkind feelings. At about the same time a peaceful bond of union

was formed with Great Britain, by the successful establishment of permanent telegraphic communication between England and the United States. An account of the first efforts toward this end will be given hereafter.

Notwithstanding the State elections in the autumn of 1866 indicated the decided approval by the people of the United States of the measures adopted by Congress for the restoration of the Union, the President persisted in his warfare with the National Legislature, and upon members of his cabinet who would not approve of his acts. The majority in Congress, feeling strengthened by the popular verdict upon their conduct, went steadily forward in perfecting measures for the restoration of the Union. They took steps for restraining the action of the President, who, it was manifest, had determined to carry out his own policy of reorganization, in defiance of Congress. Unmindful of his conduct, that body plainly indicated their general policy concerning suffrage, by passing a bill on the 14th of December (1866), by a large majority of both Houses, for granting the elective franchise in the District of Columbia (over whose affairs the National Legislature has direct control) to persons without any distinction on account of color or race." The President vetoed the bill on the 7th of January, 1867, when it was immediately reenacted by the constitutional vote of both Houses in its favor.

The course of the President in continually opposing his veto and casting obstacles in the way of the dispatch of legislative business, now appeared so essentially and purely factious, and was, withal, so mischievous, that it was resolved to make an effort to put an end to it. On the same day when Johnson vetoed the District of Columbia Suffrage bill, Mr. Ashley, a representative from Ohio, arose in his place, and charged "Andrew Johnson, Vice-President and Acting-President of the United States, with the commission of acts which, in the estimation of the Constitution, are high crimes and misdemeanors, for which he ought to be impeached." Mr. Ashley offered the following specifications, in which he charged him with usurpations and violations of law: (1) in that he has corruptly used the appointing power; (2) in that he has corruptly used the pardoning power (3) in that he has corruptly used the veto power; (4) in that he has corruptly disposed of public property of the United States; and (5) in that he has corruptly interfered in elections, and committed acts which, in contemplation of the Constitution, are high crimes and misdemeanors. Mr. Ashley also offered a resolution, instructing the Committee on the Judiciary to make inquiries on the subject. This resolution was adopted by 137 to 38, forty-five members not voting. It was the first movement in the matter of the impeachment of the President, which resulted in his trial in May, 1868.

At a former session of Congress, bills were passed for the admission of the Territories of Colorado and Nebraska, as States of the Union. The President had interposed. Now similar bills were passed prescribing, as a preliminary to admission, a provision in their constitutions granting impartial suffrage to all citizens, and the ratification of the amendment to the National Constitution. As usual the President vetoed them when that for the admission of Nebraska was passed over his veto. Colorado was compelled to wait ten years and six months for admission, while Nebraska took its place in the galaxy of States on the first of March (1867), making the thirty-eighth State.

An act was now passed for the purpose of limiting the authority of the President in making official appointments and removals from office. Among other provisions of the act was one that took from him the power to remove a member of his cabinet without permission of the Senate declaring that they should hold office for and during the term of the President by whom they may have been appointed, and for one month thereafter, subject to removal by and with the consent of the Senate." This law, known as the "Tenure of Office Act," was vetoed by the President, when it was passed over his negative by a large majority. Another bill was passed and vetoed and was made a law notwithstanding, repealing so much of an act passed in July, 1862, as gave the President power to grant amnesty and pardon to those who had been engaged in rebellion. A bill was also passed, with the same opposition of the President, for the military government of the disorganized States, which were divided into five military districts, Virginia comprising the first; North and South Carolina, the second; Georgia, Florida and Alabama, the third; Mississippi and Arkansas, the fourth; and Louisiana and Texas, the fifth.

The Thirty-ninth Congress closed its sessions at midday, on the 4th of March, 1867, and twelve hours afterward the first session of the Fortieth Congress was begun. The country was greatly disquieted by the factious conduct of the President, which created painful forebodings of evil should that obstinate and angry man be left without restraint from March until December. The majority in Congress shared in this feeling, believing that the President was ready, if he should deem it expedient, to plunge the country into a revolution, and attempt, by a reactionary movement, to undo all that the war for the Union had done for the preservation of the Republic. For that reason, provision had been made by the Thirty-ninth Congress for the immediate assembling of the Fortieth on the expiration of its predecessor. That first session continued until the 30th of March, when, with the same lack of confidence in the patriotism of Johnson, both Houses adjourned to meet on the 3rd of July following.

Among the acts of the expiring Congress was one for the establishment of a National Bureau of Education, which has become a most valuable auxiliary in the work of popular instruction. Also an act to establish a uniform system of bankruptcy throughout the United States; and another for the abolition of peonage - a system of slavery - in the Territory of New Mexico and other parts of the United States wherever it might exist.

Congress reassembled on the 3rd of July, and adjourned on the 20th to the 21st of November. The principal business of this short session was to remove impediments which President Johnson had cast in the way of the reorganization of the Union. A bill supplementary to the act of March, for the military government of the disorganized States, became a law, notwithstanding it was vetoed by the President; and it was hoped and believed that Johnson would refrain from further acts that were calculated to disturb the public peace and impede the prosperity of the country. This expectation was not realized. When the members of Congress had returned to their homes, the President proceeded, in defiance of the acts of that body, and in positive violation of the Tenure of Office Act, to remove the Secretary of War (Mr. Stanton), and put General Grant in his place. On the 5th of August (1867) the President sent a note to Mr. Stanton, in which he said: "Grave public considerations constrain me to request your resignation as Secretary of War." Mr.

Stanton, sharing in the general suspicion that the President contemplated reactionary measures in the absence of Congress in favor of the defeated enemies of the Republic, and was seeking a means for using the army for that purpose, immediately replied: Grave public considerations constrain me to remain in the office of Secretary of War until the next meeting of Congress."

Only a week had elapsed after this correspondence, when Johnson directed General Grant to assume the position and duties of the Secretary of War. Grant, as a dutiful soldier, obeyed the commands of his superior, when Stanton, satisfied of the firmness and incorruptible patriotism of the general-in-chief of the armies, withdrew, under protest. This change was followed by such arbitrary acts on the part of the President, that the country was thoroughly alarmed. In the face of the most earnest protests of General Grant, in the War Office, Johnson removed Generals Sheridan and Sickles from the command of the Fifth and Second Military Districts. By this act the country was given to understand that the most faithful officers, who were able and willing to work for the speedy restoration of the Union would be deprived of the power to be useful. He also issued, in defiance of law, proclamation of amnesty for nearly the whole white population of the Southern States. These, and other unlawful acts, made the loyal inhabitants impatient for the reassembling of Congress, upon whom they relied in that dark hour of seeming peril.

Patriotic men of the opposition party, and even personal friends of the erring President were amazed and mortified by his unwise conduct; and some of the latter charitably attributed these paroxysms of blind obstinacy to the effects of an unfortunate habit into which Mr. Johnson had fallen, and which appalled them at the time when he took the oath of office as Vice-President, in March, 1865. One of these friends - a distinguished politician - writing from Washington just after the removal of Sheridan and Sickles, said The President must be crazy. Does he suppose the country will much longer tolerate this unseemly warfare upon the Legislative branch of the Government You and I know that he has not a single legitimate ground for his conduct, and that several of his acts are pure usurpations for which he may be impeached. It is neither just nor prudent for the Democratic party to countenance them and it is in the highest degree impolitic for them to do so at this crisis. It is the best policy always to do right, for, in the long run, the right will prevail."

Chapter CXXXIV

The President's Message Condemned - His Conduct Arraigned - Stanton Reinstated - Johnson against Grant - "Reconstruction" Acts - A High-Handed Measure - Impeachment of the President - Charges - Managers - Popular Excitement - Trial and Verdict - Presidential Nominations - Congress Denounced by a Convention - Revolutionary Proposition - Grant and Colfax Elected - Amendment to the Constitution - Reorganization Completed - Amnesty - Military Rule Abandoned - Treaty with China - Policy toward the Indians Considered - Fifteenth Amendment - Financial Measure - Inauguration of Grant - His Cabinet - Retirement of President Johnson.

THE second session of the Fortieth Congress commenced on the 2nd of December, 1867. The President's annual message was so offensive in tone and temper, that when the usual resolution to print it was offered in the Senate, Mr. Sumner took fire and vehemently denounced it as a libel, "an insult to Congress," and an incendiary document, calculated to stimulate the rebellion once more, and to provoke Civil War. "It is a direct appeal," he said, to the worst passions and the worst prejudices of those rebels who, being subdued on the battle-field, still resist, through the aid of the President of the United States. It is an evidence of a direct coalition between the President and the former rebels." Senator Wilson, wiser and less impulsive than his colleague, while he as decidedly condemned "the tone and temper and doctrines of the message," saying in calm and dignified language that the "President seemed to have forgotten that we have had any rebellion at all," and pointing out the flagrant inconsistency of his conduct, nevertheless opposed a departure from the ordinary practice of the Senate in ordering the President's Message to be printed, and it was done.

A majority of the Judiciary Committee, to whom the charges against the President had been referred, for inquiry, reported the following resolution on the 5th of December: "Resolved, That Andrew Johnson, President of the United States, be impeached of high crimes and misdemeanors." In the course of the debate that ensued, Mr. Boutwell, of the majority of the Committee, submitted facts which proved that Mr. Johnson had long contemplated a desertion of the party that had elevated him that while on his way to Washington to be inaugurated Vice-President of the Republic, he had confidentially avowed to an old Democratic partisan with whom he had acted before the war, that he preferred the party opposed to the administration of Mr. Lincoln, and that the country could yet be saved from ruin through that party only. It was also proven that he and his friends had declared that his policy toward the enemies of his country and the freedmen before June, 1865, was only temporary and for a special object, and that he had since persistently pursued a course calculated to place the country under the control of those who had tried to destroy the Union. Notwithstanding this attitude of the President, so menacing to the good of the Republic, was well established, the House, hoping he might cease his impotent warfare upon Congress, hesitated to adopt extreme measures toward the erring Chief Magistrate, unless he should yet commit some flagrant act of disobedience to law. The resolution was, therefore, rejected by a decided majority.

A week later the President sent to Congress a message, in which he gave his reasons for the

removal of Secretary Stanton. The reasons were not satisfactory and, a month later (January 13, 1868), the Senate reinstated the former Secretary of War, when General Grant quietly retired from the office. This act enraged the President, and he reproached the general-in-chief for yielding to the implied commands of the Senate to retire. He charged him with having broken his promises; and Johnson tried to injure Grant's reputation as a citizen and a soldier. In the correspondence between them, which found its way to the public, a question of veracity between the President and the general-in-chief arose and, finally, the latter felt compelled to say to the irate Chief Magistrate: When my honor as a soldier and my integrity as a man have been so violently assailed, pardon me for saying that I can but regard this whole matter, from beginning to end, as an attempt to involve me in the resistance of law for which you hesitated to assume the responsibility in orders, and thus to destroy my character before the country." The President did not deny the truth of this damaging charge, and the correspondence ceased.

Congress now steadily advanced in the adoption of measures for the restoration of the Union on the basis of justice, by providing for conventions of the people in the disorganized States for forming new or revising old constitutions, and electing representatives in the National Legislature. They had also, by law, given enlarged powers to the general-in-chief for the administration of military government in those States, and had deprived the President of power to interfere in the matter, when Mr. Johnson startled the country by an act bolder in aspect than any he had yet attempted. It was the issuing of an order on the 21st of February (1868) directing Mr. Stanton to vacate the office of Secretary of War; also another order to Adjutant-General Lorenzo B. Thomas, to enter and take the place of the deposed Secretary. These orders were officially communicated to the Senate on the same day, and drew from that body a resolution that the President had no authority, under the Constitution, for his act. Meanwhile Thomas had proceeded to the War Department and demanded the seals and the authority with which the President had invested him. Mr. Stanton, his official superior, refused to yield them, and ordered Thomas to return to the duties of his proper office. The President, satisfied that he would not be permitted to use military force to eject Mr. Stanton, did not attempt it, and that officer retained his place.

The patience and forbearance of Congress were now exhausted. This action of the President was such a flagrant violation of law and open defiance of the Legislature, that on the following day (February 22, 1868) the House of Representatives, by a vote of 126 to 47 - an almost strictly party vote (only two Republicans voting with the minority) "Resolved, That Andrew Johnson, President of the United States, be impeached of high crimes and misdemeanors." A week later, a committee of the House, appointed for the purpose, presented articles of impeachment, nine in number; and these, with slight alterations, were accepted. They charged (1) Unlawfully ordering the removal of Mr. Stanton, as Secretary of War, in violation of the provisions of the Tenure of Office Act (2) unlawfully appointing General Lorenzo B. Thomas, as Secretary of War ad interim; (3) substantially the same as the second charge, with the additional declaration that there was, at the time of the appointment of General Thomas, no vacancy in the office of the Secretary of War; (4) conspiring with one Lorenzo Thomas, and other persons to the House unknown, to prevent, by intimidation and threats, Mr. Stanton, the legally appointed Secretary of War, from holding office; (5) conspiring with General Thomas and others to hinder the execution of the Tenure of

Office Act, and, in pursuance of this conspiracy, attempting to prevent Mr. Stanton from acting as Secretary of War; (6) conspiring with General Thomas and others to take forcible possession of the property in the War Department; (7) and (8) substantially the charge of conspiring to prevent the execution of the Tenure of Office Act, and for taking possession of the War Department (9) charged that the President called before him the commander of the forces in the Department of Washington, and declared to him that a law, passed on the 30th of June, 1867, directing that all orders and instructions relating to military operations, issued by the President or Secretary of War, shall be issued by the General of the Army, and in case of his inability, through the next in rank, was unconstitutional, and not binding upon the commander of the Department of Washington; the intent being to induce the commander to violate the law and to obey orders issued by the President directly.

Thaddeus Stevens of Pennsylvania, Benjamin F. Butler of Massachusetts John A. Bingham of Ohio, George S. Boutwell of Massachusetts, James F. Wilson of Iowa, Thomas Williams of Pennsylvania, and John A. Logan of Illinois, were appointed managers of the impeachment case, on the part of the House of Representatives. The chief management of the case was intrusted to Mr. Butler. At this stage of the proceedings the Democratic members of the House, to the number of forty-five, entered a formal protest against the whole action in the matter.

On the 3rd of March (1868) the managers presented two additional charges against the President, which were adopted by the House, as a part of the impeachment indictment. The first charged that the President had, by inflammatory speeches during his journey, already mentioned, attempted, with a design to cast aside the authority of Congress, to bring that body into disgrace, and to excite the odium and resentment of the people against Congress and the laws they enacted. The second charged that in August, 1866, the President, in a public speech at Washington, declared that Congress was not a body authorized by the Constitution to exercise legislative powers. They then specified many of the President's offences in endeavoring, by unlawful means, to prevent the execution of laws passed by Congress.

These preliminary proceedings toward impeachment filled the loyal heart of the nation with the most profound satisfaction. Letters and telegrams covered the desks of members of Congress, all urging the most speedy and vigorous action toward impeachment. Appended is a copy of a despatch from Governor Oglesby, of Illinois, which is a fair specimen of the tone of the communications and expressive of the feelings of the people. It is dated "Springfield, Illinois Executive Mansion, February 22, 1868," and is as follows:

"The usurpations of Andrew Johnson have created a profound sensation in this State. His last act is that of a traitor. His treason must be checked. The duty of Congress seems plain. The people of Illinois, attached to the Union, I firmly believe demand his impeachment, and will heartily sustain such action by Congress. The peace of the country is not to be trifled with by this presumptuous demagogue. We know the National Congress will proceed wisely and cautiously; but let it proceed. Millions of loyal hearts are panting to stand by the Stars and Stripes. Have no fear. All will be well. Liberty and order will again triumph."

On the 25th of February, Messrs. Stevens and Boutwell appeared before the Senate in behalf of the managers, and in the name of the people of the United States, impeached "Andrew Johnson of high crimes and misdemeanors," and demanded of that body an order for the accused President to answer the impeachment. The Senate, by a provision of the National Constitution, composes a jury for the trial of such cases and on the 5th of March (1868) it was organized as such, with Chief-Justice Salmon P. Chase as president of the court. The accused was summoned to appear at the bar on the 7th; but the Senate was not formally opened as a High Court of Impeachment until the 13th, when he did so appear, by his counsel, who asked for a delay of forty days wherein to prepare an answer to the indictment. Ten days were granted, and the answer was presented on the 23d, when the House of Representatives, which was the accuser, solemnly denied every averment of that answer. Then the President's counsel asked for a postponement of the trial for thirty days, but only seven were allowed.

On the 30th of March the trial was begun. Public feeling was profoundly excited by the event, and there was danger that the reason and judgment of the Senate might be swayed by unwise influences. Fortunately there were men in that body whose prescience clearly comprehended the future, and they were governed by that more than by their feelings or the mandates of present expediency. All through the trial, these men counselled moderation, and their advice was heeded. They pointed out the danger, that a verdict of guilty might create greater evils than the foolish President could possibly inflict, in his comparatively helpless state.

When, after an examination of witnesses, which was concluded on the 22nd of April the presentation of the arguments of counsel, which continued until the 5th of May, and the debates, which consumed twenty days more, the votes of the fifty-four Senators present were taken on the verdict, thirty-five of them were for conviction, and nineteen were for acquittal. Some of the latter votes were by Republicans. As two-thirds of the votes were necessary for conviction, the President was acquitted by one vote.

This verdict caused Secretary Stanton to send a letter to the President, informing him that as the resolution of the Senate reinstating the Secretary had not been supported by two-thirds of that body present and voting upon the articles of impeachment, he had relinquished the office whereupon Mr. Johnson nominated General John M. Schofield to be Mr. Stanton's successor. The President, in his communication nominating General Schofield, said he was to succeed "I. M. Stanton, removed." The Senate adopted the following preamble and resolution. "Whereas, the order of the President removing Secretary Stanton from office was unconstitutional and illegal but on account of Mr. Stanton having, on Tuesday, relinquished said office, therefore Resolved, That the Senate do advise and consent to the appointment of General Schofield."

The brilliancy and intrinsic value of General Grant's military services in behalf of the Republic, and his firmness and patriotism in defeating the designs of President Johnson at the capital, endeared him to the loyal people; and on the 19th of June (1868) the Republicans, in National Convention assembled at Chicago, nominated him for President of the United States, and Schuyler Colfax of Indiana for Vice-President. On the 4th of July following, a National

Convention of representatives of the Democratic party met in Tammany Hall, in the city of New York, and nominated Horatio Seymour of the State of New York for President, and Francis P. Blair of Missouri for Vice-President. Wade Hampton, N. B. Forrest, and other prominent Confederate leaders, were members of that Convention, and were controlling architects of the platform there adopted, in which the acts of Congress for the reorganization of the Union were declared to be usurpations, unconstitutional, revolutionary and void.

A few days before the meeting of the Convention, General Blair, the nominee for Vice-President, wrote a letter to James O. Brodhead, to be used at the Convention. In that letter he said, in contemplation of the election of the nominees, "There is but one way to restore the Government and the Constitution, and that is for the President-elect to declare these acts of Congress null and void; compel the army to undo its usurpations at the South, disperse the carpet-bag State governments (governments established under the authority of Congress) allow the white people to organize their own governments, and elect Senators and Representatives. The House of Representatives will contain a majority of Democrats from the North, and they will admit the Representatives elected by the white people of the South and with the cooperation of the President, it will not be difficult to compel the Senate to submit, once more, to the obligations of the Constitution."

This revolutionary scheme - a scheme for inaugurating another Civil War - was so acceptable to the Convention, that its author was nominated for the second office in the gift of the people. But it was so distasteful to vast numbers of the patriotic and thinking members of the Democratic party, that the nominees were defeated at the polls by an overwhelming vote that elected Grant and Colfax.

During the unfortunate and unseemly controversy between President Johnson and the National Congress, the work of reorganization, according to the plans of the latter, had been going forward vigorously, in spite of the factious interference of the Chief Magistrate. A Fourteenth Amendment had been proposed by a joint resolution of Congress, adopted on the 13th of June, 1866. This amendment had been ratified by a sufficient number of States to make it a part of the supreme law of the land, in July, 1868, and on the 28th of that month the fact was officially promulgated by the Secretary of State. That amendment secured the rights of citizenship to all persons born or naturalized in the United States and subject to the jurisdiction thereof politically disabled a certain class of chief offenders in the insurrection; declared the validity of the National debt and forbade the payment of any part of the so called Confederate debt. Refer to the National Constitution, in the Appendix, for the text of this amendment.

Seven of the disorganized States, namely, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana and Texas, had ratified the amendment; and having, by that act, by the adoption of State constitutions approved by Congress, and by the election of National Senators and Representatives, complied with the prescriptions of Congress, they took their places as revived States of the Union. But the perfect reorganization was not effected until the spring of 1872, when, on the 23rd of May, the remaining three States having taken their places with their

sisters, every seat in Congress was filled, for the first time since the winter of 1861, when members from several of the slave-labor States abdicated them. On the previous day (May 22, 1872) an Amnesty Bill was passed for removing the political disabilities imposed by the third section of the Fourteenth Amendment of the Constitution, from all persons excepting members of the Thirty-sixth Congress, heads of departments, members of diplomatic corps, and officers of the army and many who had engaged in the rebellion.

At a little past midsummer (1868), when all but three States had been reorganized and civil government had been established in the restored States, the general-in-chief issued a proclamation (July 8) declaring that so much of the reconstruction acts as provided for military rule in the South, had become inoperative. At the same time the President continued to display his factious spirit in a most ludicrous and futile manner. He asserted that the State governments in the South, established by an illegal Congress, were illegal, and, consequently, their ratification of the fourteenth Amendment was of no effect, and it was not ratified. In order to forestall and weaken the operation of a part of that amendment, he issued a proclamation on the 4th of July (1868) declaring general and unconditional pardon and amnesty for all who had been engaged in acts of rebellion, excepting a few who were under presentment or indictment for the offence. This conduct of the President was so foreboding of mischief, that when Congress took a recess in August, it was agreed to meet again in September, should the public good require but the Presidential election absorbed so much of the attention of Mr. Johnson and the whole people, that there was a lull in the war between the Executive and Legislative branches of the Government, and the recess continued until the regular session in December. Very soon after Congress met, the President made another foolish onslaught upon the authority of that body when, on Christmas day, he issued a proclamation which declared, in defiance of the provisions of the Fourteenth Amendment, unconditional and unreserved pardon to and every person who had participated in the late rebellion.

Before the adjournment of Congress for the recess, the Senate had ratified an important treaty with China, which Anson Burlingame, the American ambassador in that country, had negotiated. It established mutual intercourse between the citizens of the United States and those of China, and secured to each mutual and equal privileges of trade, travel, education, and religion. Chinese to any nation. This was a concession never before made by the Mr. Burlingame brought the treaty with him, and was accompanied by several high Chinese officials. He had won the entire confidence of the government, and had been appointed by the Emperor a general Commissioner to several of the Christian powers.

The result of the Presidential election gave increased strength to the Republican party. This condition implied increased responsibility, and the need of wisdom and sound judgment in the management of public affairs. The incidents of the war had produced causes of irritation between the governments of the United States and Great Britain, and most delicate questions of national responsibility had been raised. At home, that chronic evil, war with the Indians, was then raging on the great Western Plains; and there was a wide difference of opinion in the public mind as to the best methods of putting an end to the strife. There was great exasperation on both sides,

along the frontiers. There was an abiding sense of mutual injury while all well-informed persons had a clear conviction that the deep-rooted animosity of the Indians toward the white people was occasioned by the rank injustice which the former had suffered at the hands of the latter. With this conviction there was a widespreading desire that a policy toward the barbarians, founded on justice and kindness, should be pursued. But military leaders in the war, contemplating the barbarians from a point of view opposite to that occupied by the Christian philanthropist, recommended the most vigorous and unrelenting measures toward them, and for that purpose it was proposed to vest the entire control of the Indians in the War Department. "Indian tribes," said a distinguished general, "should not be dealt with as independent nations - they are wards of the Government, and should be made to respect the lives and property of citizens. The Indian history of this country for the last three hundred years shows that of all the great nations of Indians, only remnants have been saved. The same fate awaits those now hostile; and the best way for the Government is to make them poor by the destruction of their stock, and then settle them on the lands allotted them." Another general, equally distinguished, formulated the estimate of the Indian character by the average frontiersmen, by saying, "The only good Indian is a dead Indian."

These indefensible propositions and this unjust judgment have been too long the inspiration of our methods of treating the Indians. Fortunately the ethics of the mailed hand - Might makes Right - does not wholly prevail, and a more humane policy has been adopted. President Grant, soon after his inauguration in the spring of 1869, recommended the appointment, as Indian agents, of several members of the Society of Friends, or quakers, who are noted for their uprightness and peaceful principles and conduct. Congress approved the recommendation of the President, and early in April (1869) sixteen Friends were chosen to carry out the policy of justice.

The radical defect in the general policy of the Government is in its treatment of the barbarians, namely, holding them as foreigners instead of as citizens, and making formal treaties with them, or as children having no legal rights. The peace-policy has not yet had a fair trial. Its excellent fruits are seen in many places, and give abundant evidence that if it could be faithfully carried out, under a wiser political plan, it would solve the great problem by pacifying the Indians, and tend to their rapid advancement in civilization. Evidences abound in the later reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, of a rapid advancement of the arts of peace, especially of agriculture, among the Indian tribes. Commissioner E. P. Smith, in his report for 1875, says: "The civilization of the Indians is not only entirely possible, but is fairly under way." He reported that out of the entire Indian population within the domain of the United States (278,963 souls), 40,638 men and boys supported themselves by the labor of their own hands. "About one-sixth of the barbarian population in our Republic had become producers five years ago," said the Commissioner, "10,329 Indian families were living in houses. This year shows 19,902 a gain of 92 per cent." He also reported that the number of children attending school was 10,600.

These facts show that our barbarian brethren are capable, not only of civilization, but of becoming orderly and valuable citizens. As a savage hunter, the Indian is expensive. During only six years - 1870 to 1876 - our Government made appropriations for the support of the Indians on

their reservations (exclusive of the cost of military movements to keep them from picking and stealing") of the large sum of nearly \$44,000,000. Treat the Indian as a man and a citizen, and wars and unprofitable expenditures on his account would cease.

Immediately after the assembling of Congress in December, 1868, Mr. Cragin of New Hampshire offered an amendment of the National Constitution, for securing the elective franchise to the freedmen. The proposition was debated for several weeks, and on the 26th of February, 1869, Congress adopted a joint resolution recommending the following, as a Fifteenth Amendment of the Constitution:

SECTION 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States, or by any State, on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

SECTION 2. The Congress, by appropriate legislation, may enforce the provisions of this article."

This amendment was immediately submitted to the authorities of the several States for action, and was ratified by the requisite number. Before the close of that session, an important financial bill was adopted, of which the following was the chief provision The faith of the United States is solemnly pledged to the payment, in coin, or its equivalent, of all interest-bearing obligations of the United States, except in cases where the law authorizing the issue of any such obligations has expressly provided that the same may be paid in lawful money or other currency than gold and silver." This act was not only just, but expedient. It was intended to strengthen the credit of the Government at home and abroad, and that was accomplished.

The turbulent administration of Mr. Johnson closed on the 4th of March, 1869, when Ulysses Simpson Grant was inaugurated the eighteenth President of the United States. The oath of office was administered by Chief-Justice Chase, and the Senate confirmed his cabinet appointments, after some necessary changes, as follows: Hamilton Fish, Secretary of State; George S. Boutwell, Secretary of the Treasury; John A. Rawlins, Secretary of War; Adolph E. Borie, Secretary of the Navy; Jacob D. Coxe, Secretary of the Interior; A. J. Creswell, as Postmaster-General and E. Rockwood Hoar, as Attorney-General.

On the day when Johnson retired from the chair of state, he issued a long address to his countrymen in vindication of his course as Chief Magistrate. He recited his most prominent acts, declaring the necessity for them; and having done this he assailed the majority of the Congress with his usual vehemence of tone, accusing them of acting in utter disregard of the Constitution. "Since the close of the war," he said, "they have persistently sought to influence the prejudices engendered between the sections, to retard the restoration of peace and harmony, and by every means to keep open and exposed to the poisonous breath of party passion the terrible wounds of a four years' war. They have prevented the return of peace and the restoration of the Union; in every way rendered delusive the purposes, promises and pledges, by which the army was

marshalled, treason rebuked, and rebellion crushed, and made the liberties of the people and the rights and powers of the President objects of constant attack." He charged them with the commission of nearly every act of oppression enumerated in the indictment against George the Third, contained in the Declaration of Independence, and said, This catalogue of crimes, long as it is, is not yet complete."

This public exhibition of the retiring President's weakness; his inaccuracy of statements his unjust and untrue accusations, and his manifestation of blind anger, mortified his real friends and elicited a smile of pity from those who were assailed. In his whole career as President, Mr. Johnson seemed to feel, like Louis the Fourteenth, I am the state." He seemed to forget that he was the executive and not the legislative or judicial branch of the Government; that it was the duty of Congress to make laws, and his to see that they were executed; that after he had expressed his reasons for the disapproval of an act, in a veto message, and that act became a law by a constitutional vote, it was his solemn duty to enforce that law and that the Supreme Court, and not the Executive, was the sole judge of the constitutionality of an enactment.

The career of Andrew Johnson exhibits a peculiar phase in our social system - the possibilities that wait upon citizens of the most humble origin. Mr. Johnson was born in Raleigh, North Carolina, late in 1808. His parents were poor and lowly and at the age of four years he was bereft of his father. Without an hour's schooling, he was apprenticed to a tailor at the age of ten years and during that service he taught himself to read. With his own hands he supported his mother, and with her he moved to Greenville, East Tennessee, when he was eighteen years of age. There he soon married an excellent girl, who taught him to write. The energy of his character, his sobriety and strength of mind, commended him to the citizens, and he was elected alderman of Greenville at the age of twenty, and mayor when he was twenty-one.

Mr. Johnson was possessed of a certain kind of rugged and ready oratory that made him very popular; also the elements and aspirations of an adroit politician; and he made his way upward in the path of distinction by his own indomitable will, passing successively through the offices of alderman, mayor, member of both houses of the Legislature of Tennessee, presidential elector, member of Congress, governor of Tennessee, national Senator, Vice-President, and Acting-President of the United States. His moral nature was more feeble than his ambition, and yielded to it; and in his career as President that weakness prevented his achieving most enviable fame as a patriot and a benefactor of his race.

Chapter CXXXV

Public Affairs - "Alabama" Claims - Financial Affairs - National Debt, Banking and Currency - Suspension and Resumption of Specie Payments - Proposed Amendment of the Constitution - Pacific Railway - Inter-Oceanic Ship Canal Considered - Difficulties with Cuba and Spain - The "Virginius" Affair - The San Domingo Question - Samana Bay Company - Joint High Commission - Tribunal of Arbitration and Its Award - Decision about Boundary on the Pacific - Electro-Magnetic Telegraph - Litigations - Marine Telegraphy - Appliances of the Telegraph - Weather Signaling - Revelations of the Census - New Apportionment - Pensions.

AUSPICIOUS omens of peace and prosperity appeared at the beginning of President Grant's administration. The condition of public affairs, at home and abroad, seemed to promise a bright official career for the new Chief Magistrate. The only cloud seen in the firmament of our foreign relations that betokened future difficulties, was the irritation felt concerning the depredations of the Alabama under the tacit sanction of the British government. The Government of the United States claimed for its citizens payment for the damages inflicted upon them by that Anglo-Confederate cruiser.

To effect a peaceful solution of the difficulty, Reverdy Johnson of Maryland was sent to England, in 1868, to negotiate a treaty for that purpose; but his mission did not have a satisfactory result. The treaty agreed to was almost universally condemned by his countrymen, and it was rejected by the Senate by a vote of fifty-four against one. Mr. Johnson was recalled, and J. Lothrop Motley, the historian, was appointed American Minister to the British court, charged with the negotiation of another treaty for the same purpose. Mr. Motley was no more successful in that particular mission than was his predecessor, and General Grant recalled him in 1870. The matter was finally settled by arbitration, as we shall observe presently.

The financial aspect in the public affairs of our country, at the time of the accession of President Grant, was encouraging because of a prospect of a steady reduction of the enormous debt which the Civil War had imposed upon the nation. On the first of August, 1865, or three months after the close of the Civil War, in the field, that debt, including back-pay, bounties, overdue contracts, transportation, and a variety of other expenses incident to the closing of the war, was actually more than \$3,000,000,000. On the first of March, 1869, it was \$2,525,463,260, showing the remarkable fact that in the space of three years and eight months the National debt had been reduced over \$600,000,000. This reduction has gone on gradually ever since until, on the first of October, 1877, the debt amounted to \$2,051,587,254 while to-day (1905) it has been further reduced to \$800,000,000.

It was during the Civil War that a radical and most salutary change was made in the banking system of our country. In 1860, on the eve of the breaking out of that war, the number of the banks in the Union was fifteen hundred and sixty-two, with an aggregate capital of almost \$422,000,000, and a circulation of about \$207,000,000. At the same time they held nearly \$84,000,000 in specie, and their aggregate deposits were almost \$254,000,000. The necessity for

a better National currency was conspicuous soon after the beginning of the war, but no provision was made for one until the 3rd of June, 1864. A law was then passed providing for a separate bureau in the Treasury Department, the chief officer of which was called Comptroller of the Currency, whose office is under the general direction of the Secretary of the Treasury. It also provided for the formation of private banking associations, within defined limits, to have existence for twenty years, the stockholders to be equally liable to the extent of the stock for the debts and contracts of the bank. Every such association was required, preliminary to the commencement of banking, to transfer bonds of the United States to an amount not less than \$30,000, and not less than the capital stock paid in. Then the association was entitled to receive from the Comptroller of the Currency circulating notes equal in amount to twenty percent of the current market value of the bonds transferred, but not exceeding ninety percent of the par value of such bonds. This made the Government of the United States the basis of security for the redemption of the paper currency, and that circulating medium was of equal credit in all parts of the United States. The latter feature of the system is of immense value to people in all financial transactions. The banking associations formed under this system are called National Banks; and at this time there are very few banks not included under that title.

By an act of Congress passed in 1875, banking under the National system is made free, without any restriction as to the amount of circulating notes that may be issued by the Comptroller of the Treasury to any part of the country and the privileges attached to the National banks are open to individuals everywhere, making the proper deposit, for security, of United States bonds. Early in the Civil War, all of the banks in the Republic suspended specie payments, and up to 1877 they had not resumed, though Congress then provided for the taking of an initial step toward resumption on the first of January, 1879, at which time the Government itself stood pledged to resumption and to the final redemption and removal from the currency of the country of the legal-tender notes as fast as they shall be presented for redemption. Resumption was really begun by the National Government in 1876, by calling in its fractional currency, and giving silver coin in exchange. The consequence is that there is, at the present time (close of 1877), an excess of silver currency in circulation.

At an early period of Grant's administration, an important amendment to the National Constitution was proposed, by Mr. Julian of Indiana, for securing the ballot to women, in the following form:

"The right of suffrage in the United States shall be based on citizenship, and shall be regulated by Congress; and all the citizens of the United States, whether native or naturalized, shall enjoy this right equally, without any distinction or discrimination whatever, founded on sex."

As the first section of the Fourteenth Amendment declares that "all persons, born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof [without an allusion to sex] are citizens of the United States, and of the State wherein they reside," this amendment clearly gives to women the rights and privileges of citizens. No action has since been taken by Congress on the subject but organizations for effecting that object exist, and the matter will not be allowed

to slumber indefinitely, for justice demands such a fundamental law. The right to the exercise of the elective franchise is guaranteed to our colored citizens do women less deserve the privilege?

A most important event occurred in our country, in May, 1869, which has had a powerful effect already upon commerce, the arts and civilization, national and international. It was the completion of an uninterrupted railway communication, for freight and passengers, across our continent, between the Atlantic and Pacific oceans, thereby opening a way for a vast trade, for our countrymen, with China, Japan, and the islands of the Sea. The ceremony of laying the last tie and driving the last spikes, took place on the 10th of May (1869), in a grassy valley near the head of the Great Salt Lake, in Utah. It was performed in the presence of many hundred people of various nationalities, including some of our dusky barbarian brethren. That "tie" was made of laurel-wood brightly polished, its ends bound with silver bands. The "spikes" were three in number. One was of solid gold, sent from California; another was of solid silver, sent from Nebraska; and a third, composed of gold, silver and iron, was furnished by citizens of Arizona. These were driven, after some religious ceremonials; and when the work was completed, the fact was communicated to the people of our continent and across the seas, with the speed of the lightning's flash. That great railway crosses nine distinct mountain ranges, in its passage of about three thousand four hundred miles between New York and San Francisco, by way of Chicago; and the greatest elevation attained in the route is at Rattle Snake Pass, west of the Laramie Plains, where the road is seven thousand one hundred and twenty-three feet above the sea. Other railways - one more northerly and one more southerly - for connecting the two oceans by a bond of iron have been projected.

At the close of the Civil War, the subject of a ship-canal across the Isthmus of Darien to connect the waters of the two great oceans, was brought prominently before the American people. Explorations under the auspices of our Government, for such a purpose, had been attempted long before; but, for a time, nothing had been done. By a treaty concluded on the 14th of January, 1869, between our Government and that of the United States of Colombia, the former was empowered to survey and construct a canal at any point across the great isthmus, excepting along the route of the Panama Railroad, unless with the consent of the owners of that highway. Under the provisions of that treaty, the Government of the United States ordered surveys to be made, and two exploring expeditions were sent out in 1870. One, led by Commander T. O. Selfridge of the Navy, was sent to the lower portion of the Isthmus of Darien. Another, under Captain Shufeldt of the Navy, was sent to the Isthmus of Tehuantepec, further south.

The report of Captain Shufeldt showed that no extraordinary engineering would be required on the Tehuantepec route; but that an elevation of about six hundred and eighty feet would have to be reached by means of locks. By this route the distance between New Orleans and Hong-Kong would be nine thousand miles less than by the way of Cape Horn, and over twelve hundred miles less than by the narrowest part of the Isthmus of Darien.

Commander Selfridge explored three routes across the Darien isthmus at its narrower part, all of which he reported to be impracticable. He also explored a route by way of the Atrato River

and the Napipi, one of its tributaries, which he regarded as the best and most feasible in all that region. It includes one hundred and fifty miles of river navigation, and a canal less than forty miles in length, which would terminate at the mouth of the Limon River in Cupica Bay on the Pacific coast. The estimated cost of a canal by that route, including three miles of rock-cutting one hundred and twenty-five feet in depth, is \$124,000,000. The highest point of the canal would be one hundred and thirty feet above the sea; and it may be fed by the Napipi River.

Selfridge made his report in 1871 and the next year the President appointed Major-General Humphreys, Professor Benjamin Pierce, Captain Daniel Ammen, commissioners to examine all plans and proposals for an inter-oceanic ship-canal across the isthmus. They are yet (1878) charged with the business while surveys are still in progress. The vast importance of such a work is conceded. The advantages to the commerce of the world is obvious. That commerce demands its speedy completion. The route to the East Indies, even from Liverpool, would be much shortened by it.

So early as 1850, our Government had difficulties with the authorities of Cuba, growing out of attempts to secure the independence of the Creoles. In 1869, an insurrection there had assumed such formidable proportions, and received so much moral support from the citizens of the United States, that again serious troubles, if not actual war with Spain, seemed inevitable. The American people naturally sympathize with others who are struggling against despotism and for the right to exercise local self-government, and are not always restrained by a wise prudence. Native Cubans and sympathetic Americans fitted out expeditions, under the general directions of a Cuban Junta in the city of New York, for the purpose of carrying man and war-material to the insurgent camps. Then our Government, determined to observe the strictest neutrality and impartiality, felt compelled to notice this flagrant violation of law, and took measures to suppress all fillibustering movements, and to keep faith with foreign governments.

At times, these peculiar relations between our people and those of the neighboring Spanish colony caused much irritation, and promised a disruption of the peaceful relations between the United States and Spain. Finally, late in 1873, war between the two countries seemed to be inevitable. The steamship *Virginius*, flying the flag of our Republic, suspected of carrying men and supplies to the Cubans, was captured by a Spanish cruiser off the coast of Cuba, taken into port, and many of her passengers, and her captain and some of the crew, were publicly shot by the local military authorities. This outrage produced intense excitement throughout our country. There was, for awhile, a hot war-spirit in the land but wise men in the control of the governments of Spain and the United States, calmly considered the international questions involved, and settled the matter by peaceful diplomacy. There were rights to be acknowledged by both parties. The *Virginius* was surrendered to the United States authorities, and ample reparation for the outrage was offered. While the vessel was on its way to New York, under an escort, she sprung a leak off Cape Fear, and went to the bottom of the sea, at the close of December, 1873. So, by wise diplomacy, peace with all the world, with one notable and brief exception, has been maintained since the close of our Civil War.

For full twenty years the governments of Western Europe have suspected the United States of designs to gain a controlling influence among the West India Islands, by obtaining possession of Cuba, or some other territory. The suspicion was first aroused by the declarations of the infamous "Ostend Manifesto." It was allayed by the manifest determination of our Government to suppress all unlawful military expeditions against that island, or any other territory. It was again excited by movements on the part of our Government to obtain possession, by annexation, of the island of Hayti or San Domingo. The wants of commerce, and political considerations, had created a strong desire of the American people for our Republic to have a territorial possession among the West India Islands. Movements, with that object in view, were made in 1869. President Grant was decidedly in favor of a scheme for the annexation of San Domingo; and late in the autumn of that year, a treaty for the purpose was conducted between our Government and that of Hayti. There was opposition to the measure in Congress. More exact information concerning the physical aspects of the island and the disposition of the people was demanded; and a Commission, consisting of judicious men, was sent to San Domingo for observation. Their report, although it was favorable, did not lead to a ratification of the treaty by our Senate, and the project has slumbered ever since. Then a private treaty was made by a stock company with the authorities of San Domingo, by which the government of that commonwealth ceded to the association a large portion of the island, with valuable privileges. All the public lands on the peninsula of Samana, and the waters of Samana Bay, were ceded to the "Samana Bay Company." That association has since slumbered.

In the year 1870, the claims of the Government of the United States upon that of Great Britain, for damages inflicted upon the American shipping interest by the depredations of the Alabama, and other Anglo. Confederate cruisers, occupied a large share of public attention. Two efforts to effect a treaty had been made and failed. Much diplomatic correspondence ensued. Finally, late in January, 1871, Sir Edward Thornton, the British minister at Washington, under instructions from his government, proposed, in a letter to Secretary Fish, a Joint High Commission, to be appointed by the two governments respectively, to settle a serious dispute which had arisen concerning the fisheries, and so to establish a permanent friendship between the two nations. Mr. Fish, in reply, proposed that the Commission should embrace, in its inquiries, the matter of the "Alabama claims," and other subjects of dispute, so that nothing should remain to disturb the relations of friendship which might be established. The suggestion was approved by the British minister, and each government proceeded to appoint its commissions. President Grant appointed Hamilton Fish, the Secretary of State Samuel Nelson, Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court Robert C. Schenck, minister to England E. Rockwood Hoar, late Attorney-General of the United States; and George H. Williams, United States Senator from Oregon. Queen Victoria appointed George Frederick Samuel, Earl de Grey and Earl of Ripon Sir Stratford Henry Northcote; Sir Edward Thornton, the British minister; Sir Alexander Macdonald, a member of the Privy Council of Canada, and Attorney-General of that Province; and Montague Bernard, Professor of International Law in the University of Oxford.

The commissioners of the United States were instructed to consider (1) the fisheries; (2) the navigation of the St. Lawrence River; (3) reciprocal trade between the United States and the

Dominion of Canada; (4) the Northwest water boundary and the Island of San Juan (5) the claims of the United States against Great Britain for compensation for injuries committed by rebel cruisers and (6) claims of British subjects against the United States for losses and injuries arising out of acts committed during the recent Civil War.

On the 27th of February (1871), the Commission had their first meeting, in Washington city. Lord Tenterden, Secretary of the British Commission, and J. C. Bancroft Davis, Assistant-Secretary of State of the United States, were chosen clerks of the Joint High Commission. They held many meetings and the subjects were fully discussed, when a treaty was agreed to, which provided for the settlement, by arbitration, by a mixed commission, of all claims on both sides for injuries by either governments to the citizens of the other, during the Civil War, and for the permanent settlement of all questions in dispute between the two nations. This treaty was signed on the 8th of May, 1871, and was speedily ratified by the two governments.

The conclusion of the treaty was followed by the appointment of arbitrators. The United States appointed Charles Francis Adams and Great Britain, Sir Alexander Cockburn. The two governments jointly invited the Emperor of Brazil, the King of Italy, and the President of the Swiss Confederation, each to appoint an arbitrator. The Emperor appointed Baron d'Itazuba; the King chose Count Frederick Sclopis and the President of the Swiss Confederation appointed James Stampill. J. C. Bancroft Davis was appointed agent of the United States and Lord Tenterden, of Great Britain. These gentlemen formed what was termed the Tribunal of Arbitration."

On the 15th of December, 1871, the Tribunal assembled at Geneva, in Switzerland, where Count Sclopis was chosen to preside. After two meetings, it was adjourned to the middle of June, 1872. A final meeting was held in September, the same year; and on the 4th of that month, its decision on the Alabama claims was announced. That decision decreed that the government of Great Britain should pay to the Government of the United States the sum of \$15,500,000 in gold, to be given to citizens of the latter for losses incurred by the depredations of the Alabama and other Anglo-Confederate cruisers. That amount was paid into the Treasury of the United States, a year afterward, through the agency of the banking firms of Drexel, Morgan & Co. and Jay Cooke & Co., who made a contract with the British government to pay this award on or before the 10th of September, 1873. This transaction was performed in the following manner, without moving a dollar of coin

The contracting bankers, from time to time, bought bills of exchange, which they deposited in comparatively small amounts, and received coin or gold certificates for such deposits, and purchased United States bonds. Those bonds and coin certificates they finally exchanged with the Secretary of the Treasury for a single certificate for \$15,500,000, which reads as follows: "It is hereby certified that fifteen million five hundred thousand dollars have been deposited with the Treasurer of the United States, payable in gold, at his office, to Drexel, Morgan & Co., Morton, Bliss & Co., and Jay Cooke & Co., or their order." This was endorsed by these parties to pay the amount to the British minister at Washington, and the British Consul-General at New York. The

minister and consul endorsed it with an order to pay the amount to Hamilton Fish, Secretary of State; and he, in turn, endorsed it with an order to pay it to W. A. Richardson, Secretary of the Treasury. The money was invested in the new five percent bonds of the United States of the funded loan, redeemable after the first day of May, 1881 and a commission was appointed to distribute the award among the just claimants for damages.

The question of boundary on the Pacific coast between our country and the British possessions, was referred to the Emperor of Germany, who decided in favor of the claims of the United States, which gave to our territory the island of San Juan, the domain in dispute. So was settled by the peaceful and just method of arbitration, most exciting questions, which, at one time, threatened to be referred to the arbitrament of the sword.

Allusion has been made to the electromagnetic telegraph, and the first establishment of communication between America and Europe by it. That invention, conceived more than a century ago, was first brought to perfection and made a medium for the transmission of language instantly over great spaces, by Samuel Finley Breese Morse of New York, and was first presented to public notice in the year 1838. He filed a caveat at the Patent Office in the autumn of 1837, and gave a private exhibition of its marvelous power, in the New York University, in January, 1838, when intelligence was instantly transmitted through a circuit of ten miles of wire, and plainly recorded on a cylinder.

Professor Morse applied to Congress for pecuniary aid to enable him to construct an experimental line of telegraph between Washington and Baltimore. He was unsuccessful, and for four years he waited for the tardy action of his government. Then, in the spring of 1842, Congress appropriated \$30,000 for his use; and two years afterward Professor Morse transmitted from Washington to Baltimore, a distance of forty miles, the first message, furnished him by a young lady - What hath God wrought.

The first public message was the announcement of the nomination of James K. Polk for President of the United States, by a Democratic convention sitting at Baltimore, in May, 1844.

Others claimed to be the authors of the great invention, and Professor Morse was put upon the defensive. Infringements of the patents he had obtained ensued, and years of costly litigation. He triumphed. His rights were fully and finally established by the careful sifting of testimony by the courts, and a decision was made from which there could be no just appeal, that Professor Morse was, the original and sole inventor of the electromagnetic recording telegraph system, known by his name. Its value was soon perceived. Monarchs bestowed orders and pecuniary gifts upon the inventor, and colleges conferred honorary degrees upon him.

Professor Morse originated marine telegraphy. He suggested the possibility of telegraphic communication between America and Europe, by means of a submarine cable, in a letter to the Secretary of the Treasury in the summer of 1843 and in 1858 he participated in the labors and honors of achieving it. In the summer of that year a cable was laid between Valencia in Ireland

and the shore of Trinity Bay, Newfoundland, over the great ocean plateau discovered by Professor Maury of the National Observatory. The first intelligent communication was made on the 13th of August. Early in the morning of the 17th, a message was received from the Queen of Great Britain, for the President of the United States, and an answer was immediately returned, when the cable ceased its functions. It was dumb until the summer of 1866, when communication was re-established, and has been permanent ever since. There now seems to be no impediment to its utterances by a pathway under the sea, and over the land, between nearly all the countries of the civilized world.

Many new functions of this great invention have been discovered, and its powers seem to be in their infancy of manifestation. Messages are now sent by a single wire, each way, at the same instant of time. The human voice and the melody of musical instruments may now be transmitted over hundreds of miles of space, and even impressions of handwriting and the living features of the human face may now be sent by friend to friend, from State to State, from ocean to ocean. Commerce and agriculture are receiving vast benefits from its use in meteorological observations and scientific predictions of future events.

In the year 1870, Congress authorized the establishment of a Weather Signal Service, under the control of the War Department, which was designed to collect information and give notice by signals or by telegraph, of any approaching danger; in time of peace, of dangers to arise from storms in their progress, or other atmospheric disturbances. This peculiar service was invented and organized by General Albert J. Myer, who has been at the head of it from the beginning. The system, as arranged by General Myer, permits the forecasting of atmospheric phenomena for twenty-four hours in advance and to such perfection is the system brought, that almost ninety percent of the predictions are verified by actual results. Simultaneous weather reports from simultaneous observations, taken at different places, are transmitted to the Signal Office at Washington. Three of these simultaneous reports are made in each twenty-four hours, at the same instant of time, at intervals of eight hours and warnings are given by signals, maps, bulletins, and official despatches, furnished by the Signal Office three times each day, to nearly all the newspapers of the land. So thoroughly is this work done, by means of the telegraph, and by the perfect organization of the system and the discipline of the operators, that it is estimated one-third of all the families in our country are in possession, each day, of the information at the Signal Office in Washington. The value of this service to commerce and agriculture is incalculable. A storm raging in any part of the country may be known to ports and districts in its track many hours before it can reach such points; and deductions from known meteorological laws enable the Signal Bureau to predict the probable state of the weather in every part of the country with great accuracy. The advantages of such a service are obvious. The invention and operations of the electromagnetic telegraph furnish a marvelous chapter in the history of our country.

In the year 1870 the ninth enumeration or census of the inhabitants of the United States and their productions was begun but it was not completed until late in the next year. The revelations of that census concerning the growth of our country in population, development of its resources and its various industries, were wonderful. It showed the remarkable fact that the inhabitants of

this comparatively young country, with its immense out-of- doors, were not a preeminently agricultural people. When the first enumeration was taken in the year 1790, and the population was about four million, the value of the annual products of our agriculture was reported at \$150,000,000. That of our manufactures was then quite small. The assessed wealth of the people then was estimated at \$497,293,000. Sixty years after that enumeration (1850), the value of the annual products of agriculture was given at \$1,070,000,000, and of manufactures at \$1,019,000,000 and the assessed wealth at \$2,276,000,000. Our population then was little more than twenty-three million. Twenty years later, or at the decennial enumeration 1870, when our population was almost forty million, the value of the annual agricultural products, including that of the farms, orchards, forests, buildings and live-stock, was estimated at almost \$3,000,000,000. At the same time the value of the annual product of our manufactures was estimated at \$4,232,325,000, or \$1,932,325,000 more than the total value of the agricultural products of our country. This showed an increase in the value of the products of our manufactures, in the previous twenty years, of over three hundred per cent.

After this enumeration of the inhabitants, and the final restoration of the Union, in May, 1872, a new apportionment in representation was established, making the ratio one hundred and thirty-seven thousand, instead of ninety thousand. A new Pension bill was also adopted, giving eight dollars a month to all surviving officers, enlisted men, and volunteers in the wars of the Revolution and of 1812, or their surviving widows.

Chapter CXXXVI

Propositions of National Interest Rejected - Public Park - National Conventions - Distinguished Visitors - Inauguration of Grant - His Cabinet - Acts of Congress - Salaries - Aspect of Public Affairs - The "Panic" - Indians and Indian Wars - The Modocs - Cheap Transportation - "Patrons of Husbandry" - Disturbances in the South - "White League" - The Sioux and Their Reservation - Expedition Against the Sioux - Destruction of Custer and His Command - Custer's Remains Taken to West Point - Escape of Sitting Bull - Admission of Colorado - Indian Territory and Alaska - Inhabitants of Indian Territory.

THE year of grace 1872 was a "Presidential year" a year when the Chief Magistrate of the Republic is chosen - and that subject naturally occupied much of the public attention during the summer and fall; yet there were, besides, projects of a national character, of great interest, presented for consideration. One of these was a proposition to place the telegraph system of our country under the control of the National Government, and make it a part of the postal system of the United States. Another project was the enlargement of the land-locked navigation, by means of canals, from the extreme eastern portion of the Union to the Gulf of Mexico, and from the Mississippi River to various ports on the Atlantic coast. The governor of Virginia proposed that the State debts should be assumed by the National Government - an act that was wise and just when our Government first went into operation, for the State debts had been incurred chiefly by expenditures during the war for independence, for the general good. The present State debts have all been incurred for the benefit of each State separately. These various propositions failed to secure the popular favor.

By an act of Congress a large tract of the public domain, about forty miles square, lying near the head-waters of the Yellowstone River, on the northeastern slopes of the Rocky Mountains, was set apart for a public park. It is withdrawn from sale, settlement and occupancy, and is dedicated to the "pleasure and enjoyment of the people of the United States."

Early in the year 1872, several political national conventions were held for the purpose of nominating candidates for the Presidency. The first was that of the "Labor-Reform Party," held at Columbus, Ohio, in February, when David Davis of Illinois, one of the judges of the Supreme Court of the United States, was nominated. Mr. Davis declined, and finally Charles O'Connor of the city of New York was nominated by that party. In April, a Colored National Convention was held in New Orleans; but they refrained from nominating a President. A movement, begun in Missouri in 1870, for a union of Democrats and so-called "Liberal Republicans," culminated, in the spring and summer of 1872, in the fusion of these two political elements. A convention of Liberal Republicans assembled at Cincinnati on the first of May (1872), and nominated the late Horace Greeley for President, and B. Gratz Brown of Missouri for Vice-President. The regular Republican Convention assembled at Philadelphia on the 5th of June, and nominated President Grant for reelection and Senator Henry Wilson of Massachusetts for Vice-President. On the 9th of July the Democratic Convention assembled at Baltimore, and adopted the nominees of the Liberals (Messrs. Greeley and Brown) by an almost unanimous vote. The Opposition party

expected much strength from the coalition; but Grant and Wilson were elected, the majority of the former being much greater than he received in 1868.

Distinguished visitors came to the United States in 1872. An imposing embassy of twenty-one persons came from Japan to make inquiries about the renewal of former treaties between the two governments; but, not having sufficient delegated power to make such renewals, the matter was not then settled. Relations between the United States and Japan are cordial in the extreme; and the commerce, politics, and society of the two nations are rapidly becoming more intimate with each other. The same year the Grand Duke Alexis, son of the Emperor of Russia, made a tour through our country, and was graciously received everywhere.

President Grant's second term of office began on the 4th of March, 1873. It was an intensely cold day at the National Capital; but the inaugural ceremonies were performed, as usual, in the open air, at the east front of the Capitol. Chief-Justice Chase administered the oath of office; and it was one of the latest public acts of that distinguished jurist. His health had been failing for some time, in consequence of a paralytic stroke in 1872, and he died two months after these imposing ceremonies. The Senate immediately confirmed President Grant's nominations of constitutional advisers, which were as follows : Hamilton Fish, Secretary of State; William A. Richardson, Secretary of the Treasury; William W. Belknap, Secretary of War; George A. Robeson, Secretary of the Navy; Columbus Delano, Secretary of the Interior; John A. J. Creswell, Postmaster-General; and George H. Williams, Attorney-General. Changes in the personnel of the cabinet afterward took place, and only Mr. Fish retained his position during the eight years of President Grant's administration.

The third session of the Forty-second Congress closed on the 4th of March, 1873, at noon. Among the numerous acts passed during that session was one to abolish the grades of Admiral and Vice-Admiral in the United States navy. Another abolished the Franking privilege; and another fixed the pay of certain officers of Government and members of Congress. The salary of the President of the United States was raised from \$25,000 a year to \$50,000, payable in monthly installments. The salary of the Vice-President was fixed at \$10,000; of the Chief-Justice of the Supreme Court, \$10,500; and the Associate-Justices, \$10,000 each. That of the heads of the several departments, and of the Attorney General, was fixed at \$10,000; of the Speaker of the House of Representatives, \$10,000; and of Senators and Representatives, \$7,500 each, a year, and no allowance made for traveling expenses, the mileage system having been abolished.

At the beginning of the second term of President Grant's administration, the future of our country, in all its aspects, appeared brighter than ever before, since the end of the Civil War. There seemed to be a steady improvement in the tone of public feeling after the irritations caused by the Civil War and the measures adopted for the restoration of the Union. The Government, in its dealings with the leaders in the insurrection, had been exceedingly lenient. Of the thousands of our citizens who "consciously and willingly committed treason against the United States," as defined by Article III, Section 3, Clause I, of the National Constitution, not one had been punished for that crime; and only Jefferson Davis, the acting head of the Confederacy, had been

indicted, and he was released from jail (illegally) by President Johnson's proclamation of Amnesty on Christmas day, 1868, already mentioned, and has never been called to account.

There was, also, a gradual lightening of the burdens of taxation which the war had imposed. The amount was reduced by many millions annually, while the revenue had increased from \$371,000,000 in 1869 to \$430,000,000 in 1873. The exports showed an increase, as compared with 1859 of more than twenty-five percent, while there had not been an equal increase in the value of imports.

Emigration from Europe poured, in an immense volume, upon our shores that year (1873), reaching the unprecedented number of souls that came, of 473,000. Never before nor since have so many aliens come to the United States, adding vastly to our material wealth. Efforts have been made to ascertain the capital value of the average emigrant who comes here, as a producer. Dr. Edward Young, the chief of our National Bureau of Statistics, Commerce and Navigation, has computed it at \$800, not counting the money the emigrant brings with him, which, he calculates, is spent by him in preparing to become a producer. If, then, we take the number of aliens who have come to our shores since the taking of the census 1870, until the year 1877, amounting, in round numbers, to say 2,000,000, we have an aggregate sum of \$1,600,000,000 added to our wealth within these seven years, by emigration alone. It is estimated by Dr. Young, that previous to 1870, there have been added to our wealth from the same source, \$6,243,880,800; making a total increment from emigration alone of \$7,843,880,800. It is estimated that sixty percent of all the emigrants who arrive are in the prime of life, and ready to enter at once into their several industrial pursuits.

Dr. Young, writing in 1875, says: "As regards nationality, more than one-half of those who have thus far arrived in the United States are British, and come from the United Kingdom, or from the British possessions of North America. These speak our language, and a large part are acquainted with our laws and institutions, and are soon associated with and absorbed into our body politic.

The German element comes next, and embraces nearly two-thirds of the remainder, being at once an industrious and an intelligent people, a large proportion settling in rural districts, and developing the agricultural resources of the West and South; while the remainder, consisting largely of artisans and skilled workmen, find profitable employment in the cities and manufacturing towns.

The influx of Scandinavians, who have already made extensive settlements in the northwestern States, constitutes a distinctive feature of the movement; and though but a few years since it received its first impetus, it is already large and rapidly increasing. Industrious, economical and temperate, their advent should be especially welcomed.

Asiatic emigration [Chinese], whatever views may be entertained of its influence upon our industries and customs, has not yet reached such proportions as to excite alarm in the most

apprehensive, and falls short of what has been represented, never having reached, in a single year, the number of 15,000 forming only about four percent of our total immigration. So small a number call easily be absorbed into a population (1870) of 40,000,000, and no injury result, if the movement be confined to voluntary immigration. A peculiarity of the Chinese immigration is the small number of females, not exceeding seven percent of the whole, a fact which seems to preclude a large increase of the pure race.

"The Latin nations contribute very little to our population, and the Slavic still less; while to-day, and from time immemorial, the different branches of the great Teutonic trunk are swarming forth from the most populous regions, to aid in the progress of civilization.

"While a brief review of the ethnic derivation of the millions who have transferred their allegiance from the Old World to the New, exhibits a favorable result, other elements of their value to this country require consideration. The wide contrast between skilled and unskilled labor, between industry and laziness, between economical habits and unthrift, indicates a marked variation in the capital value of the immigrant to this country. The unskilled laborers, who at once engage in subduing the forests, or cultivating the prairies, are of far more value to the country than those who remain in the large cities."

The "panic," the great tide of business revulsion that swept over the country in the autumn of 1873, prostrating thousands of commercial and manufacturing establishments, and so paralyzing various industries that the wages of hundreds of thousands of laborers were cut off or greatly reduced caused a sudden check to emigration. The great depression in the business of the country, which immediately ensued, caused a reflux tide of emigration. In 1874, the number of immigrants who returned to Europe, was 72,346, and in 1875 the number was 92,754. That business depression yet (1877) continues: but a gradual improvement is visible, with sure sign of returning prosperity. The reflux tide of emigration has almost ceased to flow, and the inflowing of a foreign population goes steadily on.

Over the firmament of the future of our country, at the time of President Grant's second inauguration, dark clouds soon appeared floating, and the) have hung there almost ever since, more or less foreboding of evil in their aspect. In some of the late slave-labor States there have been fitful evidences of existing discontent and rebellious feeling, the manifestations of which have given the National Government much anxiety and trouble. Indian hostilities" have continued as a sort of chronic disturber of the tranquillity of the nation, and especially of the settlements in mid-continent on the frontier borders of civilization.

Owing to the unwise feature of the "Peace-policy" inaugurated by President Grant, of a continuance of the vicious system of treating our barbarian population as foreigners, keeping them on reservations, and so making necessary the employment of agents and contractors, who are too frequently unscrupulous speculators, continually worrying the Indians and exciting their righteous anger, that policy, as we have observed, has not worked so well as its friends had hoped it would. There are nearly one hundred reservations upon which about one hundred and eighty thousand

Indians are seated. The aggregate area of these reservations is about one hundred and sixty-eight thousand square miles. Thirty-one of these are east of the Mississippi River, and upon the Pacific Slope are nineteen. The remainder are between these. There are about forty thousand Indians who have no lands awarded them by treaty, but they have reservations set apart for them upon the public lands of the United States, fifteen in number, and aggregating about sixty thousand square miles.

We have remarked that Indian wars have continued to disturb the repose of the Government and the frontier settlements. It is estimated that the potentially hostile tribes, at this time, number about sixty-four thousand; but they are widely scattered over a vast territory. War with such an enemy is exceedingly costly in men and money. War with the Cheyennes in 1864 caused about eight thousand troops to be taken from the armies engaged in suppressing the great insurrection, to fight the Indians. The result of the year's campaign was the killing of fifteen or twenty of the barbarians, at a cost of about one million dollars apiece, while hundreds of soldiers lost their lives, and many border settlers were butchered! This and subsequent wars with the Indians have cost our Government over \$100,000,000. How much cheaper and Christian-like it would have been to treat them with justice and kindness, as men and women possessed of souls and the qualities of common humanity, than as ravenous wild beasts, deserving only to feel the power of bail and sabre.

In the spring of 1873, difficulties occurred with the Modoc Indians who, for twenty years, had shown a hostile feeling toward the white people. A treaty had been made with them in 1864, which provided for the setting apart for them of seven hundred and sixty-eight thousand acres of land in Southern Oregon. Some of the tribe settled there; others, led by a chief known as "Captain Jack," a conspicuous warrior, preferred to remain where they were; but sullenly consented to go. Troubles with other Indians there caused the Modocs to leave the reservation and begin anew their depredations. It was finally determined to compel them to go to their reservation, when the Indians, under the immediate leadership of Captain Jack, broke out into open war late in 1872, and on the same day eleven citizens were murdered.

In January, 1873, a severe engagement occurred between the National troops and the Modocs, who were strongly intrenched among rocks and vast lava-beds. All attempts to dislodge them were made in vain, and a peace commission was appointed to confer with them, That commission reported, on the 1st of March, that the Modocs had agreed to surrender their arms and go to the reservation. On the following day they were compelled to report that the barbarians had changed their minds, and had rejected all propositions for a removal, and refused to go to the reservation. Then another peace commission was appointed, composed of General Canby, the Rev. Dr. Thomas, and others. They found the Modocs under the influence of Captain Jack very insolent in their bearing, and showing unmistakable signs of hostile feeling. Finally, on the 11th of April, 1873, while they were engaged in a council with the Indians, General Canby and Dr. Thomas were murdered by them, the savage warriors stealing upon them in a most cowardly manner.

This treachery caused the Government to make the most vigorous war upon the Modocs; and

before the first of June they were driven from the lava-beds and were completely subdued. Captain Jack was deserted by most of his followers, and was finally captured, with several of the participants in the murder. They were tried by a court-martial, in August, and six of them were condemned to death. Captain Jack and three of his companions were hanged on the 3rd of October following, at Fort Klamath, in Oregon.

In 1873, public attention, especially in the teeming West, was much occupied with the subject of cheap transportation along the courses of commerce from west to east. The matter was brought before the National Legislature, when it was decided by competent authority that Congress had, under an express provision of the Constitution, power to regulate commerce carried on by railroads. A bill was introduced, and passed the House of Representatives in March, 1874, for the institution of a board of commissioners (representing the nine judicial districts of the Republic) for the regulation of commerce carried by railroads among the several States. Nothing more was done. In that movement, a new organization, known as the "Patrons of Husbandry," took a conspicuous part. It was a secret order for the promotion of the various interests of agriculture, and had then become powerful in numbers and influence. Its growth had been marvellous. It was divided into local associations known as "Granges." There was a central or parent organization, called the National Grange, established at the capital of the Republic. State Granges were formed, with subordinate Granges in towns and counties. The membership consisted of men and women interested in agricultural pursuits.

These Granges first appeared in 1870. Their wonderful growth began in 1871, when there were only ninety in the whole country; in 1876, when they reached their maximum in strength, there were nineteen thousand. As the organization grew into immense proportions, politicians tried to seduce the Granges to their support; but the imperative rule of the Order, that no political or religious topics should be discussed at their meetings, foiled the politicians. In its aim, the organization was an admirable one and it was the first of the secret societies (for it had secret pass-words and methods of admission) which has admitted women to full membership. How could the Patrons of Husbandry do otherwise, when the work and influence of women in the business of agriculture in our country are so important? The value of their exertions may be estimated, in a degree, when we consider the vast amount of mental and physical labor now performed, directly or indirectly, by women in the food production of our country, as in all others. In the annual production here of more than six hundred million pounds of butter and two hundred and fifty million pounds of cheese, a very large proportion is the result of woman's labor, besides their attention to poultry, the gathering of honey, and the products of the garden and orchard. In the Great West, and especially among the foreign-born population, women do a vast amount of planting, weeding, cultivating, haying, harvesting, and even caring for live-stock.

During the year 1874, social and political affairs in several of the Southern States, particularly in Louisiana, were so unsettled that much uneasiness was produced in the public mind. Outrages of various kinds, and even murders, were committed in many places for the evident purpose of keeping peaceable citizens from the polls, and an utter disregard for law was shown. In September (1874), when these outrages were increasing in number and violence, the Attorney-General, with

the sanction of the President, issued a Circular-Letter to the authorities in the States alluded to, expressing his determination to take vigorous steps for upholding the laws and protecting the rights of all citizens of whatever class or hue; and the President directed the Secretary of War to consult and act with the Attorney-General in the matter. By prompt action on the part of the National Government, these outrages were nearly suppressed by the beginning of 1875 but they broke out with greater vehemence in the summer of 1876, and prevailed in fearful force during the canvass for President of the United States, in the autumn of that year. The leaders and inciters of these outrages were members of a secret organization known as the "White League," formed for the purpose of overawing the colored population, and depriving them of the privileges of the ballot.

The Indian, whose dusky visage has appeared prominent on almost every page of our national history, from the time of the arrival of the Northmen until now, became a conspicuous object again at the beginning of 1875. All through that year there were either threatened or actual hostilities on the part of the barbarians. General George A. Custer had been sent into the region known as the Black Hills, with a military force, to examine and report upon the state of affairs there. It is a region that had been set apart, by our Government, as a reservation for the powerful and warlike Sioux Indians. They are the most numerous of all the tribes, and more difficult to conquer than any body of barbarians within our domain. It is estimated that if they should rally all their strength, they might muster ten thousand warriors. The Black Hills, which had been assigned to them, occupy portions of the Territories of Dakota and Wyoming. Custer was charmed with the beauty and apparent fertility of that region of country. He reported it to be another Florida in the exuberance of its floral beauty, and also extremely rich in precious metals. The cupidity of frontiersmen was excited, and very soon prospecting miners appeared on the Sioux domain. Instructed by past experience of the bad faith of our Government, the Indians saw in these movements a sure sign of their final dispossession of these fair lands. Their jealousy was aroused. Their suspicions were well-founded; for near the close of 1874, a bill was introduced into Congress which provided for the extinguishment of the Indian title to so much of the Black Hills reservation as lay within the Territory of Dakota.

In the spring of 1875, Mr. Jenny, Government geologist, was sent to the Black Hills country to make a survey of that region. He was escorted by six companies of cavalry and two of infantry. This invasion of their reservation, and the significant presence of surveyors, confirmed the suspicions of the Sioux, of the design of our Government to deprive them of these lands; and all through that year they showed such unmistakable signs of preparations for war to defend their domain, that early in 1876 a strong military force was sent into the region of the Yellowstone River, in Montana Territory and the adjoining region, to watch the movements of the barbarians. Finally, a campaign against them was organized. The general plan was for the military force to make a simultaneous movement, under experienced leaders, in three columns, one from the Department of the Platte, led by General Crooke; one from the Department of Dakota, commanded by General Terry; and a third from the Territory of Montana, led by General Gibbon. The latter was to move with his column down the Valley of the Yellowstone, to prevent the Sioux from escaping northward; General Custer, at the same time, pushing across the country from the

Missouri to the Yellowstone to drive the Indians toward General Gibbon; while General Crooke was to scout the Black Hills and drive out any of the hostile Sioux that might be found there. The expedition was under the chief command of General Alfred H. Terry, a brave, judicious, and experienced officer. He and his staff accompanied Custer from Fort Abraham Lincoln to the Yellowstone River. On their arrival in the vicinity, at about the first of June (1876), and communicating with General Gibbon, they found that Indians were in that neighborhood, in large numbers, and well supplied with munitions of war.

The reports of scouts caused a belief that the Indians, with their great movable village, were in the meshes of the net prepared for them near the waters of the Big and Little Horn, Powder and Tongue rivers (tributaries of the Yellowstone), and Rosebud Creek. The concentrated troops began to feel for themselves. On the 17th of June, Crooke had a sharp fight with a superior force of Sioux, who were thoroughly armed and equipped, and was obliged to retreat. Terry and Gibbon met at the mouth of the Rosebud. Custer was there, at the head of the stronger column, consisting of the whole of the Seventh regiment of cavalry, composed of twelve companies, and he was ordered to make the attack. He and Gibbon marched toward the vicinity of the Big Horn River.

Custer arrived first and discovered an immense Indian camp on a plain. He had been directed to await the arrival of Gibbon, to cooperate with him, before making an attack; but inferring that the Indians were moving off, he directed Colonel Reno to attack them at one point with seven companies of the cavalry, while he dashed off with five companies (about three hundred men) to attack at another point. A terrible struggle ensued on the 25th of June, 1876, with a body of Indians, in number five to one of the white men. They were commanded by an educated, bold and skillful chief named Sitting Bull." Custer and almost his entire command were slain. Two hundred and sixty-one were killed and fifty were wounded.

With General Custer perished two of his brothers, a brother-in-law, and other gallant officers. Many of them had doubtless been murdered after they had been captured, and their bodies were horribly mutilated. The body of the general was afterward found and fully identified. It was taken to Fort Abraham Lincoln, in Dakota Territory, where provision was made for its conveyance to West Point, on the Hudson River, for interment. It was at first sent to Poughkeepsie, at midsummer, 1877, and deposited in the receiving vault of the Rural Cemetery there, where it remained until the 10th of October following, when it was conveyed to West Point, with a certificate from the post-surgeon of Fort Lincoln, that the burial casket contained the remains of General George A. Custer, lieutenant-colonel Seventh cavalry, killed at the battle of Big Horn River, June 25, 1876. The casket containing the remains was escorted to the steamboat that conveyed it to West Point, by Poughkeepsie military, followed by the mayor and common council of that city, and a large number of citizens in carriages and on foot. It was received at West Point by a guard of honor, and buried with imposing ceremonies, religious and military.

The news of the destruction of Custer and his command produced much excitement throughout the country; and the Government immediately ordered a large military force into the

region of the Black Hills, for the purpose of utterly crushing the power of the Sioux. Sitting Bull and his followers, anticipating severe chastisement, at length withdrew into the British possessions, where they remained until the summer of 1881.

We have alluded to the fact that the Territory of Colorado had to wait for admission into the Union as a State, ten years after first making application for the privilege. That act was consummated on the 4th of July, 1876, by a decision of Congress, and was the crowning achievement in our national growth at the end of the first century of the political existence of the Republic. By that act it was made to comprise thirty-eight independent States within its sovereign control. There are, also, ten Territories besides, each making rapid progress in population and the development of its resources. All are preparing for admission into the Union as States, at a time not distant in the future. Two bounded domains, namely, the Indian Territory and Alaska, have not yet secured Territorial governments, with chief magistrates, and legislatures, and with representatives in Congress.

Alaska is a large domain, lying in the extreme northwestern portion of the North American Continent, and separated from the States and Territories by British possessions. It was purchased from Russia, in 1867, for the sum of \$7,200,000 in gold. Its seal and other fisheries, and timber, are very valuable. According to official reports, in 1873, the Alaska Commercial Company, of San Francisco, supply eighty percent of the fur of seals killed, in the world, and therefore have a virtual monopoly of that trade and in 1870, the product of other fisheries was large. In salted codfish alone, it was ten million six hundred and ten thousand pounds.

The Indian Territory lies west of Arkansas and Missouri, between Kansas and Colorado on the north, and Texas on the south, and with Texas and New Mexico on its western borders. In 1870, it contained a population of about sixty thousand Indians, twenty-four thousand white people, and between six and seven thousand colored people. It comprises seventeen Indian reservations, upon which are settled as the principal nations of the dusky occupants, Cherokees, Creeks, Choctaws, Chickasaws, and Seminoles. Many of these are civilized, and are following the pursuits of civilization. They cultivate the soil and raise live-stock. The value of their agricultural productions is over \$5,000,000, annually; and of their live-stock, in 1875, over \$10,000,000. The Choctaws, who have about fifty thousand acres of cultivated land, possessed over one hundred thousand horses, one hundred thousand horned cattle, eight thousand sheep, and one hundred and fifty thousand swine. It is clear to the judgment of judicious observers, that the Indian makes a better herdsman than agriculturist.

Chapter CXXXVII

A Centennial Exhibition Proposed - First Practical Measures Adopted - The Subject Presented to Congress - Action of Congress - Commissioners Appointed - Organization of the Centennial Commission - Centennial Board of Finance - Official Seal - Preparations for Buildings - Grounds Devoted to the Exhibition - Action of the Government - Medals Authorized - Exhibition Buildings and Their Extent - Women's Work - Unpatriotic Action in Congress - Opening of the Exhibition - Whittier's Centennial Hymn - The Result of the Exhibition - Its Close.

THE year 1876 was not only a "Presidential year," but a "Centennial year," in the life of the Republic. On the 4th of July was the anniversary of the great act which, supported by the people, secured to the thirteen English- American colonies their political independence of Great Britain.

When the Centennial year was approaching, the American people came to the conclusion that a celebration at that time would be appropriate. Taking a retrospective glance at the progress of the Republic during the century, they perceived that it was marvelous, in comparison with that of any nation on the globe. With pardonable egotism they resolved to display the result of that progress by an exhibition of the products of American industry, skill, science and invention, in a great fair to be held in 1876, and to invite the nations of the earth to bring their products to the same fair, in a spirit of generous rivalry in well-doing for the benefit of mankind.

Among those who first suggested a Centennial Exhibition, the names of John Bigelow, now (1877) Secretary of the State of New York; Charles B. Norton, United States Commissioner at the Paris exhibition in 1867 Professor John L. Campbell of Wabash College, Indiana, and M. Richards Muckle of Philadelphia. The last-named gentleman first suggested (in a letter written to President Grant, on the 4th of July, 1869) Fairmount Park, in Philadelphia, as an appropriate place for holding a grand musical celebration of one week's duration, by twelve hundred performers, in a building to be erected in the Park that would accommodate one hundred thousand persons. The first recorded suggestion "that the Centennial celebration involve an International Exhibition to be held in Philadelphia," was made in a letter, written in 1866, by Professor Campbell.

The idea of a Centennial celebration was nebulous, at first, in the public mind, but it soon assumed regular form and a luminous aspect. And when Philadelphia was first suggested as the most appropriate place for celebrating the one hundredth anniversary of American Independence, there was universal approval. In that city the resolution declaring the "English-American colonies to be free and independent States," was drawn up, and adopted by the Continental Congress. In that city the great preamble to that Declaration was written, adopted by the Congress, and signed by a majority of the members of that body; and in that city, the hall was yet in existence in which the Congress was convened when the great act was performed. At what other place could that celebration be as appropriately held? None whatever.

The first practical step toward making Philadelphia the theatre of the proposed event, was taken by the Franklin Institute of that city, in an address to the municipal authorities thereof in

which the use of Fairmount Park for a Centennial celebration was asked for. When this address was presented, a resolution for the appointment of a committee of seven from each chamber of the city legislature was adopted, and the measure was carried into effect. John L. Shoemaker was appointed chairman of that Joint Committee, and steps were immediately taken to interest the State and National legislatures in the project.

The Legislature of the State of Pennsylvania, by resolution, asked the National Congress to take action in favor of a Centennial celebration to be held in the city of Philadelphia, and appointed a committee of ten to visit Washington and present a memorial to Congress on the subject. This committee was joined by that appointed by the Councils of Philadelphia, and they arranged a memorial which was laid before Congress by the Hon. William Kelley, a representative of Pennsylvania. He warmly urged the claims of Philadelphia to the privilege and honor of having such celebration within her borders. Early in March, 1870, Hon. Daniel J. Morrell (also a representative of Pennsylvania) offered a bill providing for a celebration in or near Philadelphia, in 1876. That bill was afterward modified somewhat, and, being adopted, became a law by receiving the willing signature of President Grant on the 3rd of March, 1871. At that time the character of the celebration was clearly defined. It was determined to make it a purely national affair - the occasion of a display of the products of our own country. The object of the act was clearly set forth in the following preamble to the bill:

Whereas, The Declaration of Independence of the United States of America was prepared, signed and promulgated in 1776, in the city of Philadelphia; and

Whereas, It behooves the People of the United States to celebrate, by appropriate ceremonies, the Centennial anniversary of this memorable and decisive event, which constituted the 4th day of July, A. D. 1776, the birthday of the nation; and

Whereas, It is deemed fitting that the completion of the first century of our national existence shall be commemorated by an exhibition of the national resources of the country and their development, and of its progress in those arts which benefit mankind, in comparison with those of older nations; and

Whereas, No place is so appropriate for such an exhibition as the city in which occurred the event it is designed to commemorate; and

Whereas, As the exhibition should be a national celebration in which the people of the whole country should participate, it should have the sanction of the Congress of the United States; therefore," etc.

The bill provided for a National Commission to be appointed by the President of the United States, and to be composed of one commissioner and one alternate commissioner for each State and Territory in the Union; these commissioners to be nominated by the governors of the respective States and Territories. The bill also provided for the celebration or exhibition to be

held at Philadelphia, and secured the National Government against all liability for any expenses or losses incident to the conduct of the affair.

Under the provisions of this bill the President appointed commissioners and alternate commissioners, and these were named as corporators. They were invited to assemble at Philadelphia on the 4th of March, 1872, for the purpose of effecting an organization. On the appointed day, representatives of twenty-four States, three Territories and the District of Columbia, were present. In a parlor of the Continental Hotel they were temporarily organized, when they proceeded in a body to Independence Hall, in the State-House, where they were received with an address of welcome by the mayor of the city (Mr. Stokeley), which was responded to by General Jos. R. Hawley of Connecticut. In another room, they made a permanent organization, by the appointment of General Hawley President of the Centennial Commission, and other officers. Some changes were afterward made; and at the opening of the Centennial year, the following persons composed the officers of the Commission: President, Joseph R. Hawley; Vice-Presidents, Orestes Cleveland, John D. Creigh, Robert Lowry, Thomas H. Coldwell, John McNeil, and William Gurney; Directory-General, Alfred T. Goshorn; Secretary, John L. Campbell; Counsellor and Solicitor, John L. Shoemaker.

On the first of June, 1872, Congress passed an act by which provision was made for a Centennial Board of Finance. The members of this board were authorized to secure subscriptions to a capital stock not exceeding \$10,000,000, in shares of \$10 each. Provision was also made for the opening of books of subscription to the stock on the 21st of November, 1872, to be kept open one hundred days, in order to give citizens in each State and Territory an opportunity to subscribe for the stock. Under this act, a meeting of the corporators and subscribers to the stock was held in Philadelphia after the expiration of the one hundred days, to choose the Centennial Board of Finance - another name for a board of directors. The meeting was held in the spring of 1873, when a board was chosen consisting of twenty-five stockholders. It was organized by the appointment of John Welsh of Philadelphia, President William Sellers of Philadelphia and John S. Barbour of Virginia, Vice-Presidents, and Frederick Fraley of Philadelphia, Secretary and Treasurer. The remainder of the twenty-five were appointed Directors. William Bigler was chosen Financial Agent, Henry Pettit, Joseph M. Wilson and H. Swarzmman, Engineers and Architects and an Executive Committee of thirteen, with Myers Asch, Secretary.

An official seal was adopted. It was quite simple in design and elegantly executed. The title of the organization - The United States Centennial Commission - was placed in concentric circles around the edge of the seal. In the centre was a view of the State-House as it appeared when the Declaration of Independence was signed in its principal room and beneath the building were the words which were cast on the State-House bell, many years before the Revolution, and which, in the summer of 1776, had great significance: "PROCLAIM LIBERTY THROUGHOUT THE LAND, AND TO ALL THE INHABITANTS THEREOF."

Very soon after the organization of the Centennial Commission, it was determined to make the affair international instead of national - an exhibition of the products of the industry of all nations.

Fairmount Park was engaged for the Exhibition. That Park consists of extensive public grounds belonging to the city of Philadelphia, through which the Schuylkill River flows in a sinuous course about seven miles. The work of preparing the grounds for the erection of buildings for the Exhibition was begun in the spring of 1873, and on the 4th of July that year the Park Commissioners formally surrendered a portion of the grounds designated for the Exhibition into the custody of the Centennial Commission, with imposing ceremonies. The act took place in the presence of an immense multitude of citizens. Bishop Simpson, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, opened the proceedings by a prayer, when Hon. Morton McMichael, President of the Park Commission, made the surrender, with a brief address. General Hawley followed with a short discourse, formally accepting the grounds, and closed with the direction that the National flag should be unfurled and saluted. When it was spread to the gentle breeze, the trumpeter of the City Troop gave a signal blast. Then the "Keystone Battery," stationed near, fired thirteen guns in honor of the event. A military review, a banquet, and fireworks succeeded. The plat of ground assigned for the Exhibition contained four hundred and sixty-five acres, and occupied a plateau on rising ground.

Before the transfer of the ground, the President of the United States had issued a proclamation, setting forth that an exhibition of "arts, manufactures, and the products of the soil and mines would be held at the city of Philadelphia, beginning on the 19th of April, and ending on the 19th of October, 1876. The proclamation concluded with the following words:

And in the interest of peace, civilization, and domestic and international friendship and intercourse, I commend the Celebration and Exhibition to the people of the United States and in behalf of the Government and people, I cordially commend them to all nations who may be pleased to take part therein."

The Secretary of State (Hamilton Fish) immediately addressed a note to all the foreign ministers in the United States (in which he inclosed the President's proclamation and the regulations adopted by the Commission), setting forth the objects of the Exhibition. In that note the Secretary said:

The President indulges the hope that the government of will be pleased to notice the subject, and may deem it proper to bring the Exhibition and its objects to the attention of the people of that country, and thus encourage their co-operation in the proposed Celebration. And he further hopes that the opportunity afforded by the Exhibition for the interchange of national sentiment and friendly intercourse between the people of both nations, may result in new and still greater advantages to science and industry, and at the same time serve to strengthen the bonds of peace and friendship which already happily subsist between the government and people of and those of the United States."

The question had been discussed, for a long time, in and out of Congress, whether the Exhibition should be national or international. It had finally been settled by an act of Congress, passed in June, 1874, which requested the President to extend, in the name of the United States, a

respectful and cordial invitation to the governments of other nations to be represented and take part in the Centennial Exposition."

Congress also passed an act authorizing the striking of medals commemorative of the first meeting of the Continental Congress, and the Declaration of Independence. These were prepared at the United States Mint in Philadelphia, and were appropriate in design and elegant in workmanship. That which commemorated the Declaration of Independence bore upon one side a feminine figure that represented the Genius of Liberty, with a sword buckled to her girdle. On a shield, leaning at rest, were the Stars and Stripes. Liberty extended both her hands in token of welcome, in each of which was a chaplet which she presented respectively to two other feminine figures representing Art and Science. These had brought evidences of their skill and craft to do honor to the occasion indicated by the date of 1876 inscribed on the platform. Around the device were the words: "IN COMMEMORATION OF THE ONE HUNDREDTH ANNIVERSARY OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE," and "ACT OF CONGRESS, JUNE, 1874." On the other side of the medal was a feminine figure representing the Genius of America, just rising from a recumbent position, and grasping a sword in her right hand, while her left hand was raised toward a galaxy of thirteen stars, which indicated the original thirteen colonies. Beneath this figure was the date, 1776. Around the whole were the words from Richard Henry Lee's resolution, passed on the 2nd of July, 1776: "THESE COLONIES ARE, AND OF RIGHT OUGHT TO BE, FREE AND INDEPENDENT STATES."

On the 18th of July, 1874, Congress passed an act for the admission free of duties, of all articles intended for the Exhibition and the preliminary work and arrangements being completed, contracts were made for the erection of suitable buildings for the Exhibition. These were five in number, and were erected at a total cost of \$4,444,000. They were named, respectively, the "Main Exhibition Building," "Memorial Hall or Art Gallery," "Machinery Hall," "Horticultural Hall," and "Agricultural Hall."

The Memorial Hall and Horticultural Hall were elegant structures, and remain as permanent buildings in Fairmount Park. They are a constant source of pleasure to thousands of visitors.

Memorial Hall or Art Gallery was the first building erected. The construction of it was begun on the 4th of July, 1874, and cost \$1,500,000. Horticultural Hall was begun on the first of April, 1875, and cost \$251,937. A week later Machinery Hall was begun, and cost \$792,000. In May, that year, the Main Building, covering twenty-one acres and a half, was begun, and cost \$1,600,000; and Agricultural Hall was begun on the 15th of October, 1875, and cost \$300,000. It was the last one completed, having been finished on the first day of February, 1876. These several buildings covered about forty-nine acres of ground, and had annexes that covered twenty-six acres, making a total of seventy-five acres; a much greater space than was ever before covered by any Exhibition buildings. Besides these there were numerous other structures erected by national and individual exhibitors, and by our several States and Territories, making the whole number on the Centennial grounds one hundred and ninety.

The managers of the Exhibition classified it into seven departments, namely, Mining and Metallurgy, Manufactures, Education and Science, Art, Machinery, Agriculture, and Horticulture. From the beginning, the women of our country manifested great interest in the enterprise and when, in the summer of 1875, it was found that applications for space from foreign countries were so numerous that, under the rules for classification, much work done by women would be thrown out, or lost among the crowd of masculine exhibitors, a separate building for women was suggested. The idea created much enthusiasm among the women of our land, and very soon, through their exertions, ample means were provided for the erection and equipment of such a building. Under the leadership of Mrs. E. D. Gillespie of Philadelphia, and with the sanction of the Centennial Commission, a Women's Centennial Committee was formed, composed of active women in various States and Territories. Mrs. Gillespie was appointed President; Mrs. John Sanders, Vice-President; Mrs. Frank M. Etting, Secretary, and Mrs. S. A. Irwin, Treasurer.

A Woman's Executive Committee was formed, composed of Philadelphians. They proposed to erect a building for the exhibition of the highest types of women's work, in sculpture, painting, literature, engraving, telegraphy, lithography, needlework, education of all kinds, etc., at a cost of \$30,000. It was done, and much more. An appeal was made to the women of the United States, and in the space of a hundred days, they had contributed a sum sufficient for the building and for interior decorations. A sub-committee of the Women's Executive Committee gathered a vast amount of information concerning women's work in religious, philanthropic and patriotic efforts, which include their labors in homes, asylums, missionary fields at home and abroad, sisterhoods, industrial schools, and in the cause of temperance and moral reform. The women of our land also contributed to the general fund of the Centennial Commission more than \$100,000. The building which they erected was an elegant structure, covering thirty thousand square feet, and was called the "Women's Pavilion." In it was displayed in profusion the products of women's fingers. Among them were elegant needlework from a royal institution in London, and etchings by the hand of Victoria, late queen of England.

The time for the opening and closing the Centennial Exhibition was changed to the 10th of May and the 10th of November. With good judgment, perseverance and untiring industry, the managers pushed forward the preparations for opening at the appointed time. Ten million dollars were required for the purpose. That was a large sum to be raised by voluntary subscription at any time. Since the beginning of the preparations, the country had suffered from an unusually protracted depression in all industrial pursuits; yet the people of the country responded nobly to the drafts on their patriotism and their purses. But at the opening of the Centennial year there were yet lacking for the completion of the preparations \$1,500,000. Congress was appealed to for the amount. More than thirty nations had accepted the invitation of our Government to participate in the Exhibition, and were preparing to come with their industrial treasures and every patriotic American felt that nothing should be wanting to make the Exhibition what it had promised to be. And yet there was seen in Congress the mortifying spectacle of a powerful minority, who opposed a bill for the appropriation of that amount, and voted against it. The act was passed, however; but the appropriation was made still less gracious and more conspicuously unpatriotic by a feature which required the Centennial Commission to refund the amount to the

Government in the event of any surplus remaining after the expenses were paid. This was actually done, to the full amount.

The great Centennial Exhibition was opened on the 10th of May, 1876. The morning dawned with a lowering sky, as preceding mornings had done, and there were the usual threatenings of a rainy day. But the weatherprophet at the Signal Office in Washington had predicted, at midnight, "clearing weather," and so truthful are his utterances generally, that the people believed them then, and prepared for the enjoyment of a fine day Nor were they disappointed.

On that May morning, the city of Philadelphia was brilliantly clothed in Stars and Stripes. Our national banner floated over every pinnacle, and waved from almost every window and balcony when the hour of sunrise came and the clouds that overspread the heavens began to break. At about nine o'clock a vast flood of strangers and citizens began to flow toward the Centennial grounds. It increased every moment, and soon filled the broad street in front of the main entrance. Only privileged ones were permitted to enter first - the Women's Committee, and representatives in Congress and of foreign governments. A large number of the Women's Work Committee, each decorated with a brilliant silver star, led the van. These, with our own and foreign representatives, took seats upon a large platform which had been erected in front of Memorial Hall, under the flag of their respective nations. Before ten o'clock, Dom Pedro, Emperor of Brazil (the only foreign potentate present), with his empress leaning upon his arm, arrived, and took his seat under the Brazilian flag, greeted by the cheers of the immense multitude that thronged the grounds in that vicinity. More than one hundred thousand had passed through the gates, and stood in a surging mass, while the orchestra of Theodore Thomas, placed near the front of the platform, played airs that were familiar to the ears of representatives of the nations present, closing with our own Hail Columbia! These sweet sounds repressed, in a great degree, the rising passions of the much-jostled multitude. The sun had burst forth in splendor, and the promises at his rising were fulfilled.

At length the President of the United States appeared upon the platform, accompanied by his wife, when the orchestra performed the "Grand Centennial March," prepared for the occasion by the eminent German composer, Richard Wagner. Then Bishop Simpson, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, uttered fervent thanksgivings to the Almighty, in the name of our people, for his great goodness in the past, and implored His blessings in the future. He specially asked the bestowal of great mercies upon the women of our land who, then, for the first time in the history of our race, had taken so conspicuous a part in a national celebration. "May the light of their intelligence, purity and enterprise," he said, "shed its beams afar, until, in distant lands, their sisters may realize the beauty and glory of Christian freedom and elevation."

When the prayer was ended, choral music went up from the lips of a thousand singers on the platform, who chanted the following beautiful and impressive "Centennial Hymn," composed by John Greenleaf Whittier, accompanied by the organ and the whole orchestra:

Our father's God, from out whose hand
The centuries fall like grains of sand,
We meet to-day,

united, free, And loyal to our land and Thee, To thank Thee for the era done And trust Thee for the opening one.

Here where of old, by Thy design, The fathers spoke that word of Thine, Whose echo is the glad refrain Of rended bolt and falling chain, To grace our festal time, from all The zones of earth our guests we call.

Be with us while the New World greets The Old World thronging all its streets, Unvailing all the triumphs won By art or toil beneath the sun And unto common good ordain This rivalry of hand and brain.

Thou who hast here in concord furled The war-flags of a gathered world, Beneath our western skies fulfill The Orient's mission of good-will, And freighted with Love's golden fleece, Send back the Argonauts of peace.

For Art and Labor met in truce, For beauty made the bride of Use, We thank Thee while withal we crave The austere virtues strong to save; The honor, proof to place or gold, The manhood never bought and sold.

O! make thou us, through centuries long In peace secure, in justice strong; Around our gift of Freedom draw The safeguards of Thy righteous law, And, cast in some diviner mould, Let the new cycle shame the old!

When the chanting of that grand hymn was ended, the Hon. John Welsh, President of the Centennial Board of Finance, formally presented the buildings to the United States Centennial Commission. Then a cantata, composed by Sidney Lanier, of Georgia, and set to exquisite music by Mr. Buck, was sung, when General Hawley, president of the Centennial Commission, at the close of a short speech, presented the Exhibition to the President of the United States. The latter made a brief response. At the end of these ceremonies, the American flag was unfurled over the great tower of the Main Building, as a signal to the multitude that the Centennial Exhibition was open. That multitude listened to (or joined in) the singing of Handel's magnificent Hallelujah Chorus, and then, dispersing, spread over the grounds and through the great buildings.

The Centennial Exhibition was eminently successful in every aspect of the affair. The management was judicious throughout; the police regulations and the provisions for comfort and security were perfect; and its financial success, considering the depressed state of the business of the country, was decided. In the extent of the Exhibition space, the amount and variety of the products of industry there gathered, and the number of the visitors, this World's Fair exceeded all others that had preceded it, either municipal, national, or international. The buildings of the first International Exhibition, held in London, in 1851, covered a space of twenty acres, and those of a similar Exhibition in 1862 covered a little over twentyfive acres. The buildings of the Paris Exhibition, in 1867, covered thirty-one acres, and those of Vienna, in 1873, covered fifty-six acres. The buildings constructed under the directions of the Centennial Commission, with their

annexes, as we have observed (exclusive of those erected by the General and State governments), covered seventy-five acres. In these buildings, thirty-three nations besides our own, exhibited the products of their industry, namely, Argentine Republic, Austria, Hungary, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, Chili, China, Denmark, Egypt, France, Germany, Great Britain and Ireland, India and British Colonies, Hawaiian Islands, Italy, Japan, Luxemburg Grand Duchy, Liberia, Mexico, Netherlands, Norway, Orange Free State, Peru, Portugal, Russia, San Domingo, Spain and Spanish Colonies, Siam, Sweden, Switzerland, Tunis, Turkey, and Venezuela.

The Centennial Exhibition was open for pay admissions one hundred and fifty-nine days, the pay-gates being closed on Sundays. The total number of cash admissions at fifty cents each was 7,250,620, and at twenty-five cents each, 753,654. The number of free admissions was 1,906,692, making a grand total of 9,910,965 admissions. During the very hot summer, the number of admissions were comparatively few. The smallest number in a full month was in July, when the weather was excessively hot, and the rural population were engaged in the harvests. The number was 906,447. The largest number of admissions in a full month, was in October, when 2,663,911 persons were admitted. The largest number admitted in a single day was 274,919. That was on the "Pennsylvania Day," Thursday, September 28th. The total amount of cash receipts during the Exhibition was \$3,813,725.50.

The Grand international Exhibition was closed on the 10th of November with appropriate ceremonies. After the performance of Wagner's "Inaugural March," a prayer, singing, and speeches by officers of the Centennial Commission, the President of the United States stepped to the front of the platform, and in quiet tones said to the multitude before him "I now declare the Centennial Exhibition closed." Then the message - "The President has this moment closed the International Centennial Exhibition, 3:37 P. M., November 10, 1876" - was sent by telegraph all over the Union and across the seas; and the immense congregation joined in singing the Christian Doxology). The great Corliss engine that had driven acres of machinery for six months, gave one or two strokes, when the giant fell asleep and ceased to move. The American Centennial Exhibition had passed into history.

The close of this interesting and important exhibition is a favorable opportunity for briefly recapitulating the story of American Progress from the foundation of the Republic down to 1876. To this end, therefore, our next chapter is appropriately devoted.

Chapter CXXXVIII

Growth, Extent and Population of Our Domain - Progress in Agriculture and Its Products - Mineral Wealth - Beginning of Manufactures - Early Industries and Their Productions - Value of Agricultural and Manufactured Products - Commerce, Foreign and Domestic - Post Routes - Canals - The West - Steamboats and Railways - Banking and Insurance - Electro-Magnetic Telegraph and Its Uses - Religious Denominations - Conclusion.

THE progress of our Republic in all departments of activity during the past one hundred years has been marvelous. In 1776, its domain comprised only a narrow border of the continent along the ocean coasts for almost a thousand miles, with an average width between the sea and the lofty Alleghany mountains of about thirty leagues. The extent of the domain of the new-born Republic was then 800,000 square miles now it forms an irregular belt across the continent from ocean to ocean, embracing an area of 3,500,000 square miles of land and water. Our population in 1776 was a little more than a million and a half; now it is full eighty million.

Agriculture, the primary source of wealth, woos manufactures as a help-mate, and these, wedded, become the parents of commerce. The latter promotes social refinement as manifested by the cultivation of the fine arts, science, literature and education; and these foster true religion and morality, the basis of highest civilization. These processes of growth may be seen in the history of our country within the past one hundred years.

Agriculture here, in 1776, was simply an art, not a science. The tillers were ignorant of the principles of vegetable production and followed the methods of their forefathers, without question. The country was sparsely settled; and social attrition, which expands the mind, was then very slight. The implements of labor, made by common carpenters or blacksmiths, were very rude. They were nearly all moved by human muscle, for the use of labor-saving machinery was unknown in our country, and improvements were opposed as innovations. Farm work was then far more laborious and less productive than now. The plow of that day required more than double the strength of man and beast to manage it than does the plow at present; and the improvements made in that implement alone, within the last fifty years, save, annually, to the farmers of our country in the cost of work and teams, at least \$12,000,000. A large proportion of the agricultural work was performed then by negro slaves in the region south of Baltimore; and in the loose soil of the cotton-growing States, the hoe was the substitute for the plow in the hands of men and women.

The cereals, potatoes, Flax and tobacco, were the chief products of the soil in 1776; for the cultivation of the cotton-plant, as an article of commerce, was then unknown. The invention of Whitney's Cotton-Gin, for separating the seed from the fibre, gave a wonderful impetus to this branch of agriculture in the closing decade of the 18th century. That machine performed the work of a thousand hands, and made the cotton culture profitable. The entire production of cotton in the United States, in 1791, was 2,000,000 pounds; 100 years later the average annual product was over 1,500,000,000 pounds. It is estimated that one-half of the entire cotton product of the earth

is raised in the United States.

The seed of our cereals was all sown by hand a hundred years ago, and the standing grain was cut with a sickle and threshed with a flail. Now drills scatter the seed, and ingenious machines not only cut the crop and gather it into sheaves, but thresh and winnow it for market. Then the hay crop was cut with a handscythe, and cured and gathered entire]y by human labor; now ingenious machines do all that labor with very little of man's strength. These machines and a hundred others that now do the work of men's hands, have nearly all been invented within fifty years.

In 1776, almost the whole agricultural products of our country, including live-stock, were used for the support of the million and a half inhabitants; 1876 42,000,000 were fed and largely clothed from the products of our soil, while a vast surplus of our cereal and fibrous productions were sent to other countries. In 1870, there were 189,000,000 acres of improved farm land in our country, which produced in cereals (in round numbers) wheat, 288,000,000 bushels rye, 17,000,000 Indian corn, 761,000,000; oats, 282,000,000; barley, 30,000,000; buckwheat, 10,000,000 bushels; and rice, 74,000,000 pounds. Of the common potato, there were raised 143,000,000 bushels, and of the sweet potato, 22,000,000 bushels. The hay crop amounted to 28,000,000 tons, and the tobacco crop to 363,000,000 pounds. Of the principal fibrous products there were raised that year over 1,200,000,000 pounds of cotton. The average annual product, as we have observed, is now greater. The amount of flax raised was 27,000,000 pounds; wool, 100,000,000 pounds; silk cocoons about 4,000 pounds, and 13,000 tons of hemp.

There were also produced 87,000 hogsheads of cane sugar, and 28,000,000 pounds of maple sugar; also nearly 7,000,000 gallons of molasses from the cane, 16,000,000 gallons from sorghum cane, and 921,000 gallons of maple molasses. Fruit culture in our country was so limited that it was not recognized in the national census until 1840. Orchards were small, and bore inferior fruit and there was scarcely a nursery for the sale of apple trees in our broad land sixty years ago now there are hundreds, and full 30,000,000 trees are sold annually. In 1870, the products of our orchards were valued at \$48,000,000; and the total value of the increasing grape crop in the United States, cannot now be less than \$30,000,000. The choicest varieties of fruit and berries are now cultivated everywhere in the Republic.

On the same acreage of unimproved farm lands there were, in 1870, not less than 7,200,000 horses 1,125,000 mules 9,000,000 cows; 1,320,000 working oxen; 13,570,000 other cattle; 29,000,000 sheep, and more than 25,000,000 swine. These animals are now far superior in every way to those on the farms a hundred years ago. In 1768, Washington recorded in his diary, that with one hundred cows on his Mount Vernon estate, he was compelled to buy butter for his family In 1870, the dairy products of our cows, annually, were 514,000,000 pounds of butter; 54,000,000 pounds of cheese, and 236,000,000 gallons of milk, not used in the manufacture of butter and cheese. This gave more than twelve pounds of butter (besides cheese and milk) to every man, woman and child in the land. In 1790, when the first census was taken and the population was about 4,000,000, the value of the agricultural products of our country was about \$150,000,000; in 1870, the value including crops, live-stock, "betterments," forest, garden and

orchard products, was estimated at almost \$3,000,000,000.

Out of the bosom of our country a vast amount of mineral wealth has been drawn within a comparatively few years coal iron, copper, lead, petroleum and the precious metals. Only within a little more than fifty years, mineral coal has become an article of domestic commerce with us. In 1820, there were sent to market only 365 tons of anthracite; in 1870, the annual production was about 25,000,000 tons. The entire coal product of our country annually, is over 50,000,000 tons, one-half of which is bituminous. Pennsylvania alone produces seventy-two per cent of the amount.

Iron has been known to exist in abundance, in our country, ever since the first settlements; but the restrictive commercial policy of Great Britain caused it to be left almost untouched until after the Revolution. Then, with manufactures freed from restraint, it was mined in ever-increasing quantities, until now the product is enormous, a greater portion of which is used in the manufactures of our own country. Copper is not very abundant in the United States. In 1870, there were forty copper-mining establishments here, and the value of their annual product was about \$5,200,000. Our lead mines seem to be decreasing in their yield, the amount of production being now less than 20,000 tons a year. Petroleum, a new article of commerce among our mineral wealth, has been a marvel of production. It was first made a marketable product about fifteen years ago; in 1875, we exported 220,000,000 gallons of petroleum, chiefly as kerosene or other illuminating oils, besides a vast amount consumed at home.

The production of the precious metals drawn from the bosom of the earth in our country, has been remarkable only within about forty-five years. At the time when gold was discovered in California (1848) only a small amount of that metal had found its way to our Mint, and that chiefly from the Southern States. The value of the total amount of that metal mined in those States, from the time of its first discovery until 1873, was only \$20,500,000. From 1848 to 1873, the total value of the gold product of our country, was \$1,241,000,000. Very little silver had been found here until after gold had been discovered in California. Our country was not known as a silver producing region but the gold miners of California, who became numerous and ambitious when "prospecting," discovered rich deposits of silver. Now the United States contains the greatest silver producing regions on the globe, the average annual yield being not less in value than \$100,000,000, and is continually increasing.

The growth of manufactures and the mechanic arts in the United States is the work of less than a hundred years. Before the Revolution these were discouraged in the colonies, as we have seen, by the British government; and it was only when necessity compelled the people, during the war for independence, to carry on domestic manufactures, that such industries may be said to have existed here. It was almost simultaneous with the departure of the last British soldier from our shores, in 1783, that Oliver Evans introduced his grain-mill, and Fitch and Rumsey proved the possibility of navigation by steam. The first cotton-mill in the United States was set in motion at Beverly, Massachusetts, in 1787; and the only woolen mill in our country was in operation at Hartford, when Samuel Slater, in 1790, introduced Arkwright's spinning-machine, and so laid the foundation of the manufacture of textile fabrics here as a national industry. Already the

manufacture of iron had been begun, and the inventive genius of the American people was aroused to action. The records of our Patent Office give indications of its ever-increasing activity. During the ten years ending with 1800, the number of patents issued in the United States was 306; during the ten years ending in 1870, the number was 79,612. From 1790 to 1870, the whole number issued was 120,028. Within that period, the steam-vessel, locomotive and railway, electromagnetic telegraph and sewing-machine - all perfected inventions by Americans - appeared, with thousands of other mechanical contrivances which have made ours a leading manufacturing nation. Our iron is fashioned into everything of which it is capable, from the tiny watch-screw that requires 150,000 to weigh a pound, to the locomotive and railway bridge. In 1870, we manufactured cotton goods valued at \$178,000,000, and woolen goods estimated at \$155,000,000; and the same year we carried over 13,000,000 sides and skins of leather, which we manufactured into goods valued at almost \$377,000,000. Even so late as 1840, ours was eminently an agricultural nation but 1870, the value of our manufactures, that year, was \$4,133,000,000, or over \$1,300,000,000 more than the estimated value of our agricultural productions of every kind. There was an increase in the value of our manufactures from 1850 to 1870, a period of twenty years, of three hundred per cent. The assessed value of the real and personal property of the 4,000,000 inhabitants, in 1790, was \$479,293,000 in 1870, it was \$13,700,000,000, exclusive of the Government property.

The commerce of our country has had a wonderful growth within about a century. In colonial times, as we have observed, the restrictive policy of Great Britain kept it within very narrow bounds. The total value of the products of the colonies exported in 1770, was \$14,262,000; in 1790, it was a little more than \$20,000,000. From the adoption of the National Constitution in 1789, the expansion of our commerce has been wonderful. The total value of our exports of domestic and foreign productions, during the year ending with June, 1875, was over \$600,000,000. We also export a large amount of the precious metals, in bullion. As in colonial times, so until a very recent period, the trade between Great Britain and our country constitutes a large proportion of our external commerce. Five-twelfths of our exports are to and imports from Great Britain; while one-sixth of the total of the exports and imports of that country, are to and from the United States. It has been estimated that the sea-going vessels that convey the world's commerce is nearly 63,000, of which number more than one-half belong to Great Britain and the United States; and that these two Anglo-Saxon nations carry sixty-six percent of the world's aggregate tonnage.

Our inland navigation and commerce are of vast dimensions. A hundred years ago the inland trade was carried on chiefly by means of packhorses or mules, and clumsy wheeled-vehicles on land, and on the lakes and rivers by canoes, bateaux, and sloops. The steamboat and the railroad were then undreamed of, and the canal was only in embryo in the minds of a few men. The roads were wretched everywhere; and the incessant toil of muscle was the hard condition imposed upon our internal commerce. Our postal arrangements, which are essential helps in facilitating and simplifying the operations of commerce, were then very meager. The entire length of postroutes in 1776 was 1,875 miles; in 1876 the entire length was 278,000 miles. Of this number, over 70,000 miles was by railroads, and nearly 16,000 miles by steamboats. The entire receipts of the

General Post-Office in fifteen months, ending in November, 1776, were \$27,900, and the expenditures were \$32,142. In 1875, the annual receipts of the Post-Office Department were \$26,672,000, and the expenditures were \$33,613,000. Included in expenditures were about \$6,000,000 granted by the National Treasury.

The first great improvement in our internal commercial facilities was the beginning of our canal system at the close of the last century; but the effects were small until the completion of the Erie Canal in 1825, which soon revealed the possibilities of agriculture and commerce in the Great West. At that period the vast inland seas - the great lakes - with a total length of 1,500 miles, and an aggregate area of about 90,000 square miles, and draining a fertile region 336,000 square miles in extent, had no commerce of consequence on their bosoms. So late as 1819, when there was a steamboat on Lake Erie, the principal traffic in all the lake regions was carried on with the Indians, who came to ports in canoes with peltry and furs to exchange for the products of the Eastern States, borne upon the bosom of the waters in sloops and schooners. Now the Indian has disappeared from our commerce; and the value of the products of "the West," transported on the land and water vehicles, may be estimated by hundreds of millions of dollars. The canal, the steamboat and the railway, have caused large cities to spring up in desolate places, and the wilderness to bud and "blossom as the rose." Chicago, which was composed of vacant village lots in a wild and almost unknown region of our continent forty-five years ago, was in 1876 a city of 300,000 inhabitants, and the greatest grain market and centre of internal commerce in the world. Its entire trade amounted in that year to \$450,000,000.

When the Erie Canal was first conceived, the steamboat and the railway were unknown in our land. It is only ninety years since the first successful steamboat made a voyage between New York and Albany; and it is only about seventy years ago that a railroad three miles in length was first put in operation in our country. The first American locomotive was built by Peter Cooper, of New York. In 1876, the extent of our railways was 73,000 miles, and these represented a capital stock of \$2,000,000,000. Full 20,000 miles of these roads were built and equipped between 1850 and 1860, at a cost of \$720,000,000. For the benefit of the commerce of the United States and the world, we are now contemplating the construction of a shipcanal across the Isthmus of Panama, at a cost of more than \$150,000,000.

In banking and insurance, commerce finds important auxiliaries. The Bank of North America, founded at Philadelphia in 1781, with a capital of \$400,000, was the first one established in our country. After the National Government went into operation and commercial activity became very great, the number of banks rapidly increased; and when the civil war broke out in 1861, the number was 1,562. During that war a National system of banking was organized, and at the beginning of 1876, the number of banks formed under it was over two thousand, with an aggregate capital of more than \$500,000,000. Savings banks were first established in the United States in 1816. These useful institutions have rapidly increased in numbers and importance, and in 1876 had an aggregate amount of deposits of about \$810,000,000.

The first Fire Insurance Company in our country was organized in 1752, in Philadelphia, and is

still in existence. Such companies have rapidly increased in numbers and capital within ten or fifteen years, and in 1876 they represented a stock capital of between \$55,000,000 and \$60,000,000. Marine Insurance had been conducted here by individuals. It was late in the 19th century before a regular Life Insurance Company was organized. The first was the Massachusetts Hospital Life Insurance Company" established in 1825. These companies also have recently increased in numbers and capital. One of them - the New York Life Insurance Company - in 1876 had assets amounting to more than \$30,000,000.

The Electro-Magnetic Telegraph, perfected by Professor S. F. B. Morse, an American, a little more than fifty years ago, is one of the most efficient aids of commerce now known. It is a perpetual wonder, as the astonishing developments of its capabilities for good are rapidly revealed. Only a short time ago, it was discovered that messages might be transmitted over a wire each way at the same moment now audible words and musical sounds may be transmitted to any required distance. This invention seems to be in its infancy. In, 1846, three men conducted the entire telegraph business in the United States, from a dingy basement in New York city; now myriads of persons are employed in that business, in the city of New York alone; and one company (the Western Union), which monopolizes the business, has a building chiefly used for that purpose, which cost \$2,000,000. In 1876 there were nearly 80,000 miles of telegraphic communication over the surface of our Republic alone. The telegraph is aiding commerce and agriculture potentially by the operations of Weather Signals, a system of meteorological observations originated by General Albert J. Myer of our army, some years ago. By it, knowledge of the state of the weather in various parts of our Union is transmitted by telegraph simultaneously to the Signal Bureau at Washington, and thence sent immediately by telegraph all over the land, with predictions concerning the state of the weather, in different sections of the Union, twenty-four hours afterward. Agriculture and commerce are greatly benefited by these forewarnings. This American system of weather signalling has been adopted in the eastern hemisphere.

Popular education has made great advancement in our country within the present century, and especially within the last sixty years, by means of the common school and the printing-press. In 1776, there were seven colleges in this country for the higher education of the young; but the common schools were very inferior. Those colleges are yet flourishing institutions but the common schools - the seminaries for the people - have now the real substantial work of education under their control. The colleges have increased in numbers, from seven in 1776, to three hundred and forty-nine in 1876. The increase in the school population has been wonderful within twenty-five years. In 1876 it was over 13,000,000. Of these, about 6,000,000 are enrolled on the records of public schools. Within a very few years, higher seminaries of learning for young women have been provided, and are flourishing. The first college proper for women, ever established, was founded by Matthew Vassar, at Poughkeepsie, N. Y., and was opened in 1865. The other colleges of the land are now making way for the introduction of feminine students. Sabbath-schools are also doing a great work in the field of popular education. The first one was opened by the Methodists, in Virginia, in 1786 in 1876 they numbered 70,000, with over 753,000 teachers, and 16,000,000 pupils.

The printing-press not only multiplies books at a cheaper rate for popular education, but by newspapers and magazines it scatters knowledge broadcast over the land. A century ago, the number of newspapers in the colonies was only thirty-seven, with an aggregate circulation of not more than 4,000 a week. In 1870, there were published in the United States, 5,871 newspapers, with an aggregate circulation of 20,843,000 daily or weekly, and a yearly issue of more than 1,500,000,000 copies. In 1776, the printing-presses then in use turned out about 250 sheets, printed oil one side, in an hour now the "power-press," like Hoes, turns out 15,000 perfected newspapers in an hour, all folded for delivery. In 1776, the publishing of books was not an extensive business in our country, for readers were few; now the value of books issued each year from the American press cannot be less than \$60,000,000. One firm (Harper & Brothers) use \$3,000 worth of white paper a day in their publishing establishment. Our public and private libraries are rapidly increasing. In the space of ten years - 1860 to 1870 - the aggregate number of volumes in them increased from 13,316,000 to 45,500,000. In 1870, the number of libraries in our country was 164,815, of which 108,800 were private, containing a total of about twenty-six million volumes.

Literature, science, and art have kept pace in our country with material progress. In these pursuits very few were employed in the infancy of the Republic; and from 1776 until the war of 1812 our most eminent writers were the earnest statesmen. After that period belles-lettres literature received more attention, and now no department in the republic of letters remains untouched by American authors. In the domain of science, American men and women now occupy a front rank among the philosophers and our artists of both sexes rival those of Europe in architecture, sculpture, painting, poetry, and music. The painters have not made much advance in historical composition, but in landscape they are unsurpassed. Our physicians and surgeons hold a high place in the profession; and our benevolent institutions, especially those devoted to the deaf and dumb, the blind, the insane and the idiotic, not only attest the skill and philosophy of the medical professors, but the generous philanthropy of our people for these and the many homes for the orphans, the infirm and the friendless, are largely supported by private gifts.

The institutions above-named have all been established in our country within the century just closed, and their numbers and usefulness have kept pace with the population. In 1870, there were about 4,000 persons in our country who were deaf and dumb, of whom 1,900 were girls; 20,000 who were blind; 38,000 who were insane, and 24,500 who were idiotic. Of the insane, only 16,000 were in asylums; the remainder were at their homes or in alms- houses.

A hundred years ago, society here was largely composed of members of the leading religious societies - Baptists, Congregationalists, Dutch Reformed, Episcopalians, Methodists, Presbyterians, Lutherans, Roman Catholics, Moravians, Friends, etc. The denominational line was then more sharply drawn than now, for there was much sectarian zeal and not a little bigotry. Since then, new religious societies have appeared, and there are now over fifty distinct ones in our country. In 1870, these bodies had an aggregate of 72,459 organizations; 63,082 edifices; 21,685,082 sittings, or about one sitting for every two of the population, and property valued at \$354,483,581. These churches made a rapid increase in membership and wealth in the twenty

years ending in 1870. The number of organizations in 1850 was 38,062; sittings, 14,234,825; and their aggregate property was valued at \$87,328,801. To-day, the property in the United States devoted exclusively to religious purposes is valued at \$122,000,000.

With this brief outline sketch of the most important features of our National progress, material, intellectual and moral, during the century just closed, I will return to the narrative of OUR COUNTRY.

Here, on the threshold of another century of the existence of our beloved Republic, I ask you, my fellow-citizens, who have followed me in this delineation of its history, and especially the young people of our country, to be faithful to the sacred trust committed to you by the fathers. You are the guardians of the vestal fire of Liberty. Let it never grow dim in your keeping, but feed its living flame with generous self-sacrifices, that the struggling nations eager too feel its warmth may never be without a sure beacon to guide them to its altars and its temples. Young men and women, a glorious field of usefulness is before you. A white harvest calls for zealous reapers. Human progress, with all its varied labors and felicities, beckons you on. Be not unfaithful, be not idle; but work as God gives you opportunity.

"Young men of every creed up and be doing now. The time is come to run and read with thoughtful eye and brow. Extend your grasp to catch things unattained before Touch the quick springs of Reason's latch, and enter at her door. The seeds of mind are sown in every human breast, But dormant lie, unless we own the Spirit's high behest. Look outwardly and 'earn,- look inwardly and think; And Truth and Love shall brighter burn o'er Error's wasting brink."

Chapter CXXXIX

Impeachment of a Cabinet Officer - Amendment of the Constitution - Issue of Silver Currency - A "Presidential Year" - A Vigorous Political Campaign - Lawlessness in the South - Threatened Trouble There Provided against - The President's Orders - A Committee of Observation - Action of Congress - Preliminary Committees - The Electoral Commission - Its Action - Hayes and Wheeler Declared Elected - Inauguration of Hayes - His Policy and His Cabinet - Disposition of Troops in the South - Improved Tone of Public Feeling - Appropriations Neglected - A Called Session of Congress - The Deficiencies - The Nez Perce Indians - War with Them - Sitting Bull.

A FEW weeks before the opening of the Centennial Exhibition, the country was startled by the public accusation of a cabinet minister of serious malfeasance in office. That minister was General William W. Belknap, the Secretary of War. He was charged with having received a bribe from a post-trader to whom he had granted permission to sell goods to any officer and private soldiers. Articles of impeachment were formally presented to the senate, on the 4th of April (1876), and when the day fixed for the commencement of the trial arrived, the Secretary's counsel interposed the plea of non-jurisdiction. On the 29th of May the Senate decided that it had jurisdiction of the case, and it was determined to proceed with the prosecution. The arguments of counsel closed on the 26th of July, and on the first day of August the Senate voted on the verdict. The result was an acquittal.

Soon after this the Senate acted upon a proposed Amendment of the National Constitution concerning popular education. In his annual message in December, 1875, the President had recommended such action, and early in the session Mr. Blaine, of Maine, offered a joint resolution to that effect in the House of Representatives. The proposed Amendment (making the Sixteenth) was passed by the House by an almost unanimous vote. It was as follows:

"ARTICLE XVI, Section 1. - No State shall make a law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof and no money raised by taxation in any State for the support of public schools, or derived from any public fund therefor, nor any public land devoted thereto, shall ever be under the control of any religious sect or denomination nor shall any fund so raised, or lands so used, be divided among any religious sects or denominations.

Section 2. - This Article shall not vest, enlarge or diminish legislative power in Congress."

The proposed Amendment was carried to the Senate, where it lay undisturbed for several months. Meanwhile, certain religionists raised a clamor against it, outside of Congress, that had an effect upon one of the great political parties. The subject seemed to be passing out of the public mind when, on the 7th of August, 1876, Senator Frelinghuysen moved that the joint resolution proposing a Sixteenth Amendment of the Constitution, prohibiting the appropriation of any school fund for the support of sectarian schools, etc., be referred to the Committee on the Judiciary. Substitutes were submitted, and on the 10th of August the Judiciary Committee reported the following substitute:

"ARTICLE XVI, Section 1. - No State shall make any law respecting any establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof and no religious test shall be required as a qualification to any office of public trust under any State. No public property and no public revenue of nor any loan of credit by or under the authority of the United States, or any State, Territory, and District, or municipal corporation, shall be appropriated to or made or used for the support of any school, educational or other institution under the control of any religious or anti-religious sect, organization or denomination, or wherein the particular creed or tenets shall be taught in any school or institution, supported in whole or in part by such revenue or loan of credit and no such appropriation or loan of credit shall be made to any religious or anti-religious sect, organization, or denomination, or to promote its interests or tenets.

"This Article shall not be construed to prohibit the reading of the Bible in any school or institution, and it shall not have the effect to impair the rights of property already vested.

Section 2.-Congress shall have power by appropriate legislation to provide for the prevention and punishment of the violation of this Article."

This proposed amendment, so important in its bearings upon the public welfare - so well calculated to secure our public schools and other methods for the intellectual training of the young from the malign influence of theological sectarianism, and to increase more and more the wholesome separation of Church and State, was defeated by a strict party vote - twenty-eight republicans to sixteen democrats - the votes of two-thirds of the members of the Senate present being necessary to carry the measure. A week later Congress adjourned. Among the more important acts of the session was one in which the Government took the initial step in the direction of the resumption of specie payments by authorizing the issue, from the Mint, of \$10,000,000 of silver coin to take the place of the same amount of fractional paper currency. The bill provided that the Treasury might buy \$20,000,000 of bullion at the rate of not exceeding \$200,000 a month, to be issued in coin at the same rate, if required. It also contained propositions for making silver coin a legal tender, but these were stricken out, except an allowance of not more than five dollars in silver, as a legal tender, in any one payment. This bill became a law late in July, 1876. The consequence was that, within a year, nearly every vestige of the fractional paper currency disappeared from circulation, and silver coin became excessively plentiful. At the extraordinary session of Congress called in October, 1877, for the purpose of providing for the deficiency of money necessary for the public service, a bill making silver coin a legal tender equally with gold, was passed by the House of Representatives. What its fate may be in the Senate was undetermined, when this record was closed on the first of December, 1877.

We have observed that 1876 was a "Presidential year" as well as a "Centennial year." The campaign for the prize of the Presidency of the Republic was vigorously begun at the middle of June, when a Republican National Convention assembled (June 16) at Cincinnati, to make nominations for President and Vice-President. There were two prominent candidates before the Convention, James G. Blaine of Maine, and Roscoe Conkling of New York. They were both rejected, and the Convention nominated Rutherford Birchard Hayes, at that time governor of

Ohio, for the Presidency, and William A Wheeler of New York, for the Vice-Presidency. On the 27th of the same month a Democratic National Convention assembled at St. Louis for the same purpose, and nominated Samuel J. Tilden (then governor) of New York, for President, and Thomas A. Hendricks of Indiana, for Vice-President. A most exciting canvass ensued, during which the lawlessness that disturbed portions of some of the Southern States, was reproduced with increased vehemence, and at times local civil war seemed to be inevitable.

In South Carolina bands of lawless armed men, countenanced by some of the leading politicians, patrolled the election districts in that State for the purpose of intimidating their political opponents and keeping them from the polls. They dispersed political gatherings and silenced public speakers by their presence and threats. It became evident that the majority of the citizens of that State would be deprived of the privilege of the elective franchise at the approaching election, and on the 17th of October (1876) President Grant issued a proclamation commanding the rifle clubs of South Carolina to disperse within three days. On the same day the Secretary of War issued an order to the General-in-Chief to direct all of the available forces in the Military Division of the Atlantic, to report to the commanding general at the State capital of South Carolina, to carry into effect the President's proclamation.

The result of the Presidential election was long in doubt, each party claiming a majority for its candidate. One hundred and eighty-five votes in the electoral college was necessary to the success of a candidate. It was decided, immediately after the election, that Mr. Tilden had one hundred and eighty-four. Democratic Presidential Electors had been chosen in three Northern States - New York, New Jersey, and Connecticut in one of the Western States - Indiana and in all the Southern States except South Carolina, Florida, and Louisiana. The Republican Electors had been chosen in six Northern States - Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, and Vermont; in eleven Western States - California, Illinois, Iowa, Kansas, Michigan, Minnesota, Nebraska, Nevada, Ohio, Oregon, and Wisconsin; and in one Southern State - South Carolina - giving Hayes 173 votes.

Then ensued a long, bitter, and sometimes violent contest in South Carolina, Florida, and Louisiana, over the official returns of the elections. Each party charged the other with fraud or intended fraud, in making up these returns. There was the wildest excitement in the Gulf region, and there was much agitation and anxiety at the North and West. To preserve order and secure fair play, President Grant issued the following orders on the 10th of November (1876) to General Sherman (the General-in-Chief) from Philadelphia, where he was temporarily sojourning:

"Instruct General Auger in Louisiana, and General Ruger in Florida, to be vigilant with the forces at their command to preserve peace and good order, and to see that the proper and legal Boards of Canvassers are unmolested in the performance of their duties. Should there be any grounds of suspicion of fraudulent count on either side, it should be reported and denounced at once. No man worthy of the office of President should be willing to hold it if counted in or placed there by fraud. Either party can afford to be disappointed in the result. The country cannot afford to have the result tainted by the suspicion of illegal or false returns."

This was immediately succeeded by the following order to the general: Send all the troops to General Auger he may deem necessary to ensure entire quiet and a peaceful count of the ballots actually cast. They may be taken from South Carolina, unless there is reason to suspect an outbreak. The presence of citizens from other States, I understand, is requested in Louisiana to see that the Board of Canvassers make a fair count of the vote actually cast. It is to be hoped that the representative and fair men of both parties will go."

The President's hopes were realized. He appointed distinguished gentlemen of both parties to go to Louisiana and also to Florida, to be present at the reception of the returns and the counting of the votes. They accepted the appointment, and they were acceptable to the respective parties. The duties prescribed were faithfully performed, and their report was presented to Congress, with a message from the President, on the 7th of December.

Meanwhile the Forty-fourth Congress had assembled in second session. There was a majority of Democrats in the House of Representatives, and Samuel J. Randall of Pennsylvania was chosen Speaker. Almost the first business of the session was the adoption, in the Senate, of a resolution devolving upon the Committee on Privileges and Elections the duty of inquiring whether, in the States of South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Louisiana, and Mississippi, the right of any portion of the citizens to vote had been denied or abridged, the extent to which and the means by which it had been accomplished, and by what authority. On the 4th of December the House adopted a resolution, providing for the investigation of the action of the returning or canvassing boards in South Carolina, Florida, and Louisiana, and this action was speedily followed by the report of the Committee of Observation, that was sent in by the President. That report defended the action of the Louisiana returning board, in excluding votes in certain parishes (wherein intimidation had been practiced), and a majority of the votes of that State were given to the Republican candidates. The House, on the 12th of December, ordered the report of the Democratic committee that witnessed the canvass in Louisiana to be printed.

In the meantime the returning board of Louisiana had declared (December 5) that the Republican electoral ticket, in that State, was chosen by a majority of over four thousand and on the following day (December 6) the electoral vote in all the colleges was cast. In South Carolina and Oregon both Democratic and Republican electors met and voted; and in the latter State the governor, on the ground of the ineligibility of one of the Republican electors that had been chosen, assumed the election of the Democratic elector having the next highest number of votes, and gave him a certificate.

Thoughtful men foresaw much trouble at the final counting of the votes of the Electoral College by the President of the Senate, according to the provisions of the Constitution, for already the question had arisen as to his absolute power in the matter. Each party persistently claimed the prize of the Presidency, when returning boards in the doubtful States had decided that Mr. Hayes had one hundred and eighty-five electoral votes, and Mr. Tilden one hundred and eighty-four. To prevent serious difficulty, plans were offered. On the 5th of December, Senator Edmunds offered in the Senate an amendment to the Constitution, providing for the counting and declaration of the

electoral vote by the Supreme Court of the United States. It was defeated. On the 14th, Proctor Knott (a Democrat), from the Judiciary Committee of the House of Representatives, reported a resolution (as a substitute for one previously offered) that a committee of seven members, to be appointed by the Speaker, to act in conjunction with any similar committee that may be appointed by the Senate, to prepare and report such a measure, either legislative or constitutional, as may, in their judgement, be best calculated to accomplish the end proposed, namely, that the electoral votes may be counted and the result declared by a tribunal whose authority no one can question, and whose decision all will accept as final. This resolution was adopted without a division. On the 18th, the Senate voted in favor of a committee to act with that appointed by the House.

On the 18th of January, 1877, the joint committee reported. That committee consisted of fourteen members, as we have seen - seven of each party - namely, Senators Edmunds, Frelinghuysen, Morton and Conkling, and Representatives McCrary, Hoar and Willard, Republicans and Senators Thurman, Bayard and Ransom, and Representatives Payne, Hewitt, Hunter and Springer, Democrats. The report was signed by all the committee, except Senator Morton. They presented a bill that provided for the meeting of both Houses in the hall of the House of Representatives, on the 1st of February, 1877. Two tellers, to have been previously appointed by each House, to whom should be handed, as they were opened by the President of the Senate, all the certificates and papers purporting to be certificates of electoral votes; these to be opened, presented, and acted upon in the alphabetical order of the States. When there should be a single return from a State, and an objection thereto, with its ground, should be made in writing, and signed by at least one Senator and one Representative, the two Houses should separately decide upon such objection or objections, the vote to be rejected only by the affirmative vote of the two Houses. In the cases of more than one return from a State, all such returns, having been read by the tellers, should be, upon objection being made, submitted to the judgment and decision as to which is the true and lawful electoral vote of the State, of a Commission of fifteen, to be composed of five members from each House, to be appointed viva voce, January 30, with five Associate Justices of the Supreme Court of the United States, four of these Justices being those of the First, Third, Eighth and Ninth Circuits, who should, on January 30, select another of the Associate Justices of the same Court; the entire Commission to be presided over by the Associate Justice longest in commission. Each of the members of the Commission to take an oath to consider the questions submitted, and to give a true judgment thereon agreeably to the Constitution and the laws. The decision of the Commission, or a majority thereof, to be made in writing, signed by the assenting members, and submitted to Congress; and this decision, having been entered in the journal of each House, must be final, unless overruled by the action of both Houses. This is a brief summary of the bill.

After much debate, this bill was passed by both Houses - in the House of Representatives on the 26th of January, by a vote of one hundred and ninety-one to eighty-six, in the Senate, on the previous day, by a vote of forty-seven to seventeen. The opposition to the bill proceeded mainly from prominent Republicans, both in debate and in the vote. There was only one Democratic vote against the bill, in the Senate. It was signed by the President on the 29th of January, and on the 30th the two Houses elected five members each, to serve on the Electoral Commission. On the

following day, a communication was received by both Houses from the four Associate Justices named in the bill - Clifford, Miller, Field and Strong - announcing that they had chosen as the fifth member of Associate Justices, Joseph P. Bradley.

The joint Electoral Commission assembled in the hall of the House of Representatives on the 1st of February, 1877. The President of the Senate proceeded to open the certificates of the several States, in their alphabetical order. The votes from six States having been counted, that of Florida was reached, from which State there were three certificates that, under the provisions of the Electoral Bill, were submitted to the Electoral Commission. Two questions were then raised in the Commission: First, whether evidence should be admitted going back of the State returns; and second, as to the eligibility of F. C. Humphreys, one of the electors. After these questions were fully debated by counsel on both sides, the first was decided in the negative; and after receiving evidence concerning Mr. Humphreys, the Commission decided to report Florida for Hayes and Wheeler. On the reception of this report in joint convention, objection having been offered, in due form, the two Houses separated. Reassembling on the 12th of February, and not Concurring in the objection to the decision of the Commission, the vote of Florida was counted for Hayes and Wheeler.

The count then proceeded until the double returns from Louisiana were presented, when these, also, were referred to the Commission. That body reached a decision on the 16th of February. It was the same, and was sustained by the same vote as in the case of Florida. On the 20th, the vote of Louisiana was, in joint convention, recorded for Hayes and Wheeler, and the count proceeded until it reached the vote of Michigan, to which objection was made, but not being sustained by both Houses, the count proceeded. When that of Nevada was reached, objection was made, but was not sustained. Oregon was reached, in the count, on the 21st, and the returns from that State went to the Commission. On the 24th, Oregon was counted for Hayes and Wheeler. The counting was completed on the 2nd of March, when the President of the Senate announced that Rutherford B. Hayes was elected President of the Republic, and William A. Wheeler was elected Vice-President. On Saturday, the 3rd day of March, the Forty-fourth Congress finally adjourned.

The 4th of March - the day prescribed for the inauguration of a new President of the United States - falling on Sunday, Mr. Hayes, to prevent any more technical objections that might be raised, privately took the oath of office on that day, and on Monday, the 5th, he was publicly inaugurated in the presence of a vast concourse of well-behaved people, at the usual place, on the east front of the Capitol. The oath was administered by Chief-Justice Waite. In his inaugural address that followed, the new President substantially repeated the promises which he made in his letter of acceptance of the nomination. He did not definitely announce any line of policy to be pursued, but he plainly indicated that it would be conciliatory toward the late slave-labor States wherein rebellion had existed. Already President Grant had appeared to question the wisdom of the policy of sustaining Southern State governments by military force, and the new President entered into careful inquiries concerning the matter.

A special session of the Senate was opened on the day of the public inauguration, and received

and confirmed the following cabinet nominations from President Hayes William M. Evarts of New York, for Secretary of State; John Sherman of Ohio, Secretary of the Treasury; George W. McCrary of Iowa, Secretary of War; Richard W. Thompson of Indiana, Secretary of the Navy; Carl Schurz of Missouri, Secretary of the Interior; David M. Key of Tennessee, Postmaster-General; and Charles Devens of Massachusetts, Attorney-General.

The political situation in Louisiana - both parties claiming the right of the respective magistrates chosen by them to govern the State - was made the special subject for discussion in President Hayes's cabinet on the 20th and 21st of March, when it was decided to send a commission to that State to investigate the matter. There were two rival claimants to the governorship of the State, and each party declared that its own chosen officers were legally elected. There was a similar state of affairs in South Carolina and the President sought diligently for the truth and right. The opponents of the late administration declared their readiness to submit to law and justice, and promised obedience and loyalty in the event of the removal of United States troops, the presence of which they regarded as a menace, and as a restraint upon the free action which every citizen has a right to exercise.

Upon the report of the commission sent to the South, the President resolved to trust the promises of the opposition in both Louisiana and South Carolina, and removed from them the restraints of military force. A salutary result was soon perceived, in an improved tone of public feeling there; and although that policy of conciliation is yet (December, 1877) an experiment, there are abundant evidences of its beneficence and success in re-establishing a brotherhood of feeling between the people of the North and the South to which they have long been strangers. Such an object is worth striving for; and if the experiment shall fail, it will fail in a good cause. This measure, and a reform in the civil service of the Republic, were the most conspicuous features of the public policy of the Administration. The most essential feature of that civil service reform may be found in the following circular letter addressed, by President Hayes, to all the Government office-holders on the 22nd of June, 1877:

"SIR - I desire to call your attention to the following paragraph in a letter addressed by me to the Secretary of the Treasury on the conduct to be observed by officers of the General Government in relation to the elections: 'No officer should be required or permitted to take part in the management of political organizations, caucuses, conventions, or election campaigns. Their right to vote and to express their views on public questions, either orally or through the press, is not denied, provided it does not interfere with the discharge of their official duties. No assessments for political purposes on officers or subordinates should be allowed.' This rule is applicable to every department of the civil service. It should be understood by every officer of the General Government that he is expected to conform his conduct to its requirements."

This rule, strictly adhered to, would not only relieve office-holders of an enormous burden of taxation for partisan ends, but seal up, in a large degree, a prodigious fountain of official corruption and favoritism that has threatened, at times, to overwhelm our liberties and drown our free institutions.

The subject of the Presidency occupied so much of the time and attention of the last session of the Forty-fourth Congress, that at its adjournment there was left a great deal of unfinished important business. There was, toward the last, so much factious opposition to the outgoing and incoming Administration, that Congress failed to pass important appropriation bills, and this neglect caused the necessity for calling an extraordinary session of the Forty-fifth Congress, to provide means for carrying on the Government. It was thought proper, at first, to have a summer session, but prudential reasons forbade it, and on the 5th of May (1877) the President issued a proclamation calling a session in October. When Congress met on the 15th of that month, the President in a message stated the object of their meeting, which was simply to make appropriations to supply money deficiencies he presented a list of estimates of the amount needed, which aggregated about \$37,000,000. It was expected that the session would be short, and it would have been, had only its legitimate business been attended to; but other subjects engaged the attention of members. The deficiency bills were delayed, and the extraordinary session was prolonged until the time for the opening of the regular session, on the 3rd of December.

During the summer of 1877, our Government engaged in a war with the Nez Perch (Pierced-Nose) Indians, in Idaho. It was not only a blunder, but a crime on the part of the United States, follows:

The explorers of the Continent from the Mississippi River toward the Pacific Ocean, whom President Jefferson sent out in 1803, discovered the tribe of savages, in what is now the Territory of Idaho, called the Nez Perce Indians. They were friendly to the explorers, and from that time until recently they have been the unwavering friends of the white man. They were organized, as most of the tribes have been west of the Rocky Mountains, into bands, but had no general chief. About twenty-five years ago, an Indian agent - one of a class of men who have done much to create discontent among the Indians - forced upon them a grand chief, whose principal recommendation was that he could speak English (which he had learned at a mission station), and could be controlled by the Government representative. From that time there was discontent among the Nez Percés. They waited patiently for the chief to die, that they might again enjoy their old political system. But he was succeeded by another English-speaking chief, who was chosen in opposition to "Joseph," a member of one of the most illustrious families of the tribe. He was the father of Joseph, the leader of the band with whom our Government troops lately engaged in war. Old Joseph withdrew, in disgust, from the councils of the Nez Percés, but claimed the chieftaincy, if there was to be one.

From time immemorial, the dwelling-place of the Nez Perch Indians has been the beautiful Wallowa Valley, distinguished for its wealth of roots and fishing, as it now is for its abundant pasturage. Here begins the old, old story of the wrongs of the Indians. White people began to settle among the Nez Percés; and when they thought they were strong enough, they devised measures to dispossess these friendly barbarians of their beautiful valley. In this nefarious work the United States Government participated. From 1858 to 1868, several treaties were made with portions of the Nez Percés, by which they were provided with a reservation, and annuities from the public treasury, in lieu of their lands. It was a mild and seemingly harmless way of

dispossession. Old Joseph and his band refused to go upon the reservation, and remained in their ancestral home in the Mallova Valley. So also did others of the lion-treaty Indians (as those who were not parties to the treaty were called), for they claimed that the rest of their tribe had no right to alienate their lands.

Old Joseph died in 1871, and left his son Joseph at the head of his band. He, like his father, denied the right of a portion of his tribe to give up their lands. Neither he nor his father had signed a treaty to that effect, and if they had, Government agents had so violated it, that even those who did sign it had a just claim to re-enter. Joseph might have claimed a larger tract, but he wished to occupy only the Wallowa Valley.

Joseph and his band continued to occupy the Valley. Finally settlers began to encroach on the lands of the non-treaty Indians, which President Grant endeavored to prevent, by an order in June, 1873, that their possessions should be withheld from entry and settlement as public lands, and that the same should be set apart as a reservation for the roaming Nez Perce Indians." Under this order Joseph and his band continued to occupy the Wallowa Valley in peace, until 1875, when President Grant was induced to issue another order, summarily revoking the first, and saying: "The said described tract of country is hereby restored to the public domain." White settlers now felt free to enter the Wallowa Valley, and they began to crowd the Nez Perces. The latter remonstrated, when they were peremptorily ordered to go upon the reservation. To their pleadings against the injustice, the reply of the Government was the gathering of troops to drive them from their lands into enforced exile. This meant war, if necessary to complete the cruel wrong.

About one year ago, General O. O. Howard, in command of the Department of the Columbia, in a report to the Secretary of War, referred to the discontent of the Nez Perces and the righteousness of Joseph's claim to the Wallowa Valley, and implored the Government to send a commission there to "settle the whole matter before war was even thought of. "The Nez Perces," he said, "have never been, up to the present time, hostile to our people." But the Government did not heed General Howard's wise and humane suggestions and Joseph, who had held back for months from a resort to hostilities, to which he and his band were reluctant to engage in, at length, just before the time fixed for driving him from the home of his fathers, and seeing the soldiers preparing to invade his domain, he plunged into war. The country was startled by the announcement in the newspapers that a serious Indian outbreak began in Idaho, about the middle of June (1877), when the savages of White Bird's and Joseph's bands murdered a score of settlers fifty miles east of Fort Lapwai. Captain Perry, who was sent against them, was severely repulsed. General O. O. Howard, making a forced march, came upon the Indians at the mouth of the Cottonwood, July 12, and, after an engagement in which eleven of his men were killed and twenty-four were wounded, shelled them from their position and put them to flight. On the 10th of July, Joseph's band had massacred thirty China-men on the Clearwater River."

Then followed the usual events that mark the wars of our Government with the Indians slaughter on both sides, and final defeat of the barbarians, for the odds are generally fearfully against them. The distressing war continued from June until the second month of the autumn of

1877, when, on the 5th of October, Joseph and his band surrendered to the victorious General Nelson A. Miles, at Eagle Creek, Montana Territory. In a speech made at the time of his surrender, equal in pathos to that of Logan, the Mingo chief (see page 747), Joseph said to General Miles: Tell General Howard I know his heart. What he told me before, I have it in my heart. I am tired of fighting. Our chiefs are killed. Looking-Glass is dead. The old men are all dead. It is the young men who say yes or no. He who led on the young men is dead. It is cold and we have no blankets. The little children are freezing to death. I want to have time to look for my children, and see how many of them I can find. May be I shall find them among the dead. Hear me, my chiefs. I am tired. My heart is sick and sad. From where the sun now stands, I shall fight no more forever."

This war has embittered the feelings of the friendly Nez Perces against the white people, and planted the fruitful seeds of future troubles. In its origin and purpose, on our part, it was a gigantic blunder and crime."

After the destruction of Custer and his command by the Sioux under Sitting Bull, recorded in a preceding chapter, that leader and his followers fled northward into the British possessions, where he remained sullen and revengeful for more than four years. The United States Government appointed a commission to confer with him in his retreat to make arrangements for securing peace and friendship with the hostile tribe. General A. H. Terry, Commander of the Military Department in the Northwest, was placed at the head of the commission, and on hearing of the surrender of the Nez Perces, and considering it a favorable time to negotiate, they started for the rendezvous of Sitting Bull, near Fort Walsh. There they met him on the 17th of October, 1877. He and his chiefs rejected with scorn the proposals for peace made by the commission, and the latter returned. Then the British authorities gave Sitting Bull notice that if he should attempt to cross the border with hostile intentions, the British as well as the Americans would be his enemies. There he remained until late in 1880 nursing his wrath. Then perceiving longer resistance to be hopeless, and his followers experiencing great misery, he showed willingness to treat with the United States authorities for the return of the fugitives. Still there was delay. Early in 1881 about one thousand of Sitting Bull's followers surrendered but the wily chief, fearful of peril to his life or liberty, did not give himself up till late in the summer.

So it is, that the Indian, has appeared conspicuously in our history, at every period, from the time when Europeans first trod the virgin soil of this new-found Western World, until now. His race is fading. Perhaps in another century it may disappear, and become a thing of the buried past.

In future years, the son of a dusky exile, coming from the far-off borders of the Slave Lake, may be gazed at in a city street at the mouth of the Yellowstone with as much wonder as the Oneida woman, with her blue cloth blanket and bead-work merchandise, is now, in the city of New York. Even now these barbarians may chant in sorrow:

"We, the rightful lords of yore, Are the rightful lords no more; Like the silver mist, we fail, Like

the red leaves the gale, - Fail, like shadows, when the dawning Waves the bright flag of the morning." - OR - "I will keep for a season, in bitterness fed, For my kindred are gone to the hills of the dead, but they died not of hunger, or lingering decay - the hand of the white man hath swept them away!"

Chapter CXL

The Bland Silver Bill - Yellow Fever - Resumption of Specie Payments - The Chinese - Failure to Pass Appropriation Bills - Negro Exodus - Outbreak of the Utes - A Sixteenth Amendment to the Constitution Proposed - Nominations and Elections in 1880 - New Apportionment - New Funding Bill Vetoed - the Public Debt - Population in 1880 - Inter-Oceanic Canal - Inauguration of President Garfield and Vice-President Arthur - Assassination of President Gerfield - Chester A. Arthur Becomes President - Trial of the Assassin Guiteau - Changes in the Cabinet - State of the Country.

AT the first regular session of the Forty-fifth Congress, a bill known as the "Bland Silver Bill" was passed, on the 21st of February, 1878. The President returned it to the House of Representatives on February 28th, with his objections; but, on the same day, it was passed by both Houses over his veto, and it became a law. It provided for the coinage of silver dollars of the weight of 412.5 grains, and that the rate of coinage should be at least \$2,000,000 a month, and not more than \$4,000,000. That coinage has gone on at the minimum rate, and now (1885) the vaults of the United States Treasury are overloaded with silver coin.

During the summer and fall of 1878 the yellow fever prevailed as a fearful epidemic in the region of the Lower Mississippi River from Memphis to New Orleans. In his annual Message to Congress the President called the attention of that body to the necessity for investigating the causes of the epidemic; and on the 5th of December the Senate appointed a committee to act in the matter, with one from the House of Representatives, and appropriated \$50,000.

On the first of January, 1879, a most important event occurred - it was the resumption of specie payments by the National Government and the Banks, after a suspension of about eighteen years. There was very strong and persistent opposition to the measure on the part of the opponents of the administration, and efforts were made in Congress to defeat it. The authorization of the circulation of silver coin by Act of Congress, in January, 1875, prepared the way for resumption. As the time approached for resumption, the opponents became louder prophets of evil. They predicted greater prostration of business, and the impossibility of meeting the enormous demand for coin on the day fixed for resumption, and afterwards. The premium on gold, however, continually diminished, and paper money was at par value in December, 1878. For some weeks private business houses had been paying out gold. Notwithstanding these indications, the Government Sub-Treasuries and the Banks employed an increased clerical force to assist in the labors of the first of January. These clerks were not needed. At the closing hour the Banks had more gold in their vaults than at the opening. Resumption had been imperceptibly effected. Its salutary influence was immediately felt. From the first day of resumption, business began to revive, and the tide of prosperity throughout the whole country has continued to rise higher and higher.

On the Pacific Coast a strong prejudice against the Chinese immigrants had been created, chiefly by other foreign-born persons, because of their alleged monopoly of labor at reduced

prices. The matter was brought to the attention of Congress, and a bill to restrict Chinese immigration passed both Houses in the winter of 1879. It restricted the number of Chinese passengers in one voyage to fifteen. The President vetoed the bill.

The opposition majority in Congress resolved to defeat, by means of legislation, the operations of the law authorizing the use of United States troops to keep the peace at the polls where candidates for National offices were to be voted for. The employment of United States Marshals for the same purpose was also opposed. The method resorted to for effecting their purpose caused very exciting debates in Congress. They burdened every appropriation bill with a "rider," or conditions requiring that United States troops should not be allowed at any election in any State, and that the Marshals should not interfere in any elections. So persistent were the opposition members in their methods, that they seemed determined to clog the wheels of Government unless their measures were adopted. The Forty-fifth Congress expired without passing the usual appropriation bills, and this failure in duty caused the necessity for calling a session of the Forty-sixth Congress. They were summoned to meet on March 18, 1879. They did so, and passed appropriation bills with obnoxious "riders," which were vetoed by the President. This extraordinary session lasted until July 1st. Failing to pass the vetoed bills over the President's veto, they were shorn of their obnoxious appendages, and were passed and approved by the President.

There was a remarkable and comparatively sudden exodus of colored people from the States on the Lower Mississippi in 1879. The reason for the movement was alleged to be a denial of the exercise of civil rights to the negroes, to which they had a constitutional right, and their oppressions in various ways at the hands of the white people. The earlier emigrants and the larger number went to Kansas. Later a considerable number went to Indiana. A committee was appointed by the Senate to investigate the causes of the movement. Their report was not very satisfactory. They declared that the causes were partly political and partly pecuniary.

There was a sudden outbreak of hostility to the white people by the Ute tribe of Indians in Colorado in the early autumn of 1879. The movement was fierce and desperate, and created great alarm throughout a considerable portion of this new State. The barbarians murdered N. C. Meeker, the Indian agent at White River. Major Thornburgh, of the United States Army, was sent with a force to suppress the hostile movement; and in a battle with the Utes at Milk Creek, on September 29th, he and ten of his command were slain. For six days the rest of his force were surrounded by Indians, but being intrenched it held out until succor arrived. The outbreak ended almost as suddenly as it was begun.

The subject of the equality of men and women in law and society as well as in nature, is engaging the attention of statesmen, publicists, and the people generally, more and more as the years move on. The chief topic of discussion now is the conferring upon women the right to exercise the elective franchise. In some States this has been done in a slight degree. The most significant action yet taken in the matter was the introduction in both Houses of Congress, in January, 1880, of the following joint resolution proposing a Sixteenth Amendment to the National

Constitution:

"ARTICLE 16. - The right of suffrage in the United States shall be based on citizenship, and the right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States, or by any State, on account of sex, or for any reason not really applicable to all citizens of the United States.

Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation."

The year 1880 was the "Presidential year," and both the great political parties as well as smaller organizations, began early to make preparations for the quadrennial contest for the coveted prize of the Presidency of the Republic. In the month of June the several political parties each held a National Convention to nominate candidates for President and Vice-President of the United States. In this movement the Republican party first appeared. Its chosen representatives assembled in convention at Chicago, Illinois, on June 2d, 1880. They nominated James Abram Garfield, of Ohio, for President, and Chester Allan Arthur for Vice-President of the Republic. The National ("Greenback") Party held a convention at Chicago on the 9th of June, 1880, and nominated John B. Weaver, of Iowa, for President, and Benjamin J. Chambers, of Texas, for Vice-President. This ticket had a large following in the Labor Party. The Prohibition National Convention assembled at Cleveland, Ohio, on June 17, 1880, and nominated Neal Dow, of Maine, for President, and A. H. Thompson, of Ohio, for Vice-President. On June 22nd the Democratic National Convention assembled at Cincinnati, and nominated General Winfield Scott Hancock, of the United States Army, for President, and William H. English, of Indiana, for Vice-President. There were also Anti-Masonic candidates for President and Vice-President. General John W. Phelps, of Vermont, was named for the office of President, and G. C. Pomeroy, of Kansas, for Vice-President.

The Republican and Democratic parties, the only hopeful contestants in the field, made an energetic struggle for the prize from June until November. The Republican platform adopted at Chicago affirmed that the National Constitution is the supreme law of the land, and that out of a league of States it made a sovereign nation: that the work of popular education is left to the several States, but that the National Government should aid that work so far as the Constitution gives it power that the Constitution wisely forbids Congress to make any law respecting the establishment of any religion, and recommended an amendment to the Constitution forbidding any State appropriation of public funds for the support of sectarian schools; that no further grants of the public domain be made to any corporation that the improvement of water-courses and harbors is a duty belonging to the National Government, but that further subsidies to private persons or corporations should cease; and that judicious laws should be made concerning Chinese immigration. In the preamble to the platform the Convention took a brief retrospective glance at the history of the Republican party during the last twenty years. They said: Without resorting to loans it has, since the war closed, defrayed the ordinary expenses of Government besides the accruing interest on the public debt, and disbursed annually over \$30,000,000 for soldiers' pensions. It has paid \$888,000,000 of the public debt, and by refunding the balance at lower rates

has reduced the annual interest charge from nearly \$151,000,000 to less than \$89,000,000. All the industries of the country have revived, labor is in demand, wages have increased, and throughout the entire country there is evidence of a coming prosperity greater than we have ever enjoyed."

The Democratic platform declared opposition to centralization of power in the National Government; that Church and State ought to be separate, and common schools fostered and protected; Home Rule" and honest money should prevail; that a tariff for revenue only should be laid; that the military should be subordinate to the civil power; and that a thorough reform in the civil service should be made. They declared that the administration of President Hayes was the representative of conspiracy only "denounced the election laws which provided against violence and fraud at the polls through the watchfulness of United States Marshals; and demanded a reform which shall make it forever impossible for a defeated candidate to bribe his way to the seat of a usurper by billeting villains upon the people, and in making places in the civil service a reward for political crime." They declared against monopolies of every kind; and they demanded a revision of the treaty with China, so as to provide that no Chinese should ever come to our shores, except for travel, education, and foreign commerce, and therein carefully guarded." They concluded the manifesto by saying: We congratulate the country upon the honesty and thrift of a Democratic Congress, which has reduced the public expenditure \$10,000,000 a year; upon the continuation of prosperity at home and the National honor abroad and above all, upon the promise of such a change in the administration of the Government as shall insure a genuine and lasting reform in every department of the public service."

After a most exciting canvass and months of anxious suspense endured by earnest men engaged in the conducting of the various industries of the country, the election, in November, 1880, resulted in the choice of James A. Garfield for President, and Chester A. Arthur for Vice-President of the Republic. The result gave a wonderful forward impulse to business of every kind.

During the last session of the Forty-sixth Congress, which expired on the 4th of March, 1881, the most important business transacted, excepting the passage of the usual appropriation bills, was the adoption of a bill by the Senate providing for a new apportionment of Congressional representation under the census of 1880, and a new refunding bill by both Houses. The first-named bill increases the number of members of the House of Representatives from 293 to 319. The ratio is increased 131,425 under the census of 1870, to 154,769 under the census of 1880. The House of Representatives did not act upon this bill. The new funding bill fixed the rate of interest at three per cent a year. One section of the bill was regarded as so hostile to the interests of the National Banks, which are closely allied to the business interests of the country of every kind, and so perilous to the advancing prosperity of the Nation, that the President, on the 3rd of March, 1881, vetoed it, and no further action on the subject was taken.

It is conceded by all candid men that the administration of President Hayes was remarkable for the purity of the public service and financial success and prosperity. The public debt at the

beginning of his administration was nearly \$2,100,000,000; at its close, the public debt had been reduced \$209,000,000. Not many years ago, the Government of the United States found great difficulty in borrowing so small a sum as \$25,000,000, and for a considerable portion of it was compelled to pay as high as 12 percent a year. In the spring of 1879 the Government found no difficulty in borrowing (otherwise refunding) \$225,000,000 at 4 per cent. In one month \$500,000,000 was offered at 4 per cent. And so high was the credit of the National Government at the beginning of 1881 that these 4 percent bonds were sold at a considerable premium.

The population of the United States is rapidly increasing. At the census of 1870, the total population of the States and Territories was a little more than 38,558,000, in 1880 it was more than 50,000,000. At the port of New York alone there arrived during 1880 the enormous number of 320,808 emigrants, the largest number in one year since the Emigration Commission was established in 1847. It is estimated that each emigrant adds to the capital of the country, besides the cash he brings with him, about \$800. Our total population is to-day 81,752,000. The products of our agriculture, manufactures, and mines have enormously increased.

The project of an inter-oceanic canal to connect the waters of the Atlantic and Pacific oceans, had been powerfully revived by the organization at Paris of an International Company for the construction of such a canal. The chief actor in the movement was M. de Lesseps, who constructed the Suez Canal at a cost of \$60,000,000. He came to the United States at the beginning of 1880 to promote the project. He visited Panama, decided that the construction of a canal across the isthmus there was feasible, and for a time pushed the enterprise with great vigor. He estimated the entire cost of the work at \$102,400,000, and promised that it would be completed in 1888. The United States Government, as we have seen, had had a similar project under consideration for many years. Surveys of routes across the isthmus had been made and estimates of cost submitted. It was the movement of Lesseps which probably stimulated the people of the United States to an appreciation of the necessity of communication across the great isthmus somewhere, either by a ship canal or ship-railway. Our national policy is against such a communication controlled by any foreign government or governments. Actuated by the spirit of the Monroe doctrine the President represented public sentiment in the United States, when, on the 8th of March, 1880, he sent a message to Congress, in which he declared that it is the duty of the United States Government to assert and maintain such supervision and authority over the enterprise as will protect our National interests.

On the 29th of February, 1881, President-elect Garfield left his home at Mentor, Ohio, for Washington City. He was accompanied by his family - his aged mother, eighty years old, his wife, and his two young sons. He made a short, parting address at the railway station, which he concluded with the words: "What awaits me I cannot now speak of; but I shall carry to the discharge of the duties that lie before me, to the problems and dangers I may meet, a sense of your confidence and your love, which will always be answered by my gratitude. Neighbors, friends, constituents - farewell!"

Many friends accompanied General Garfield on his journey. He reached Washington on the

morning of March 1st, where he was met by a committee and taken to his quarters. His aged mother was conveyed to the President's house, where the room she was to occupy was assigned her by Mrs. Hayes, whose guest she remained until after the inauguration, which event occurred on Friday, March 4, with imposing ceremonies.

Considerable snow had fallen in Washington City on the night of March 3rd and 4th; but the sun shone so brightly during the forenoon of the 4th that it was all gone by noon. At the proper hour, General Arthur, the Vice-President elect, was installed in office in the Hall of the United States Senate in the presence of a brilliant assemblage of the National law-makers and foreign ministers. From that room the whole company proceeded to a platform at the eastern front of the Capitol, where the inaugural ceremony was to take place. The President and President-elect walked arm-in-arm to their assigned positions. Near them were seated together Mrs. Hayes and Mrs. Garfield. By the side of Mrs. Hayes was the venerable mother of the President-elect, to whom he owed so much for his success through life. At least 50,000 people were gathered to observe the imposing spectacle. In a clear, ringing voice, that might be heard by thousands of the mass of listeners, he delivered his inaugural address to the multitude, and the usual oath of office was administered by Chief-Justice Waite. Then the vast crowd dispersed, and the new President and his family were driven to the "White House," as the Presidential mansion is termed, and took possession.

President Hayes had issued a proclamation convening the Senate, in special executive session, on the afternoon of the 4th of March, to receive and act upon the nominations of Cabinet ministers which the new President might make. These were sent in the next day, and the nominations were immediately confirmed without debate. They were as follows: For Secretary of State, James G. Blaine, of Maine for Secretary of the Treasury, William Windom, of Minnesota for Secretary of War, Robert T. Lincoln, of Illinois, son of President Lincoln for Secretary of the Navy, William H. Hunt, of Louisiana for Secretary of the Interior, Samuel J. Kirkwood, of Iowa; for Postmaster-General, Thomas L. James, of New York; for Attorney-General, Wayne McVeagh, of Pennsylvania.

Subsequent nominations sent in to the Senate for confirmation were not so well received. With regard to one of them, the nomination of Judge Robertson to the important office of Collector of Customs at New York, great efforts were made by Senator Conkling of New York and the wing of the Republican party which acknowledged him as its leader, to procure its rejection. The cause of this hostility to this particular candidate can be traced back to the events which led to the nomination of Garfield as the Presidential candidate of the Republicans at the Chicago Convention. At that meeting, a powerful and compact body, headed by Conkling of New York, Logan of Illinois, and Cameron of Pennsylvania, voted with unswerving pertinacity for the nomination of General Grant for a third term. In number, the votes given for General Grant far exceeded those given for Mr. Blaine, or for Mr. Sherman, but did not reach the two-thirds which were necessary for a nomination. In the New York delegation there was discord and division. An active minority refused to accept the unit rule, and to follow the lead of Conkling. This defection was chiefly due to the influence and exertions of Judge Robertson. He

was, therefore, regarded by the so-called Stalwart wing as a deserter from his party and a traitor to the cause. They argued that if he and the delegates who sympathized with him had voted with the rest of their New York colleagues, the example of the Empire State would have had a powerful effect in silencing hostility elsewhere, that the nomination of Grant would have been assured, and no opportunity could have arisen for the concentration of the Blaine and Sherman votes on the name of Garfield. Judge Robertson may, therefore, be regarded as powerfully contributing to Grant's defeat and to Garfield's triumph. It was natural that the President should seek to place a supporter who had done him such service in a prominent position, and it was equally natural that the Senators whose plans had been baffled and whose ambition had been thwarted by his action should be uncompromising enemies of his appointment to an office of such power as the Collectorship of New York is in our present system of political management. To Senator Conkling the appointment of Judge Robertson was peculiarly unwelcome. He had always held that Federal appointments in a State ought to be made on the recommendation, or at least with the approval of the Senators of the State, and he called upon his fellow Senators to reject the nomination of Judge Robertson, on the ground that the courtesy of the Senate had established the principle that the Senate would not confirm any nomination to a Federal office in a State if it were repugnant to the two Senators from the State. A prolonged deadlock in the Senate was the result. The President was reminded that but for the powerful aid given to his canvass by General Grant, Senator Conkling, and the "Stalwarts," his election would have been impossible. He was accused of ingratitude to the men who had really placed him in the Executive Mansion, by rewarding the man who had abandoned them in their struggle. Garfield, however, regarding himself as the President of the whole nation, not of any party in it, or of any wing of a party, steadily refused to withdraw the obnoxious nomination, and the two Senators from New York State, hopeless of carrying their point, adopted the unprecedented step of resigning their seats in the Senate. Senators Conkling and Platt at once appealed to the Legislature of New York for reelection. The conflict between the two factions was now transferred to Albany, and the war was carried on with unexampled bitterness. The Vice-President, Mr. Arthur, did not think it unbecoming his high office to mingle personally in the fray and exert his influence for the cause of his friend Conkling. But it was in vain. The Senators who had resigned did not succeed in gaining the reelection which would have returned them to the Senate with the endorsement of their State. The fierce political struggle was just terminating, when every heart was stricken with horror at the intelligence of a terrible tragedy. For the second time the elected head of this free people was struck down by the hand of an assassin. On the 2nd of July the President was leaving Washington for a brief holiday, during which he was to pass the anniversary of the Declaration of Independence with Mr. Cyrus W. Field, near New York, and then to visit Williams College, Massachusetts. In the company of Mr. Blaine and other members of his Cabinet, he was taking his ticket at the railroad station, when the assassin Guiteau shot him in the back with a heavy ball from a pistol called an English Bulldog." The President fell to the ground, and from the nature of the wound death was regarded as imminent. It is impossible for words to describe the excitement produced by this assassination. In every city of the Union, as soon as the telegraph flashed the sad news, crowds poured into the streets and surged around the telegraph offices, waiting for further intelligence. Everywhere threats against the assassin's life were heard. Before the full effect of the deed was realized, Guiteau had been arrested and conveyed to prison, a circumstance

fortunate for our national honor by reserving his punishment to the solemn verdict of justice, instead of leaving it to the passions of an infuriated mob. The assassin made no attempt to escape. He had been a lecturer, a lawyer, a persistent seeker for office of any kind, always a swindler. He boasted of his crime - he was a "Stalwart," he said, and believed that the death of Garfield was the only means of saving the Republican party. Meanwhile, the wounded man was removed to the White House, where, in the language of the legal indictment of his murderer, which has a deep pathos in the words, "he did languish, and languishing did live till the 29th of September. All that the best surgical skill could do was done, but in vain. The magnificent constitution of the sufferer enabled him to linger, not to recover. While thus slowly dying, his demeanor was throughout manly, with that manliness which touches every heart. Is the wound mortal was the first question he addressed to the surgeons who examined him. "There are," was the straightforward answer, "ninety-nine chances to one against your recovery." "Then," was the brave reply, I will take that one chance." His chief anxiety was for his wife, and how she would bear the news. A telegram was sent to her at Elberon, summoning her to Washington. She came to be his nurse and strengthener. To all foreboding of a fatal termination she replied, He has made up his mind to recover, and he will recover." Her courage was as great as his own. When, after the lapse of a few days, it was seen that the illustrious patient had succumbed to the shock, as was anticipated, hope grew strong in every breast. Every fluctuation of the pulse, every rise or fall of temperature, was watched with interest by every citizen in our wide extended Union. Operations had to be performed to discharge the purulent secretions from the track of the wound they were borne with constancy, and the temporary relief they gave inspired the sufferer with new confidence, and the people with new hopes. Baseless hopes and unfounded confidence The assassin's ball, as it was thereafter proved, had injured the spinal column, and recovery was impossible. The President gradually got weaker. The White House, situated near the swamps of the Potomac, was considered unhealthy, and the opinion spread that Garfield's recovery was kept back by malarial influences. He himself seemed to share this opinion, and longed for change of scene. He wished to be removed to Mentor, his quiet, unpretending home in Ohio. But the distance from Washington to his beloved home was too great for him to bear. As a last resource he was taken to the sea-coast at Elberon. Weeping crowds accompanied the litter on which he was carried out from that Executive Mansion to occupy which has been the aspiration of our best and bravest. The line of railroad by which he passed was bordered by sorrowing multitudes who flocked thither for miles, and a sympathizing throng awaited his arrival. But no voice was heard, no cheer was raised as the sad cortege went on. At Elberon he seemed, for a day or two, to gather strength he felt himself a new man he was raised up to see the bright ocean heaving in the sunlight and splashing on the shore. But neither change of place, nor refreshing breezes, were of avail. He was able to sign one official document. The last words he wrote were scribbled on a bit of paper, *Strangulatus pro republica*. The day before his death he said to his old friend "Rockwell, Old boy, do you think my name will have a place in human history?" "Yes, a grand one but a grander, in human hearts. Old fellow, you must not talk in that." "No," said the dying man, "my work is done."

And then the end. Down to the very last, no murmurs escaped his lips, no regrets at leaving the power and glory of his exalted position, or at the sudden cutting short of his brilliant career.

He sank with patient resignation, courageous and uncomplaining, only anxious for her who had borne him, and her who had been the bride of his youth, and the true companion of his manhood.

Agonizing as these months of suffering were to the patient, Garfield's long martyrdom was a blessing to the country, for delay gave time for the excitement, which had burned so fiercely at first, to subside, and to give place to calmer thoughts. The deepest sympathy for the sufferer was everywhere felt, and there was no people in the world which did not share the sorrow of this nation when he at last sank into the arms of death. During all his illness, the Queen of England had exhibited the warmest sympathy for the afflicted family, and, a widow herself, was the first to condole with the widow of the President. The court of England set an example followed by the court of Spain, and went into mourning. Kings, emperors, every state, were profuse in their condolence. Still more touching was the regret everywhere expressed by the working classes, who had never forgotten that Garfield had risen from labor and poverty to his high estate, and who regarded his career with fond pride as a proof of what could be achieved in a free country by honesty, industry, and virtue. The President was buried in a spot which he had chosen in the cemetery at Cleveland, and on his coffin reposed a wreath sent by Queen Victoria, and tokens of sorrow from every state and city. We cannot more fitly close our notice of the brief Presidential career of James Abram Garfield than with the lines of the poet which he himself quoted so effectively in reference to the death of Lincoln:

"Divinely gifted man, Whose life in low estate began, And on a simple village green, Who breaks his birth's invidious bars, And grasps the skirts of happy chance, And breasts the blows of circumstance, And grapples with his evil stars Who makes by force his merit known, And lives to clutch the golden keys, To mold a mighty State's decrees, And shape the whisper of the throne And moving up from high to higher, Becomes, on Fortune's crowning slope, The pillar of a people's hope, The center of a world's desire."

When Garfield's death was announced, President Arthur at once took the oath of office in his own house at New York, at one o'clock in the morning, and two days afterward repeated it at Washington, in the presence of the Chief-Justice of the Supreme Court and the Cabinet. As usual, the Cabinet tendered their resignations, and were requested to retain office till new appointments could be made.

The year 1881 being the centenary of the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown, that crowning triumph of the Revolutionary War was celebrated at the spot where it took place. Delegates from the French government were present to commemorate a victory in which the arms of France had borne a conspicuous part, and descendants of Rochambeau, La Fayette, De Grasse, and Villiers, as well as representatives of Von Steuben, met on the field where their ancestors had stood side by side a century before. The celebration was concluded by a ceremony which shows in a striking manner the generosity of our people and its gratitude for the sympathy displayed by the English sovereign during Garfield's illness and at his death. The British flag was hoisted and received a royal salute. A striking token of good will between the two branches of the great Anglo-Saxon race; a good will which it is to be hoped will long continue to promote civilization and bless

mankind.

On the fourteenth of November, 1881, the trial of Guiteau for the assassination of President Garfield began in the Court of the District of Columbia. Between the murder and the trial he had been detained in jail, under the guard of some regular troops. But so deep and so wide-spread was the indignation of the people at his dastardly deed, that even his guardians did not escape it, and even one of the sentries of the prison attempted to shoot the wretched criminal through the bars of his cell. During the progress of the trial, another attempt to kill Guiteau was made. The assailant, mounted on a fleet horse, rode up to the cellular van in which the prisoner was being carried from the court-house to the jail, and fired his pistol through one of the windows of the vehicle. In both cases Guiteau received no injury. Judge Cox presided over the trial, the prosecution was conducted by the District Attorney, Corkhill, assisted by Mr. Davidge and Judge Porter, the latter an eminent advocate of New York, who had been conspicuous in the Beecher trial. The evidence of the murder was soon given. The facts were indisputable. The question as to the sanity of the prisoner remained to be discussed. The whole life of the prisoner was dragged to light, and the whole history of his family examined. The prosecution sought to prove inveterate depravity; the defence to establish hereditary insanity. The prisoner was defended by Mr. Scoville, his sister's husband, and in the latter part of the case by Mr. Reed of Chicago. Medical experts from all parts were summoned to testify as to his state of mind, and the conflict of evidence, usual in such case, took place. The weight of evidence was overwhelmingly in favor of his sanity. It was proved that the prisoner had always been of ungovernable temper, that he had been a member of the Oneida Community, that he had been divorced from his wife, and had for years been living by swindling or similar practices. It was shown that he had made preparations for the deed long before its committal with the utmost deliberation. During the trial the conduct of the prisoner was outrageous beyond description. He interrupted alike judge, counsel, and witnesses. The counsel on both sides came in equally for his vituperation. Those in the prosecution were denounced by him as liars, those who were defending him as fools. His brother-in-law, Scoville, was continually assailed in the foulest manner. "I do not want any more of this fool, Scoville," he would cry, "he is too stupid to know what to do." He persistently claimed that he acted by inspiration from on high. "Don't you forget it," he kept exclaiming. "God and I are partners in this. He said to the witnesses, How about Abraham? Tell us something about Abraham's case." As the trial progressed, and as the evidence of his sanity became stronger and stronger, his blasphemy and insolence became more pronounced. "God will take care of me, and so will the American people. You, Porter, are a liar, you old whelp. You and Corkhill will be the top of those down below." Much blame was expressed in some quarters respecting the conduct of Judge Cox in allowing these violations of public decency. But he exercised a wise discretion. The whole demeanor of the prisoner, as well as his own evidence in chief, showed that he not only was in full possession of his faculties, but that those faculties were of no ordinary degree of cunning. On the 25th of January, 1882, the jury returned a verdict of guilty, amid volleys of blasphemy from the prisoner. An appeal was made, and a new trial demanded. But the demand was rejected, and on the 3rd of February Charles J. Guiteau was sentenced to be hung on the 30th of June.

The conduct of the trial is not one of which we have any reason to be proud. The trial for life of the meanest human being should be conducted with decency and dignity. The court at Washington became a show to which the idle and fashionable world crowded as to a farce. The prisoner's ribaldry was received with peals of laughter, the repartees into which the prosecuting advocates allowed themselves to be goaded were followed by cheers, and deafening applause greeted the verdict of the jury. Every Sunday during the trial the prisoner held a levee in his cell. Well-dressed men and women flocked there to shake his hand and ask for his photograph. After the sentence was pronounced, a speculative showman offered Scoville a thousand dollars for Guiteau's body, with the object of embalming it, and exhibiting it through the country, and Scoville was inclined to accept the offer, had not public indignation been expressed too loudly. If a morbid desire of notoriety was one of the causes which urged Guiteau to commit his murderous assault, it has been amply gratified.

The first change in the Cabinet took place in November, 1881, when Mr. Windom resigned the Treasury, and was succeeded by Judge Folger of New York. On the 1st of January, 1882, Mr. James resigned the Postmastership, and was succeeded by Mr. Howe. Mr. Blaine, the Secretary of State, had, during the illness of Garfield, inaugurated a line of foreign policy which seems calculated to involve the country in sundry complications. He had sent instructions to our Ministers in Peru and Chili which looked to an intervention on the part of the United States to prevent Chili exercising her legitimate rights of conquest. He had proposed in a highly undiplomatic tone the abrogation of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty with Great Britain respecting the guarantees of an interoceanic canal between the Atlantic and Pacific, and proposed to the Central American Republics the meeting of a convention of delegates from each state to be held at Washington, and to deliberate on their common and mutual interests. The full extent of these negotiations was not known to the public till Mr. Blaine finally left the Cabinet. The new Secretary of State, Mr. Frelinghuysen of New Jersey, modified the instructions given by Mr. Blaine to Messrs. Trescott and Blaine, our special envoys to Peru and Chili, and to the moderation of the views held by him and the President ample evidence is borne by their subsequent acts.

The prosperity of the whole country during the year 1881 was great. An enormous extension of our railway system has taken place. Numerous new lines were constructed, and old lines consolidated. The most important of these are the various lines running westward to the Pacific, and the important scheme of railroads connecting our lines with the most fertile and most rich provinces of the neighboring republic of Mexico. Almost every branch of industry took in those last three years an important step in advance, and the transformation which all our cities are undergoing bears witness to an unparalleled extension of commerce, and an enormous increase in our national wealth. The immigration also was of unparalleled magnitude, amounting in the year 1881 to 716,868 souls. The commerce of the country also exhibited a steady increase. In 1861 \$219,553,833; the imports \$289,310,542. In 1881 the exports were the exports were \$902,377,346; the imports \$642,664,628, or a total of foreign commercial movement during the year of \$1,545,041,974.

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Overview of Our Country: Volume 7

A history of the United States from the discovery of America to the present time (1905). Volume 7 of 8 covers the Arthur presidency through McKinley's assassination, the application of electricity, and the invention of the motor car.

Chapter CXLI

Arthur as President - The Star Route Trials - The Panama Canal and the Clayton - Bulwer Treaty - Peru and Chili - Criticism of Mr. Blaine's Policy - The Silver Question - The Mormon Question - Chinese Immigration - The Jeannette Lost in the Arctic Sea - Recall of Mr. Sargent, the Minister at Berlin - The Ruin of General Grant - The Greely Arctic Expedition - Deaths of Longfellow, Emerson, Peter Cooper, and A. H. Stephens - Civil Service Reform - Election of President Cleveland - The Aspinwall Affair - Death of General Grant and Vice-President Hendricks.

One of the most important state trials ever held in this country, whether we regard the high position of the parties incriminated, or the failure of justice which public opinion considers to have taken place, was that of the "Star Routes." The Star Routes of our Postal Service may be described as lines upon which mail can not be carried by railroad or steamboat lines. There were one hundred and thirty-four such routes, on which the compensation was raised from \$143,169 to \$622,808. This was accomplished by increasing the number of trips, shortening their time, and obtaining therefore by political influence additional compensation. On twenty-six of the routes the pay was raised from \$65,216 to \$530,319. Chief among those accused of being implicated in this attempt to defraud the Government were Senator S. W. Dorsey, and Second Assistant Postmaster General Thomas J. Brady. Against them and others in minor positions, the formal indictment was brought on the 4th of March, 1882, the proceedings having commenced in November of the year previous. The first jury disagreed, and charges of receiving bribes were brought against several of its members. The Marshal of the District of Columbia, the Washington Postmaster, and others, were accused of aiding the prisoners, and were dismissed. A new trial was begun in December of the same year, ending, however, in the acquittal of the chief delinquents.

A question concerning Peru and Chili arose from the war going on between those countries. Peru, being overrun by the Chilians, was in a state of anarchy, and two so-called governments co-existed. In June, according to instructions from Secretary Blaine, the Provisional Government

of Calderon, one of the pretenders, was formally recognized in place of that of Pierola General Hurlburt in July sent a communication to General Lynch, commander of the Chilian forces, saying that the United States disapproved of war which had in view territorial aggrandizement, and that the proposal of Chili to take possession of Peruvian territory, unless Peru demonstrated its inability to pay in any other way the indemnity imposed upon it by Chili, was disapproved of by this Government. This letter produced violent excitement. The Peruvians expected aid from the United States, and were correspondingly elated and grateful. The Chilians, on the other hand, denounced Minister Hurlburt with exceeding the bounds both of his own authority and of that of the United States. In response to the inquiries of the Chilian Government, General Kilpatrick, the minister at Lima, wrote a letter contradicting the statements of his Peruvian colleague. Upon this affair Secretary Blaine, for his own vindication, published his instructions to the ministers and various other documents. In these he desires the ministers, if it lies in their power, to persuade Chili to forego the claim upon Peruvian territory. He wrote : "There is nothing more difficult or more dangerous than forced transfer of territory, carrying with it an indignant and hostile population, and nothing but a necessity, proved before the world, can justify it. It is not a case in which the Power desiring the territory can be accepted as a safe or impartial judge." As a consequence of General Hurlburt's letter, President Calderon was imprisoned by order of General Lynch.

Affairs having become so involved, Mr. William H. Trescott was appointed special envoy to Peru and Chili. He was sent with instructions to try to arrange amicably the misunderstanding between the two countries. If, however, he found that the Chilian Government had suppressed that of Calderon to resent its recognition by the United States, he was to state that it would be regarded as an unfriendly act, and that diplomatic intercourse should be immediately suspended. This part of the instructions seemed liable to lead to serious complications with Chili, but on December 12th Mr. Blaine was succeeded, as already mentioned, by Mr. Frelinghuysen. He immediately telegraphed to Mr. Trescott that the questions arising from the suppression of the Calderon Government could be attended to in Washington, and he proceeded to say: "Were the United States to assume an attitude of dictation toward the South American republics even for the purpose of preventing war, the greatest of all evils, or to preserve the autonomy of nations, it must be prepared by navy and army to enforce its mandate, and to this end tax our people for the exclusive benefit of foreign nations." He nevertheless urged moderation on Chili's part, declaring that otherwise this Government would not give any aid in negotiating with Peru: Mr. Partridge was afterward sent as minister to Peru. He called an informal meeting of the representatives of various European Powers to endeavor to agree upon a solution of the difficulty. In this action he was regarded as having exceeded his authority, and was recalled. Since then all intercourse with Chili has been of a friendly nature.

Secretary Blaine's attitude was very sharply criticized. It was stated that he was largely interested in the success of the Peruvian Company which held and was about to prosecute claims against the Government of that country. If its autonomy were to be destroyed these claims would be worthless, and it was charged that this consideration influenced to some extent Secretary Blaine in his attitude toward Chili. An investigation into the charges was conducted by the

Committee of Foreign Affairs in the House of Representatives. The committee reported that no blame was attached to any United States minister. Mr. Perry Belmont, however, made a separate report criticizing severely the course of the State Department ill countenancing the demands of different claimants, and thus embarrassing the position of the Government.

In regard to the Panama Canal, the United States contested the right of any European Power to guarantee its neutrality, maintaining that the United States had the sole right so to do. It intimated its intention of withdrawing from the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty with England, wherein a joint guarantee of those Powers had been established. This intimation was made by the United States because of the great change in affairs since that treaty had gone into effect. At that time our country had made concessions to England because of resources and wealth too limited to enable her to assume so arduous an undertaking. But the United States is now larger, its wealth has increased, and its population has more than doubled. And its larger interests and possessions make it essential that the neutrality of the canal should not be guaranteed by foreign powers alone.

The question of the coinage of silver again became a prominent subject, not merely in political, but in financial and commercial circles. By November 1st there were in the Treasury about 66,000,000 silver dollars. The danger arose that this would inflate the paper circulation of the country and reduce its currency to the standard of the silver dollar, and that gold would be withdrawn from circulation. To avoid this emergency, France and the United States invited various important nations to send delegates to a convention which should determine a fixed ratio between gold and silver. The convention was held, but Great Britain and Germany refused to be bound by any promises, and the convention was adjourned.

During the year one of the most memorable events was the occurrence, on September 6th, of the "Yellow Day," which will hereafter be associated in history with the dark day of 1780. The peculiarity of the atmosphere was most marked in New England. So dark did it become in some places that schools and factories were closed. The suspension of dense volumes of smoke by a heavy fog, is supposed to have been the cause of the phenomenon, the sun's rays passing through them as through a tinted screen. The colors of objects seemed to change, and all things wore so unearthly an aspect that many thought the last day had arrived.

During the spring of 1882, in consequence of the partial failure of crops the preceding year, the prices of provisions rose. This caused much distress throughout the country, and the working classes believing they suffered the most heavily, demanded an increase of wages. In reply, the employers refused, declaring that they were the heaviest losers. Strikes followed in every direction. For the first time an organization which entitled itself the Knights of Labor, and which claimed to be organized with a view to enforce the rights of the laboring classes, made its power really felt. Of this body each member is taxed five cents a month, and the amount thus collected is put into a general fund for the support of those who join in a strike at the advice of the organization. Persuaded by their leaders, in June those employed in the iron trade demanded higher wages. The demand being refused, a strike ensued on so extensive a scale that almost forty thousand men were thrown out of employment - most of them in Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois, and

Kentucky. After two months had elapsed, the employers remaining firm, the strikers tried to make terms, but finally were obliged to surrender unconditionally. Soon after, the freight-handlers of the railroads terminating in Jersey City and New York struck for higher wages. This and other strikes terminated in favor of the companies.

Early in the session two important measures were brought before the attention of Congress. The peculiar practices of the Mormons in the Territory of Utah practices which, openly avowed as they are, conflict with our normal civilization were felt to be in discord with the ordinary moral principles of society. The other was a bill relating to Chinese immigration.

As regards the Mormon Question, a law passed in 1862 prohibiting the Mormon system of "sealing," or polygamous marriage, was so negligently enforced that only three convictions had occurred. To carry out the intention of the bill, and render prosecution more easy of proof, the so-called Edwards Law was passed. By this, in addition to a reenactment of a fine and imprisonment, those who contravene the law are prohibited from voting or holding office. Under this act all the elective officers in Utah were dismissed from office, and a commission of five appointed by the President to discharge their duties. The result of the position taken by the Federal Government has been the Conviction of many of the leading bishops, elders, and other dignitaries of the Mormon Church for violation of the law.

The Chinese Question is one of much greater extent than any mere local issue. It is this: whether this republic, which has always loudly proclaimed itself as the refuge for the poor and oppressed of all nationalities, shall, in violation of its own constitutional principles, and of the treaties which it has, as a sovereign power, entered into with a foreign nation, refuse the ordinary protection for life and property to a certain class of immigrants who, in frugality, industry, and patience, afford a striking contrast to the majority of those who advocate their exclusion. By the articles of the Burlingame treaty concluded between the United States and China in 1868, the Chinese were accorded the same privileges in regard to settling in this country and becoming naturalized as are enjoyed by those of any other nationality. In 1880, after violent agitations against their admission, fomented particularly by the working classes of the Pacific States, the treaty was modified. By the new terms this Government could regulate or suspend, but not prohibit, the Immigration of the laboring classes, and in response to many demands for a stricter law, a bill was passed in 1882 prohibiting the importation of Chinese laborers for a term of ten years.

The consideration of revising the tariff attracted such wide-spread and marked attention that the President appointed a commission to investigate the subject. Twenty-nine places were visited, and nearly three thousand pages of testimony taken. Most of this was of a conflicting nature, for, of course, In whatever industry men were engaged, the one, which in giving their evidence they represented, needed, in their opinion, strict protection; while, on the other hand, free admission was demanded for other articles ancillary to the business in which they were engaged. The committee finally presented its report. An average reduction of 20 per cent. was recommended the changes on some articles being 40 per cent. or 50 per cent., while others were left untouched,

while on some it was recommended that the duties be raised. After some discussion in both Houses of Congress, and the introduction of several radical changes, the bill was finally passed.

President Arthur submitted for the consideration of Congress a copy of a circular invitation extended to all the independent countries of North and South America to participate in a general Peace Congress to be held at Washington. This was for the purpose of adjusting the differences existing between Chili and Peru, the Central American States and Mexico and Guatemala, but no action was taken by Congress.

In this year full reports were heard of the ill-fated band who had sailed under De Long in the *Jeannette*. The vessel was during the September of 1879 caught in the ice and drifted helplessly to the Northwest, till on the 11th of May, 1881, the fields of ice which had, two days previously, temporarily parted, again came together with irresistible force and crushed the hapless intruder into the Arctic solitudes. Fortunately before she sank most of the provisions, the boats, and the sleds were saved. Then commenced the terrible retreat of the survivors. Where was the nearest land Far distant was the nearest coast, the coast of Siberia; and six hundred miles of ice and water, with its fluctuations, more distressing even than solid ice-fields, separated them from that most northern portion of the habitable globe. They could make but a mile each day, and for a time the drift of the ice caused them to lose more than they gained. Finally reaching open water the sledges were left behind, and the members of the band - about thirty - were divided among the three boats. Two only reached the shore, that of Captain De Long and that of Chief Engineer George W. Melville. The latter met some fishermen on the bank of the *Lena*, and thence sent for assistance to the nearest Russian settlement. As the messengers sent by Chief Engineer George W. Melville were returning to give what aid they could procure, they met two of the band sent out by the ill-fated De Long. These latter had marched nearly a hundred and fifty miles, amidst the most appalling distresses, without food, except what they could, in their extremity, obtain from devouring the fur clothing in which they had commenced their perilous journey. But their devotion and intrepidity were all in vain. The natives whom Chief Engineer George W. Melville's men had induced to accompany them, refused to take the risk of attempting to rescue De Long, and he and the remainder of his companions perished from famine and exposure. De Long had kept a journal to the day of his death, but none was needed to bear testimony to the dreadful sufferings endured. Everything which could sustain life, had been consumed.

The foreign relations of the country were not allowed to suffer in the hands of our Secretary of State, Mr. Frelinghuysen. He continued the correspondence with the English Government, which Mr. Blaine had commenced, respecting the validity of the Bulwer-Clayton Treaty. In reply to Lord Granville's allegation that the British Government had committed no act which could invalidate the treaty, he replied that the treaty in question was voidable because it referred solely to the Nicaragua Canal, and not, as the British Government maintained, to any passage of communication across the Isthmus. He also asserted that the treaty was broken by the holding of British Honduras. This was, he said, in opposition to the stipulations that neither the United States nor Great Britain should colonize or exercise dominion over any part of Central America. It is true that after the treaty had been ratified Mr. Clayton did exchange memoranda with Sir

Henry Bulwer, stating that the stipulation in Article I. should not apply to the settlements in British Honduras; but it is also true that Mr. Clayton declined to affirm or deny the British title in this settlement. Further correspondence ensued without any definite result being attained.

An important question arose respecting the claims to American citizenship, so often brought forward. In this case, the question arose respecting the citizenship of a miscreant named O'Donnell, who had murdered Carey, the Irish informer, on board a British ship. He claimed citizenship, first, on the ground that his father had become naturalized while he himself was a minor; secondly, because he had served in the civil war; thirdly, because he had resided in the United States for three years prior to coming of age, and had remained thereafter till he had taken out naturalization papers.

These statements were thoroughly investigated, and all found to be false. As, however, he had a certificate of naturalization, he was deemed by Secretary Frelinghuysen a citizen of this country. On this declaration followed a resolution of the House directing the attention of the Government to the trial of the murderer; but, as might have been expected, the British Government firmly but politely declined to interfere with the judicial sentence on a convicted murderer, even at the request of a Government anxious to conciliate, for its own purposes, the Irish vote.

With Germany an extensive correspondence took place, not on such lofty subjects as the rights of American citizens or the obligations of treaties, but on the harmless, necessary animal, the American hog. In consequence of alleged discoveries of trichinae in pork imported from the United States, the question was, in 1878, raised in Germany as to the advisability of allowing its consumption. The alarm spread over a great part of Europe; Italy was the first to take action, and on February 20, 1879, she prohibited all pork imports from the United States.

Many of the other countries of Europe soon followed this example. France and Germany, as the largest receivers of our pork, took the alarm, and various restrictions on its importation were established. Of the loss thus caused some idea may be formed from the fact that in 1883 the exports to France amounted only to forty thousand pounds against five millions in 1881. In 1883 the German Government, then in considerable alarm respecting the depressed condition of agriculture, resolved to submit to the Legislature measures to totally exclude American pork; and our Government, with a view of obviating the immense damage to our interests which such a measure would inflict, announced that a commission of investigation was to be appointed, to which it invited the sending of German experts in trichiniasis. This invitation was declined by the German Government, and the House thereupon declared the sanitary reasons were but pretended. This opinion was strengthened by a letter from Mr. Sargent, the Minister to Germany, who set forth the protectionist motives which influenced Prince Bismarck, in a confidential letter to the State Department. Unfortunately this letter was published, with other documents of the State Department, and afterward with offensive comments reproduced in the North German Gazette, the organ of Bismarck. The violation of diplomatic courtesy involved in this publication by the State Department of a confidential dispatch, rendered Mr. Sargent's position as unpleasant officially as it had been socially, and the result was his resignation in the following spring on the

occurrence of the Lasker incident. In utter violation of all international decorum the House of Representatives passed an extraordinary resolution of sympathy on the death of Dr. Lasker, a most distinguished member of the German Parliament, and an inveterate enemy of the Prince Chancellor's measures. No objection could have been taken at expression of sympathy at the death of an eminent politician; but when our House of Representatives further affirmed, what was entirely beyond its competence, that "his labors in opposing the Chancellor had been useful to Germany," no surprise need be entertained at the refusal of Prince Bismarck to transmit such resolutions to the Reichstag.

Treaties negotiated by Secretary Frelinghuysen with Spain and Nicaragua were not ratified. The former created a kind of free trade between Cuba and the United States which would have injured two staple industries of the South, sugar and rice, and the latter involved responsibilities which, without further discussion, would have been dangerous to accept.

In domestic as well as in foreign affairs Mr. Arthur's presidency was uneventful. If the saying is true that the country is happiest which has no history, his term must be included in the list of happy presidencies. The silver question still remains to vex the souls of political economists, financiers, and statesmen. The most authoritative utterance on this subject was that of the Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. McCulloch, who succeeded the late Judge Folger in that high office. In his annual report he wrote:

"I have been forced to the conclusion that unless both the coinage of silver dollars and the issue of silver certificates are suspended, there is danger that silver and not gold may become our metallic standard. This danger may not be imminent, but it is of so serious a character that there ought not to be delay in providing against it. Not only would the national credit be seriously impaired if the Government should be under the necessity of using silver dollars or certificates in payment of gold obligations, but business of all kinds would be greatly disturbed; not only so, but gold would at once cease to be a circulating medium, and severe contraction would be the result."

In May, 1884, occurred a financial crisis. It was caused principally by the inflation which had begun in 1878 and ended during 1881. During that period, from speculation and other causes, stocks and bonds had been forced far above their real values and when, from the failure of the crops in 1881, these commenced to shrink, many banking and commission houses found themselves burdened with unavailable securities. Speculators had lost heavily; the farmers, having also lost, had no money to invest, and for a time business seemed almost at a standstill. At this critical time disclosures were made regarding the loose management of the Marine, Second National, and Metropolitan Banks, and the crisis was precipitated, and numerous failures occurred in the speculative circles of wall Street. The revelations of the manner in which the affairs of the Marine Bank were conducted gave a terrible shock to the moral sense of the nation; and as they involved the fortune, and what is more, the good name of General Grant, the public indignation against the reckless men who had caused the disaster was wide and deep. Two years before, one of the sons of General Grant had formed a partnership with a plausible young man named Ward, and General Grant had entered the firm as a special partner - a position which later on, when he

embarked the rest of his property in the concern, he changed for that of general partner. Neither of the Grants seem to have given any attention to the practical details of the business, but to have, with inconceivable confidence, left everything to the management of Ferdinand Ward. The last named obtained, on usurious terms, large sums from many wealthy capitalists and the Marine Bank, on the allegation that they were to be employed in executing Government contracts, and it is suspected that he hinted that General Grant was the channel through which these lucrative contracts were obtained. The game was carried on successfully for some time, Ward borrowing from new victims the sums he handed over to his earlier allies. Then the crash came; the Marine Bank, of which Ward was a director, had to suspend payment, and the firm of Grant & Ward followed. No pity need be wasted on the chief actors in this affair, but it was a sad thing for every American to learn that the name of the great General, who had been twice President of the Republic, was mixed up in such discreditable transactions in the slightest degree. General Grant was ruined. He had parted with his houses, and even the swords of honor and other presents which had been bestowed on him by foreign powers, to save, if possible, the credit of the firm; even his wife's money had gone in the wreck. The shame and disgrace in which he was thus involved aggravated the disease from which he had begun to suffer, and it continued to make steady advance. To be able to leave something at least to his family the sick man resolved to write a "Memoir of his Life," and although the hand of death was upon him, persevered with his work till a few days before his end, in the following year. It was a melancholy sight to see the old soldier, after his years of battle and victory and almost sovereign power, thus ending his days; yet there was heroism in the way in which, in spite of mortal disease and mental anxiety, his firm will kept him alive till his self-imposed task was accomplished.

Again it is our painful duty to report more disasters to the gallant explorers in the Arctic regions - disasters appalling by the loss of many noble lives, and by the hideous circumstances which accompanied the last days of the expedition. No sadder tale marks the long record of suffering than that brought back by the few survivors of the so-called Greely expedition. This was undertaken for the purpose of scientific observation. The place appointed for the station was Discovery Harbor, on the shores of Lady Franklin Harbor. Lieutenant A. W. Greely was appointed to command the party, which consisted of nineteen men, in addition to a surgeon and his three subordinate officers. They were carried to Discovery Harbor by the Proteus, which then left them with materials for a house and supplies. Observations were taken and explorations made in all directions. The nearest point to the Pole ever attained by man, 83 degrees 24.5 minutes N., was reached. As triumphant proof of this, the flag left by the Nares expedition, at the highest point before attained, was brought back. At the beginning of 1883 the fear of famine began to stare the explorers in the face. The two relief expeditions, which had in the two succeeding years been sent out, had been unable to reach Discovery Harbor. In the second attempt the ship Proteus had been lost, and but few provisions were saved from the wreck and stored at Cape Sabine. Lieutenant Greely, in February of 1883, started southward, and after great suffering reached the cache. With the scanty supply of provisions found there they had to sustain life till aid reached them. This was not till June 22d, and by that date there were but seven survivors, all of whom had endured the most frightful sufferings. They were almost at death's door, hardly recognizable as human beings, wasted to skeletons, rotting away by frost-bites, and covered with

filth. The relieving party tenderly bore the wretched survivors to the ship, and then prepared to remove the bodies of the dead for transport to their native land. Then a frightful secret was revealed. From some of the corpses all the fleshy parts had been cut away, and the only explanation possible flashed on every mind that the living had been compelled to feed upon the dead. It was ascertained, too, that it had been impossible to maintain discipline, that the commander had shot one of his men for stealing food from his comrades, and that general disorganization had prevailed. Lieutenant Greely, and those of the band who could endure transportation, were brought home, where every honor was paid to them. Still the fact can not be disguised that the expedition was badly planned, and the relieving parties of previous years had been dispatched at wrong times and badly managed. "Some one had blundered." To whom the blame must be assigned can not be known till Greely's official report is given to the world. May this be the last of our Arctic explorations!

During President Arthur's term, death removed from us two of our most eminent men of letters, both men of world-wide fame, honored and esteemed wherever the English tongue is spoken. On the 24th of March, 1883, the poet Longfellow passed away full of years and honors. Born at Portland, Maine, in 1807, he became Professor of Modern Languages and Literature at his alma mater, Bowdoin, at the early age of nineteen - a position which he resigned in 1835 to accept the corresponding chair at Harvard. There, for twenty years, he taught and labored among successive generations of pupils; and near the famous University he passed the remainder of his days in the historic Craigie Mansion. His mind, although maturing early, maintained its vigor to the last - clear, vigorous, and cheerful to the close. Without any of the weird, fantastic genius of Poe, Longfellow had a breadth of culture, a classic purity of taste, and a sense of grace and melody which place him ill the front rank of our country's bards. From his first utterances to his last lines, there can be found in his poems no ignoble sentiment, no appeal to our baser passions, no malice, hatred, or uncharitableness. Like Tennyson's ideal knight, "he spoke no evil, no, nor listened to it." His associations in Boston strengthened his natural antipathy to the injustice of man to man, and found expression in his "Songs of Slavery." Although his style had been formed on the literature of Germany and of Spain, his great themes were chosen from national events. The compulsory emigration of the Acadians from Gaspe Bay to Louisiana inspired the most famous and the most tender of his poems, his immortal "Evangeline," while the Indian legends collected by Schoolcraft furnished the material for his "Hiawatha." The former did much to popularize the accented hexameter and to demonstrate what power and grace could be developed in that meter even under the harsh laws and linguistic limitations of our tongue. The other introduced successfully the meter of the old Finnish epic of Kalevala. His shorter poems show more distinctly the influence of the German popular song, and are household words everywhere. Who knows not the "Psalm of Life," with its appeal for action and duty, "The Bridge of Prague," the "Arrow and the Song," the exquisite garland of translations and countless others? Less popular was his "Christus," a hazardous theme to touch, and his "Golden Legend," although both contain many passages of great beauty; but, on the other hand, his Tales of a Wayside Inn are throughout admirable, varied in theme, in treatment, and in form, but all alike in grace. As to Longfellow's position in the hierarchy of poets, we can do no better than take his own estimate, and class him

"Not with the great old masters, Not with the bards sublime, Whose glowing footsteps echo
Through the corridors of time";

but rather,

". . . with the humbler poets Whose songs spring from the heart, As rain from the clouds of
summer, Or tears from the eyelids start."

Widely different in genius and character was his friend, the philosopher Emerson. As the editor of the Dial, and as acknowledged head of the Transcendental School of Philosophy in America, Emerson has exercised an influence as powerful and as wide-spread as that of Carlyle. In many respects he must be pronounced superior to his English friend in equability of temper, in soundness of judgment, and in clearness of thought, as well as in lucidity of style. His poetry has been called philosophy in verse but it is much more than this - it has the genuine poetic ring in its lines, and a genuine poetic fervor lies below its lines.

The philanthropist Peter Cooper, of New York, must also be included in our obituary. In New York, where he resided, he was, in spite of some pardonable vanities, universally esteemed and respected. Beginning life as a poor boy, he never, in the days of his riches, forgot the claims and wants of those less blessed than he with the riches of this world. His hand was open as day to melting charity, and as long as New York stands, the Cooper Union, which he built and endowed, will perpetuate his memory. In this institution he formed a free library and reading-room accessible to all, and added lecture and class rooms where instruction in drawing, mathematics, and all the useful branches of science is given. It may be added that he built the first locomotive run in this country, and was one of the earliest planners of the Transatlantic cable.

On the 4th of March, 1883, died A. H. Stephens, a man who will be best known as the Vice-President of the Confederate States. He had, from his election to Congress in 1843, taken a leading part in public affairs, and when the threats of secession of the Southern States were first heard, was loud in denouncing them. All that could be done to prevent the fatal step of secession he did; yet when his own State, Georgia, passed the resolution of secession, he, like many other citizens of the Southern States, reluctantly acquiesced in the measure. So high was his character held by the South, that in spite of his previous actions and speeches, he was elected to fill the office of Vice-President. After the war, his rights as a citizen were restored, and he was returned again by his native State to Congress, where his emaciated figure and his striking face made him a conspicuous object in the Chamber. During the year 1884 the attention of the nation was directed to the forthcoming electoral campaign. The situation was complicated by the rising power of two widely different parties - the Civil Service Reformers and the Prohibitionists. The exposures of the Star Route trials, the scandals that had accompanied, in one or two States, the election of Garfield and Arthur, and many other corruptions known or suspected, lent to the party which demanded as the first duty of a government the enforcement of purity in every branch of the administration, an unusual and unexpected degree of strength. A Civil Service Reform Bill had indeed been passed, by which all taking of bribes, and all demands from party leaders or party

committees or persons in government employ for contributions to the expenses of the campaign were prohibited, and by which it was ordered that all applicants for political appointments should pass an examination as to their mental and moral qualifications for office. Yet it was known that these requirements of the law were either defied or evaded, and that not only in the Federal Government, but in every State of the Union, and in every municipality in every State, a like evil system prevailed. Nor could it be denied that much of the commercial and financial dishonesty which existed could be traced to the demoralization of the Civil Service. Everywhere men were appointed to office, not because they were fit, but because they had political influence or had contributed largely to the funds of the faction to which they belonged. Hence everywhere the public business was negligently done, extravagance prevailed in every quarter, fraudulent contracts were given out, breaches of contract were connived at, and open rapacity left uncensured. The Spoils system ruled the country. Men of both parties, who thought more of their country than of their party alliances, united to demand a purer government, and had to contend against both of the great parties. The Republicans, who had enjoyed twenty-five years of uninterrupted power, desired a continuance of the system, in order to prolong their domination, while the Democratic party contained a strong faction who equally opposed all reform, with the hope of obtaining their share of the spoils if victory should be theirs. The Civil Reform party, which avowed its intention to vote for whatever candidate would best promote the object it had in view, was one whose numbers could not be even guessed at. Its leaders in the press were the editors of such pronounced Republican journals as Harper's Weekly, the Evening Post, and the New York Times,- but behind them stood all those who believed in honest administration. Another party, whose strength had increased powerfully, was the Prohibition party, which, like the Civil Reform party, cast aside all party affiliations, and supported only those candidates who would favor its views. It was known that both these new parties would recruit their strength principally from the Republicans, and that the votes they could control would decide the election.

The Republican Convention met on June 3d in the Exposition Building at Chicago. President Arthur had hoped to be nominated, but his record in New York politics had alienated the Civil Service Reformers, and his course of action since his accession to his high office had rendered hostile the adherents of Mr. Blaine. On the fourth ballot Mr. J. G. Blaine, of Maine, was nominated as the Republican candidate for the Presidency, and on the 15th of July he addressed to the committee deputed to inform him of his nomination a formal letter of acceptance. The Democratic Convention met in the same city on the 8th of July. Grover Cleveland was nominated as the candidate of the party. Mr. Cleveland was known to have discharged admirably his duties as Mayor of Buffalo in opposing municipal corruption. He was elected Governor of New York as a reform Governor, hostile to federal interference in State affairs, and had discharged his duties in a manner which gained the approval of the Civil Service Reformers as well as of the Democrats. His election had been a rebuke of the management of the Republican party as careless of its traditions and of the purpose of a great body of Republicans, and was a declaration of political independence. He was, however, little known beyond the bounds of his State, and was only a hypothetical force in the Presidential problem till Mr. Blaine had been nominated. Immediately after Mr. Blaine's nomination, meetings of Independent Republicans had been called at New York, Boston, New Haven, and other cities, to put on record a formal protest

against the Blaine candidacy. These assemblies were for the most part made up of eminent citizens scholars, clergymen, literati, lawyers, physicians, manufacturers, merchants - men, in a word, who stood for the most advanced interests of their respective communities, and whose names carried the highest respect of the public. While, however, there was vehement denunciation of Mr. Blaine, these meetings guarded against pledging themselves to the support of the Democratic candidate. There was enough yet said to show the almost irresistible drift of private feeling, and that a tide was setting in favor of Governor Cleveland, should he be the Democratic nominee. It is beyond question that the fact that Mr. Cleveland was the only candidate likely to attract Republican voters gave him from the first his strength in the Convention. On the second ballot he was nominated for the office of President, and Mr. T. A. Hendricks as Vice President.

In the Democratic as in the Republican camp there were dissensions. A strong faction was resolutely opposed to the candidacy of Cleveland, and did its utmost to defeat him. The organ of this party was the New York Sun, and the candidate it put forward to draw votes from Cleveland was General Benjamin F. Butler. The campaign was carried on with unparalleled energy and with a disgraceful amount of personality and slander. It was seen from the first that the great State of New York would cast the decisive vote, and the activity of both parties was concentrated there. The result was that New York went Democratic by a small plurality - only 1,447 votes. Some delay took place in counting the votes, and for a day or two the suspense was great, but the count was formally announced on the 6th of November. The great party that had been in power for twenty-five years was defeated at the polls, and the administration entrusted to their rivals. In no country in the world, except in OUR COUNTRY, could such a transfer of all the functions of government from one party to an other have been effected without the slightest symptom of disturbance. On the 4th of March Grover Cleveland was inaugurated at Washington with the usual ceremonies, and nominated as his Cabinet: Thomas F. Bayard, Secretary of State Daniel Manning, Secretary of the Treasury; William C. Whitney, Secretary of the Navy William C. Endicott, Secretary of War L. Q. C. Lamar, Secretary of the Interior; Augustus H. Garland, Attorney-General and William F. Vilas, Postmaster-General.

Of these men, Mr. Bayard belonged to a family one member of which had, from the time of the founding of our present form of government, always been a Senator from Delaware. He himself resigned the Senatorship to take office under President Cleveland. He had been a member of the Electoral Commission in 1877 which gave the Presidency to Mr. Hayes, and had, in addition to talent in debate, always displayed a judicial temper and a wide statesmanship. In 1880, and again in 1884, he had been spoken of as a probable candidate for the Presidency; in the latter year, indeed, at the first ballot of the Chicago Convention, 170 votes were given to Bayard against 392 for Cleveland. This nomination, therefore, to the first post in the new Democratic Cabinet was foreseen. Next in rank, but equal if not superior in importance to the office of Secretary of State, is that of the Secretary of the Treasury. For this distinguished position Daniel Manning, of Albany, was nominated. He had been an editor of a powerful Democratic paper, and had had long experience in banking and financial affairs. Perhaps, however, these qualifications would not have raised him to the Treasury Department without the additional recommendation that he was

the leader of the Democratic party in the State and credited with having the control of the Democratic nominating convention in the campaign just ended - a control which had resulted in the nomination of Grover Cleveland. He seems, as far as we are able to form any opinion of the secret history of the period, to have been the member of the Cabinet who had most influence on the Executive. The rest of his ministers Mr. Cleveland seems to have regarded as heads of departments to carry out the instructions of the chief executive officer. The appointments of Mr. Endicott, Mr. Whitney, and Mr. Vilas elicited few remarks, but much hostile comment was made by the Republican journals on the nomination to high office of Mr. L. C. Lamar of Georgia and Mr. Garland of Arkansas. Both had cast in their lots with the Southern Confederacy in the dreadful struggle that began at Fort Sumter and ended at Appomattox. The former had not only fought in the Southern armies, but had been dispatched by the President of the Confederate States on a diplomatic mission to Russia. Both had been in the Confederate Congress, but both, at the time of their nomination to Federal office, were members of the United States Senate. As the Southern States had consistently voted for the Democratic candidates, the dictates of policy suggested the nomination to office of men identified with the past as well as the present of the once seceding States, and perhaps no better representatives of the lost cause could be found than the two gentlemen in question.

The leading foreign diplomatic posts were assigned to Mr. E. J. Phelps, who became Minister to Great Britain, to Mr. R. M. McLane, who became Minister to France, and to Mr. Geo. Pendleton, who had himself long before been spoken of as a possible Vice-President, and now became envoy at Berlin. Of these, Mr. Phelps seems to have been the greatest success. The British mission is always a difficult post, and the position was not rendered more easy by the fact that the new Democratic Minister went as successor to one of the most brilliant and accomplished men our country has produced, Mr. James Russell Lowell, whose works are household words in England as well as here. Mr. Phelps had this advantage over his distinguished predecessor - he was a trained lawyer and a profound scholar in international law. It was doubtless this consideration, in view of the perplexities and troubles likely to arise from the fishery question, that prompted the selection of Mr. Phelps for an office where legal knowledge was of quite as much importance as diplomatic tact or social success. Two other diplomatic appointments led to considerable discussion and ill-feeling. Mr. A. R. Lawton was nominated to the Russian Mission, but his confirmation was opposed under the plea that he had been in the Confederate service and that his political disabilities had never been removed. Mr. Garland, the Attorney-General, indeed, gave an elaborate opinion to the contrary effect, but the result was that Mr. Lawton declined the nomination in order to save the Government from any embarrassment. The other case was one of much more general importance. Mr. A. M. Keiley was named Minister to the Quirinal, but the kingdom of Italy declined to receive him as a *persona non grata*. The true reason of the refusal was a speech that Mr. Keiley had made at a public meeting at Richmond called to protest against the occupation of Rome by the Italian troops, in which he had used decidedly intemperate language against the King of Italy and his advisers. Still, as no reason was given by the Italian Government for refusing to accept Mr. Keiley as our representative at the Quirinal, nothing more could be done beyond withdrawing his name. Then one great mistake was made, either by the President or by Mr. Bayard, the latter of whom ought to have been more versed in diplomatic

intercourse: Mr. Keiley, rejected by Italy, was nominated to the Imperial Court of Austria. The time was very inopportune for such an appointment. An alliance, or at any rate a good understanding, had been formed between the Courts of Vienna and the Quirinal, and every effort was made on both sides to draw the two powers closer together. Mr. Keiley's presence at Vienna would, therefore, be almost as embarrassing to both as if he had been received at Rome. Again the unfortunate Keiley was declared a *persona non grata*, and then, with incredible want of tact, a protest was made by Mr. Bayard against the non-acceptance of an American citizen as an American minister, solely because he had been refused by a friendly power, and an inquiry made what other objection existed. With a want of the usual diplomatic tact, Count Kalnoky, the Austrian Minister for Foreign Affairs, replied, with reference to Mr. Keiley's matrimonial relations: "The position," he wrote, "of a foreign envoy wedded to a Jewess by civil marriage would be untenable, and even impossible, in Vienna." More letters came from Mr. Bayard, but the Viennese Court remained inflexible. Mr. Keiley, like Mr. Lamar, was a representative of the South, a man of ability and political weight, who ought to have been spared such slights.

The minor appointments to minor positions under the Federal Government began at once to trouble the new administration. There was the strong party of old Democrats, hungry for the spoils of victory, who clamored for the immediate dismissal of old Republican office-holders. Great was their wrath when, in consequence of a strong petition from most of the business houses of New York, Mr. Pearson was retained as postmaster at our commercial metropolis. There were the anti-Blaine Republicans, who had voted for Cleveland in the interest of Civil Service reform, and whom both the old parties designated as "Mugwumps." This strange word, first popularized at this epoch, is an old Narragansett Indian word, used in Elliott's translation of the Bible for chief or king, and was now applied to the Civil-service reformers and Independent Republicans to insinuate that they thought themselves better than other men, and bound to no allegiance. The Mugwumps in their turn were indignant at the nomination of Mr. Eugene Higgins as appointment clerk in the Treasury. He was described as an unscrupulous political worker and with a bad record, and his installation in such a position as that named was justly regarded as indicating a swerving on the part of the President from his earlier professions of a desire to reform the Civil Service - a desire proclaimed in his announcement that no removals from office would be made except in the case of heads of departments, for "cause" or for "offensive partisanship."

It is advisable to go into these details respecting the formation of the administration of President Cleveland, as in them lie the causes why he did not succeed in procuring a reelection to a second term. It is the old story - a man cannot serve two masters.

The first business that attracted the attention of the President was the civil war raging in the Central American States, to the detriment of American interests in that quarter. A naval force was dispatched to the scene of disturbance, and a force of marines landed to protect life and property at Aspinwall, which had been occupied and burned by one of the factions. At home the failing health of General Grant continued to evoke universal sympathy. The last act of President Arthur had been to sign the bill restoring him to his rank in the army, but he was not destined to hold the honor long. He died on the 23d of July, and on the 8th of August his remains were

brought from Mount MacGregor, where the death took place, to New York. The body lay in state for two days in the City Hall, and was then transported to a spot on the banks of the Hudson in Riverside Park, which the city had assigned for that purpose. The procession which accompanied the funeral car was immense. The President, Vice-President, and Cabinet were present, as well as ex-Presidents Hayes and Arthur; Generals Sherman and Sheridan, and hosts of his old comrades, came from far and near to pay the last honors to their chief; the Governors of all the States swelled the throng, and the Senate and House of Representatives were strongly represented. The military display comprehended detachments from all arms of the regular service, and contingents from the National Guard of many States, and from the Grand Army of the Republic and the veteran organizations.

The remarkable career of this famous military commander is found best related in his own "Personal Memoirs." Reared in obscurity and poverty, he obtained admission to West Point as a cadet but seeing no present prospect of occupation as a soldier, he relinquished military life. The breaking out of the war in 1861 brought him from retirement, and he became a lieutenant-colonel of volunteers. Within four years of that time, he had been given the chief command of an army vaster than any that had been handled by any general of ancient or modern times. By unequalled energy, aided by a military genius for which few had given him credit, he won battle after battle till he eventually received the surrender of the Confederate commander-in-chief and his whole army. The last days of his life were, as already mentioned, embittered by his business connections and financial ruin. He was silent under obloquy, patient in reverses, fertile in resources, and tenacious to the verge of obstinacy. He was a firm friend to those whom he had once admitted to his friendship; and this noble quality was too often abused by those who had gained his confidence. In action he was imperturbable; in victory he exhibited unexampled modesty and clemency, without a thought of revenge or punishment. In political life, however, he was ambitious, easily led by his flatterers, and obstinate in his conceived opinions. Personally neither dishonest nor rapacious, he overlooked rapacity and dishonesty, or even pardoned them. Without taking wrongfully, he was open to the charge of accepting too freely and it was his desire of wealth that led to his ruin. He was a great general, but not a man great enough to descend with dignity from a great position.

On the 28th of November the Vice-President, Mr. Hendricks, died suddenly. By his decease before the meeting of Congress the succession to the Presidency, in case of the death or disability of the President, was left undetermined. By the Constitution, the Congress has the power to provide for the case of the removal or death of either the President or Vice-President, but the Congress had not yet organized. When it did meet on the 7th of December the Senate elected Senator Sherman its President pro tempore, the acting Vice-President thus being the leader of the opposition to the President's policy. So great was the anxiety felt at this unexpected state of affairs that, by the advice of his Cabinet, the President declined to attend the funeral of his colleague. Various proposals had been made at various times with a view to settling beyond peril the question of succession. In the early part of 1883 a bill for this purpose was brought in, and as the death of Mr. Hendricks again called the attention of the Nation to this important matter, the President in his message recommended the subject to the careful consideration of Congress. In

accordance with this recommendation, and in view of the alarming results that might ensue if a question of such grave importance was not at once settled by the Legislature, a bill prepared by Senator Hoar was introduced and finally passed. By its provisions, in case of the death of both the President and Vice-President, the functions of the office are to be discharged till an election can be held under the articles of the Constitution, by the Cabinet officers, in the order of the seniority of creation of their offices.

Chapter CXLII

President Cleveland's First Message - The Revision of the Tariff - The State of the National Treasury - The Dangerous Surplus - The State of the Navy - Secretary Whitney's Report - The New Cruisers, the "Dolphin," the "Chicago," "Atlanta," and "Boston" - Large Appropriations for the Navy - The President and the Senate - The Senate Demands Papers in Regard to Suspensions from Office The President's Message on the Subject - Attacks on the President's Scheme of Civil Service Reform by Democrats - The President's Marriage to Miss Folsom in the White House - The Extradition Treaty with Great Britain Rejected - The Cutting Affair and Negotiations with Mexico - Fluctuation of the Population - Growth of Large Cities - "Pools and Trusts" - Trades Unions - Knights of Labor - The Strikes in Chicago - The Chicago Riots - The Anarchists and the Police - Four of the Leaders Sentenced to Death - Henry George and the Single Tax - Interstate Commerce Act - Dangers of Great Corporations - Their Powers Unchecked by Law - Combination and Individual Freedom - Employers and Employed - Resignation and Death of Secretary Manning - Obituaries - General G. B. McClellan - S. I. Tilden - General Hancock - General J. A. Logan - The Charleston Earthquakes.

In addition to the suggestion for immediate action on the settlement of the Presidential succession, President Cleveland, in his first address to the First Session of the Forty-ninth Congress, while presenting to the Senate the reports of his various Secretaries of the Executive Departments, endorsed and enforced the views expressed by these officers. His recommendations were strictly on the line of the ideas he had promulgated in his inaugural address and in his letter of acceptance of the Presidential nomination. As a preliminary he pointed out what he deemed the constitutional functions of the Executive and the Legislature, and the line that was to be drawn between them. "The Constitution," he wrote, "which requires those chosen to legislate for the people to annually meet in the discharge of their solemn trusts, requires the President to give to Congress information of the state of the Union, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall deem necessary." And he proceeded: "The Executive may recommend such measures as he may deem expedient the responsibility for legislative action rests with those who are selected by the people to make their laws." Having thus defined his own position with respect to the Houses of Congress, he recommended the abolition of all custom duties on imported works of art, a measure involving only a trivial sacrifice of revenue. The next recommendation was of far wider import, for it was no less than one for the revision of the tariff. The platform on which the Democratic party had triumphantly appealed to the country had explicitly "denounced the abuses of the existing tariff and, subject to certain limitations, had demanded that Federal taxation shall be exclusively for public purposes, and shall not exceed the needs of the Government, economically administered." It was, then, in full accord with the principles on which he was elected, but with somewhat more of precision in detail, that the President said:

"The fact that our revenues are in excess of the actual needs of an economical administration of the Government, justifies a reduction in the amount exacted from the people for its support. Our Government is but the means established by the will of a free people, by which certain principles are applied which they have adopted for their benefit and protection; and it is never

better administered and its true spirit is never better observed than when the people's taxation for its support is scrupulously limited to the actual necessity of expenditure, and distributed according to a just and equitable plan.

"The proposition with which we have to deal is the reduction of the revenue received by the Government, and indirectly paid by the people from custom duties. The question of free trade is not involved, nor is there now any occasion for the general discussion of the wisdom or expediency of a protective system.

"Justice and fairness dictate that in any modification of our present laws relating to revenue, the industries and interests which have been encouraged by such laws, and in which our citizens have large investments, should not be ruthlessly injured or destroyed. We should also deal with the subject in such manner as to protect the interests of American labor, which is the capital of our workingmen its stability and proper remuneration furnish the most justifiable pretext for a protective policy.

"Within these limitations a certain reduction should be made in our customs revenue. The amount of such reduction having been determined, the inquiry follows, Where can it best be remitted, and what articles can best be released from duty, in the interest of our citizens?

"I think the reduction should be made in the revenue derived from a tax upon the imported necessaries of life. We thus directly lessen the cost of living in every family of the land, and release to the people in every humble home a larger measure of the rewards of frugal industry."

In such a statement no unprejudiced man can see any advocacy of the so-called Free Trade doctrines. The state of prosperity in which these United States have found themselves for a succession of years, a state unparalleled in the history of the world, has produced a condition of affairs in the Treasury, not only unexampled in modern times, but simply inconceivable to the nations of Europe. In the Old World the chief and most arduous duty of statesmen is - to use a good old phrase - to make both ends meet that is, to balance their receipts and expenditures. The usual method of so doing is by increasing taxation in every form to the farthest extent that the country can bear; new subjects to be taxed, new methods of levying taxes, and if possible, new rates of taxation, are the usual burden of addresses by kings and emperors, prime ministers and chancellors, to the legislative bodies, who hold the purse strings of a nation. For this, eloquence and ingenuity are often expended in vain, and then the baffled monarch revenges himself by an epigram about "ignorant impatience of taxation." Happy is OUR COUNTRY, where taxation can be borne without impatience. But in a plethora of revenue there lurks a danger which may lead to fatal results - the danger of the party in control of the revenue using it to debauch and corrupt the people. With an overflowing Treasury, and with statesmen at their wits' end to know what to do with the ever-augmenting surplus, there is the constant danger of abuse in its disbursements, especially when, like the United States, we are under no necessity of keeping up large armies. But, at the same time, our commerce is world-wide, and our enterprising citizens are in every land. They must be protected, and at the same time our coasts must be defended. Hence the

necessity of a navy adequate to these purposes and befitting one of the great nations of the world. Mr. Tilden, in a powerfully-reasoned letter, had shown how defenseless were our great cities on the seaboard, and urged the erection of fortifications, but preference was given to a scheme of strengthening the navy.

On the state of our navy, the President's language was as follows "We have not a single vessel of war that could keep the seas against a first- class vessel of any important power. Such a state of things ought no longer to continue. The nation that cannot resist aggression is always exposed to it. I especially direct the attention of Congress to the close of the report of the Secretary of the Navy, in which the humiliating weakness of the present organization of his department is exhibited, and the startling abuse and waste of the present methods are exposed. The conviction is forced upon us with the certainty of mathematical demonstration, that before we proceed further in the restoration of a navy we need a thoroughly reorganized Navy Department. The fact that, within seventeen years, more than seventy-five millions of dollars have been spent in the construction, repair, equipment, and armament of vessels, and the further fact that, instead of an effective and creditable fleet, we have only the discontent and apprehension of a nation undefended by war vessels, added to the disclosures now made, do not permit us to doubt that every attempt to revive our navy has thus far, for the most part, been misdirected, and all our efforts in that direction have been little better than blind gropings, and expensive, aimless follies.

"Unquestionably, if we are content with the maintenance of a Navy Department simply as a shabby ornament to the Government, a constant watchfulness may prevent some of the scandal and abuse which have found their way into our present organization, and its incurable waste may be reduced to the minimum. But if we desire to build ships for present usefulness instead of naval reminders of the days that are past, we must have a department organized for the work, supplied with all the talent and ingenuity our country affords, prepared to take advantage of the experience of other nations, systematized so that all effort shall unite and lead in one direction, and fully imbued with the conviction that war vessels, though new, are useless unless they combine all the latest improvements that experience and ingenuity can suggest."

The previous administration had already taken some steps to create a new navy, and four ships of war were then building. The first of these that was tendered to Mr. Whitney, the Secretary, was the Dolphin. The contract between the late Secretary and the builder, Mr. Roach, had been to the effect that this vessel was to be accepted by the Government, if passed by the Advisory Board of Naval Officers, unless it could be proved that her failure to perform what the specifications called for was due to bad construction. The Advisory Board recommended Secretary Whitney to accept the Dolphin, but he, having reason to be dissatisfied with the reports of her previous trial, ordered a new trial of her speed to be made. The result of this trial was that she did not attain the speed called for by the specification, and in many other respects showed herself defective. Mr. Whitney declined to accept her, and in reply to the remonstrances of the builder justified his action by the opinion of the Attorney-General, who, after reviewing the whole case at length, gave it as his opinion that, in view of all the premises, "no contract exists between Mr. Roach and the United States, and that the large sums of money which have been paid to Mr.

Roach have passed into his hands without authority of law, and may be recovered from him."

Mr. Roach was at the same time building three other vessels under a similar contract, the Chicago, Atlanta, and Boston, and the result of this decision so embarrassed him that he made an assignment, and the ships were taken over by the Government, and the remainder of the work that had to be done on them was carried on by it in Mr. Roach's yard and by Mr. Roach's men.

The transaction was made the source of violent assaults on Mr. Whitney, who was accused of using his official power to crush a man well known for his Republican principles, and to throw obloquy on his own predecessor in office. In his report to the President he asked for an appropriation of over thirty-five millions of dollars for the coming year, as against thirteen millions in the fiscal year expiring June 30. Public sentiment is undoubtedly on the side of a reconstruction of our navy, which was our earliest pride, and which so nobly sustained its own renown in the War of Secession at Mobile, New Orleans, Vicksburg, and elsewhere. But glorious as were the achievements of our old navy, the style of the fighting ships of those days is obsolete to-day. During the last thirty years everything about them has changed - model, material, machinery, armament, and equipment. The ram and torpedo have come into existence, and new forms of guns, with new explosives and new projectiles, have already rendered useless the ships that were deemed unassailable a few years ago. We start with the lessons to be learned by the experience of other nations, and our skill and inventive faculty will easily put us in possession of a fleet inferior to none.

The majority of the Senate was Republican, and was, therefore, not inclined to accept President Cleveland's nominations to offices requiring its approval in the unquestioning spirit which a Democratic body would have exhibited. It used its power not only to delay action on the nominations sent in to it for confirmation, but to raise a direct controversy with the President respecting the reasons for the removals he had made and the appointments that he recommended. In his inaugural address and his subsequent declarations immediately following his inauguration, President Cleveland had stated and restated that no removals would be made by him "except for cause," and however adroitly he might interpret this phrase so as to embrace offensive partisanship during tenure of office, the phrase itself remained open to the construction that the many displacements of office-holders that had taken place had been carried into effect for other reasons than merely because the tenant of an office differed in his political opinions from the Executive then in power. The President was thus caught on the horns of a dilemma. If he honestly confessed that he removed Republican officials solely because they were Republicans, in order to give the places thus rendered vacant to clamorous and hungry members of the Democratic party, he was exposed to the attacks of the party of Civil Service Reform - the party whose defection from the Republican ranks had, beyond question, contributed largely to his election to his high office. If on the other hand, his early declarations - that merely political differences in opinion ought not to be made the basis for removals of competent officials - were to be taken to express and define his course of action, it was a fair inference - fair enough and quite legitimate in political warfare - that these removals were rendered necessary for reasons that reflected more or less on the character of the displaced officer. This inference the Senate adopted,

and when a large batch of new nominations were sent into the Senate in March, 1886, they were not acted upon by that body, but a demand was made on the President to furnish the Senate, for its guidance during its executive sessions, all information on file in regard to suspensions from office. The real object was, of course, to compel an acknowledgment that these removals had been made for political reasons.

The immediate nomination which led to this outbreak of hostilities between the Executive and the Senate was, of course, one of little importance, relating merely to the dismissal of a District Attorney in one of the Southern States. To the demand of the Senate, the Attorney General replied that the President of the United States directed him not to transmit these papers. The Senate replied by resolutions, "condemning the refusal of the Attorney-General, under whatever influence, to send to the Senate" the papers called for, and declaring that it was the duty of the Senate to refuse its advice to removals of officers when the information on which such removal was supposed to be based was withheld. Then the President joined in the fray, and on March 1st sent a message to the Senate, in which he confirmed the statement that it was by his direction that the Attorney-General had acted, adding that the papers called for were purely unofficial and private, and referred to the performance of a duty exclusively the President's, and that he, therefore, denied the right of the Senate, as far as it is based on the claim that these papers are official, and that he unequivocally disputed the right of the Senate, "by the aid of any documents whatever, or by any way, except by impeachment," to review or reverse the acts of the Executive. Finally, he boldly declared "the pledges as to civil service reform were made to the people, and to them I am responsible. I am not responsible to the Senate."

In this message the President made use of a phrase which soon became widely current. He spoke of the whole of the tenure of office legislation having been left for the last twenty years in a state of "innocuous desuetude."

The dispute ended with both parties holding their original positions. The papers demanded were not furnished to the Senate, and the nominations of the President were held over or rejected by the Senate.

The President, indeed, during the whole of his term of office was placed in a most embarrassing position, for, in addition to open enemies in Congress, he had to contend against the lukewarm support or scarcely disguised hostility of the rank and file of the Democratic party. To them the principle of civil service reform, to which he had pledged himself, was in every respect distasteful. It was denounced as un-American, stigmatized as Chinese and British, and declared to be the first step towards creating a bureaucracy, the members of which, neither hoping for promotion nor fearing dismissal from the people, or the chosen representatives of the people, or the Chief of the State, would form an arrogant, exclusive, almost independent body, able, if not entirely to thwart, at least to embarrass the execution of the popular will. The principle of rotation in office was proclaimed as the true American and Democratic principle, and it was urged that, as all offices since the war, during all the successive Republican administrations, had been filled by Republicans, so now, when a President elected by the Democratic party occupied the

White House and administered public affairs through a Democratic Cabinet, all offices ought to be filled by Democrats.

"Turn the rascals out!" had been for years a rallying cry for the Democracy, and its fulfillment was demanded. Nor would the public service, it was argued, suffer by such changes in its personnel, for the offices in which they took place were such as any intelligent citizen could discharge satisfactorily while in the present state of affairs a substitution of Democratic for Republican officials was especially desirable, in order to give the party that had been so long excluded from every share in the administration some training in the official routine of public office. Above all, the managers of the Democratic party insisted on the doctrine that "to the victors belong the spoils," and that the only way by which the party could be held together, or those who had worked zealously for its triumphs be rewarded, was the bestowal of office, if only as an acknowledgment of services rendered and an encouragement of services to come. Great as was the pressure thus put on the President, and often as he was compelled to give way to it, on the whole he endeavored to the best of his ability to carry out the pledges on which he had appealed to the people when a candidate for their suffrages.

But whatever political troubles environed President Cleveland from open foes or doubtful friends, he had found time to win a wife and although the matrimonial alliances of our Presidents have no such political bearings as those of European potentates, the event deserves mention, for thereafter the President acquired a temporary and sentimental popularity.

The ceremony took place in his official residence, the Executive Mansion, and had this much of a public function about it, that it was attended by all the Cabinet officers, except the Attorney-General, and this much of royal tradition about it, that it involved an inversion of the customs of plain people, for the bride came to be married at the bridegroom's house, the bridegroom did not go to bring home his bride. The lady who was thus, on June 2d, united to Grover Cleveland, was the daughter of his old partner, Miss Frances Folsom, a lady of youth, beauty, and accomplishments, who presided thereafter most admirably over the social functions which even a Republican President has to discharge. There is no doubt, strange as it may seem, that this marriage, utterly unromantic as it was, gave to the President for the moment immense popularity, and certainly averted a renewal of the attacks on his private character, which had been so rife before his election.

The foreign relations of the United States were as uneventful as usual. A new extradition treaty between Great Britain and this country had been for some time under discussion. It was considerably wider in its terms than the existing one, but one of its clauses, stipulating for the surrender of persons who should have inflicted injury by the use of dynamite, gave rise to great opposition. It was maintained that the clause was inserted, if not avowedly, at least probably, to cover the cases of the dynamite explosions by the Fenians in London and elsewhere, and that, in actual effect, therefore, it could be easily turned by the foreign government into a means of procuring the extradition of political offenders. It was from no sympathy for the perpetrators of outrages of the class above named, that the treaty was held over in the Senate for a long time and

finally rejected, but from the fear that it might, under some circumstances, become an instrument for wreaking political vengeance.

On the Mexican frontier the usual condition of affairs continued. Lawless men from both countries crossed and recrossed the frontier, but without any acts involving any international question. In the month of August, 1886, however, a new and curious controversy arose between the Mexican and American governments. At the frontier town of El Paso, in Texas, there lived an American citizen, Cutting by name, who published a newspaper there. For some reason or other he moved from the American side to the Mexican side of the boundary line, and there, in pursuit of his calling, he began the publication of a paper in the Spanish language. With true American journalistic enterprise, he set out to make his paper popular by making it sensational, and he made it sensational by violent attacks on the local government. He was arrested for libel, but released on signing a retraction. On his release he at once crossed into Texas, had the original libel republished there in Spanish in an American newspaper, and taking copies of this paper with him, returned to Mexico and sold them. He was rearrested, tried, convicted, and sentenced to imprisonment. The American Government took up the position that the offense was committed within the jurisdiction of the United States and could not be punished in Mexico, and demanded peremptorily his immediate release. Mr. Bayard, Secretary of State, declared that "the safety of the citizens and of all others lawfully within our jurisdiction would be greatly impaired, if not wholly destroyed, by admitting the power of a foreign State to define offenses and apply penalties to acts committed within the jurisdiction of the United States." President Diaz, on the other hand, said that the Mexican Government was acting in good faith, being only desirous of having justice done; that he felt that the matter was one for calm consideration on the part of the two governments, uninfluenced by popular clamor. Senor Rubio, the Mexican Minister of the Interior, had defended the arrest, which was in proper legal form. Mr. Cutting had been treated with more consideration than Mexican criminals, and the Mexican Government considered that he had not only infringed the code of the State of Chihuahua, making offenses against its citizens committed in foreign territory punishable, but that, in evincing contempt of court, he had violated the national laws. The affair was temporarily adjusted by the Mexican Government making a proposition, through the United States Minister at Mexico, that the American Government should send a special envoy to confer with the Mexican attorney-general as to the proper interpretation of the law in the case. The proposition was acted upon, and Mr. Arthur G. Sedgwick was deputed to act in behalf of the United States, but without diplomatic powers or authority to effect a settlement. The upshot of the affair was that the Mexican court released Mr. Cutting on a technical plea.

For many years past the drift of population has been towards an urban life. Taking the town of 8,000 inhabitants as the lower limit of urban population, we find that 3.3 percent of the population was to be classed as urban in 1790, and that the percentage had risen to 22.5 in 1880. If towns of 4,000 inhabitants had been taken as the lower limit, the urban population in 1880 would have been 13,000,000, or more than 25 per cent. It may be thought that the policy of protection had something to do with this tendency, but it is noteworthy that the increase during the generally free-trade period of 1840, from 8.5 to 16.1, was the greatest of any twenty years, unless we take the period 1850-70, half free-trade and half protective, when the percentage rose from 12.5 to

20.9. Whatever may have been the cause, the tendency is indubitable, and its effects in increasing the facility of organization among the employees of corporations, whose fields of operation are generally urban, are as easily to be seen.

Some of these corporations are controlled by men who were believed, in some cases on the best of evidence, to have gained their control by the defects of American corporation law, particularly by the privilege of the majority of stockholders to use the whole stock almost at their discretion, even for the wrecking of the road and its repurchase on terms ruinous to the minority's interests. Disrespect for "property rights" thus acquired was apt to extend to other corporate property acquired legitimately in the railroad strikes of 1877 there were cases in which citizens, usually law-abiding, watched with hardly concealed satisfaction the destruction of such property as belonged to corporations. Further, the neutral position of the United States had brought about the transfer of considerable English and other foreign capital to the United States to be invested, under corporate privileges, in cattle-ranges or other industries connected with Western agriculture. The American managers of these corporations, feeling little responsibility to any power except their foreign employers, permitted themselves to take liberties with individual settlers and their rights which arrayed a large part of the agricultural population of the West against corporate property. Finally the differential rates made in private, even secret, contracts, by railway corporations all over the country, had gathered up passions of all sorts against the corporate "monopolies."

The anger of agricultural conservatism, usually a safe reliance, had ceased to be of service in this matter. An order, the "Patrons of Husbandry," said to number 1,500,000 members in 1874, had been formed with the avowed object of checking the common corporate enemy. and, though its prominence was short-lived, its influence remained. This growing power of corporations, and that at a time when the democracy had just shown its strength most forcibly and to its own satisfaction their evident tendency, especially in the protected industries and in transportation, to further combinations, such as "pools" and "trusts;" the consequent partial disappearance of that competition which had seemed to be a restriction on the power of the corporations over the individual the power and disposition of corporations to cut wages down whenever dividends made it necessary to do so; the half-understood, but heartily dreaded, weapon known as the "black-list," by which combinations of employers, especially of corporations, drove employees inclined to agitation out of employment the general misgivings as to the wisdom or honesty of the State legislatures, in which the power over corporations was vested; the unhappy influences of the above-mentioned increase of urban population over the jury system the complicated systems of appeals which had grown up in our law, with their opportunities for delay, opening a path for a perversion of justice by wealthy and determined corporations; the altered character of American labor, which was now largely made up of a mass of immigration hardly yet fully digested, and more apt than American labor had once been to seek help in something else than individual effort,-all these influences made up a mass of explosives which became seriously dangerous. It was no longer so easy for the individual to defend himself against aggression; if it had been, the American workingman was no longer so apt to trust to an individual defense; and laborers began to turn to combinations against corporations, though these combinations were even more prompt

and successful in attacking individual employers than in attacking corporations.

The trades unions, which retained most of the conservative influences of their generally beneficiary nature, were not radical enough, and a local Philadelphia society, the "Knights of Labor," was developed into a national organization, following the usual system of local assemblies, with delegates to State and National conventions. With but 52,000 members in 1883, it claimed 630,000 in October, 1886, and 1,000,000 in the beginning of 1887. Its general object was the union of all classes and kinds of labor into one organization, so that, "an injury to one being the concern of all," the oppression of even the humblest and weakest individual might be answered by the sympathetic action of more important, and, if necessary, of all, classes of labor. The "boycott," an imported idea, was its most successful weapon the firm or corporation which oppressed its employees was to be brought to terms by a refusal of all members of the national organization to buy its productions or to deal with any one who bought or sold them. Such a scheme was directly subversive of all social protection or security, and yet it had gone on for nearly two years before it came plainly to public notice, in January, 1886. Boycotts increased in number local assemblies, intoxicated by their sudden success, went beyond the control of the well-intentioned head of the order; the passive obedience on the part of the members, which was a necessary feature of the system, evolved a class of local dictators, or rings, which were irresponsible as well as tyrannical, and the business of the country was very seriously threatened all through the years 1886 and 1887.

It would be tedious and unprofitable to recapitulate all the strikes which took place during these years. The most important, however, was one in favor of a general law restricting the hours of labor to eight hours a day. Throughout the country thousands of hands in various trades struck, and a great demonstration was planned to take place simultaneously the first week in May in several leading cities; but it was, as an organized agitation of striking workmen, less formidable than was anticipated. The largest display was made in Chicago, where about 30,000 men quitted their work and paraded with bands of music and red flags. These were not all strikers. About 15,000 were men out for a holiday. About 7,500 were railway men and wood-workers who had struck for eight hours. About as many more were laborers out of employment, because their employers had closed their shops rather than yield to the eight hour demand. All were orderly and peaceable at first, but later a mob of 7,000 of the most turbulent elements in the city, consisting largely of Poles, Bohemians, and Germans, attacked the McCormick Reaper works, because they believed the men were working ten hours. The fact was that the demand of eight hours had been temporarily conceded. The mob assailed the men with stones and broke the windows of the building. When a platoon of police arrived, they were met with stones and pistols. The police stood their ground, finally routing the mob after severely injuring several. In New York there was an open-air meeting in Union Square in favor of the eight hours movement. It was attended by 20,000 men, mostly laborers. There were many red flags, and incendiary speeches, by foreign Socialists chiefly, but the crowd was quiet and orderly, and dispersed early, apparently without being much affected thereby. It became apparent that there was no skillfully organized eight hours movement here. In other cities there were smaller demonstrations, but few strikes. Few concessions were made by employers, several of whom professed their willingness, rather than

yield, to stop work entirely. The cause of the movement is stated to have been the belief that wages were too high, and that a general reduction was inevitable unless an organized demonstration of the laborers could be made. It was estimated that there were at least one million laborers idle in the country.

These labor agitations culminated in a formidable Socialist riot in the city of Chicago, on Tuesday, May 4th, in which many persons - police, citizens, and rioters - were killed and wounded. It appears that for years a body of socialists, mostly Germans, had been permitted to preach openly the most incendiary doctrines without molestation. They published a German newspaper (edited by one Augustus Spies) which daily advocated anarchy. On the day preceding the outbreak it had a most incendiary appeal, containing the following passages in allusion to the strike agitation of the preceding day, above referred to: "A war of classes is at hand. Yesterday workingmen were shot down in front of McCormick's factory whose blood cries out for revenge. Who will deny that the tigers who rule us are greedy for the blood of the workingman? But the workingmen are not sheep, and will reply to the White Terror with the Red Terror. Sooner death than life in misery! If the workingmen are to be shot at, let us answer in such a way that the robbers will not soon forget it. The murderous capitalistic beasts have been made drunk by the smoking blood of our workingmen. The Tiger is crouching for a spring. Its eyes glare murderously. It moves its tail impatiently, and all its muscles are tense. Absolute necessity forces the cry - To arms! To arms! If you do not defend yourselves, you will be torn and mutilated by the fangs of the beast. The new yoke which awaits you in case of cowardly retreat is harder and heavier than the bitter yoke of your present slavery. All the powers opposed to labor have united. They see their common interest in such days as these. All else must be subordinate to one thought - How can these wealthy robbers and their hired bands of murderers be made harmless? Whoever is a man must show it to-day. Men to the front!" This was the preliminary to a summons for a meeting in the open square called the Old Haymarket, at half-past seven in the evening. The place is capable of holding 20,000 people. It was some two hours later when the leaders came upon the ground. Augustus Spies, climbing a wagon in front of a factory, began an address denouncing capital, and saying he had not caused the previous day's riot, but it was natural, and the result of class oppression. His remarks created no enthusiasm, and the crowd began to dwindle. He was followed by another speaker, named Parsons, who, though inflammatory, caused no excitement. In the end a notorious Socialist, named Fielding, began a most incendiary harangue, becoming so violent that word was sent to the neighboring police station, and a squad of 125 constables were marched to the square. Their leader ordered the crowd to disperse. Fielding shouted from the wagon, "To arms!" The police once more ordered the people to disperse, when somebody in the mob shouted, "Kill them, kill them !" Almost as soon as the words were uttered a bomb was thrown from near the stand into the midst of the police detachment. It exploded instantly and five of the policemen fell. Others were wounded, and several Socialists also. The police retorted instantly with a volley from their revolvers. The rioters answered with theirs, with which they were well provided. The mob appeared crazed with the desire for blood, and, holding their ground, poured volley after volley into the midst of the police constables. The latter fought gallantly, and finally dispersed the mob and cleared the market place. Large numbers of the rioters fell, but as they dropped they were immediately carried to the rear and into many of the

dark alleys by their friends. The wounded and killed were removed to the neighboring police station, and later to the hospital. It was discovered that thirty-six policemen were wounded - two mortally - and four killed. One Socialist was killed. The names were ascertained of four rioters and citizens who were wounded. Spies and some of his companions were later indicted for murder and with inciting to violence, and were convicted and sentenced, in two cases to death, in others to various terms of imprisonment.

An interesting feature of American State politics in 1886 was the nomination of Mr. Henry George, by popular acclamation, for Mayor of New York. It is significant of the influence he wields in certain sections of the community that he polled nearly 68,000 votes, his opponents, Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Hewitt, polling 60,000 and 90,000 respectively. This fact startled thoughtful people, showing, as it did, much larger discontent among the laboring classes than was suspected. It may be reasonably doubted whether the heavy vote thus given was an approval of the peculiar doctrines which Mr. George teaches. These doctrines may be summed up in the word of One tax system, for Mr. George advocates the removal of all taxes except that on land, and this tax on land is to be levied on the ground alone, not on the improvements effected in it or on the buildings erected on it. With the growth of population in every country, and especially near large cities, the value of land rises without the owner contributing anything of either labor or money to its enhancement, the energy, industry and toil and struggle of the community at large are but the factors that produce this increase of value. This increase Mr. George, following Karl Marx and adopting his language, styles the unearned increment, and on this increment, created, as he argues, not by the landowner, but by the people, the burden of taxation should rest, instead of as in the present system, being placed on the shoulders of those who have tilled, subdued, or built or labored on the soil.

The discontent, or rather the longing for change to which the vote for Mr. George gave expression, was no new thing. It had, as we have already pointed out, long existed in the classes who are dependent on wages, and given birth to the countless trade unions and brotherhoods that finally culminated in the Knights of Labor.

Discontent, however, had now also spread in other classes, and the mercantile and manufacturing interests, the shippers and handlers of goods, were profoundly dissatisfied with the management of the railroads as regards transportation of goods, and loud were the complaints of unjust favoritism.

It was only natural, under these circumstances, that one of the matters which occupied the attention of statesmen and business men, and which finally led to Congress passing, in 1887, the Interstate Commerce Act, was the prevalent system of incorporation. The bill itself was designed to stop the encroachments of railway corporations on individual rights, and to check discrimination in the rates of freight to the advantage of certain localities or certain favored customers. It was not without protracted debate that the measure became law, and it was not without considerable misgivings and foreboding of evil that the railroads commenced to comply with its provisions. The ultimate or permanent success of even this measure is still quite doubtful.

An investigation held in April, 1889, elicited the fact that, while the great railway managers had found difficulties in the way of carrying out its provisions, none of them asked for its repeal. On the contrary, they urged the necessity of the Government strictly enforcing its provisions on all railroads in the United States or that pass through the United States. This last demand was aimed especially at the Canadian railroads, of which the Grand Trunk Railroad has a branch running through the State of Maine, and derives the bulk of its business from the Western cities of Chicago, Detroit, and St. Paul. The law too, it was urged, placed American transcontinental lines at a disadvantage compared with the great Canadian Pacific Railroad that runs to Vancouver's Island from the Atlantic seaboard. Built by the aid of lavish subsidies from the Canadian Government and guarantees from the British Government, this transcontinental line, running wholly outside the United States, is necessarily exempt from the action of its laws. It is not, moreover, hampered by any such restrictions as those embodied in the Interstate Commerce Bill respecting rates of freight or the relation of the rates of freight to the number of miles over which the freight is carried. It can, therefore, carry some classes of goods between England and San Francisco cheaper than our lines can. The contention, therefore, of the railway managers is that, as far as the connections of this company extend to the United States, so far ought the Interstate Commerce Bill to be enforced.

The question, however, of what rates railroads ought to charge and how they are to be managed so as to ensure fair treatment to all localities, is a secondary question to that which is asked respecting the power, the steadily increasing power, wealth, and solidarity of all the great corporations that have sprung up, more particularly since the war, and the plethora of money which followed the peace. Personal feeling, too, enters into the question. In a country like ours, republican in government, democratic in principle, where all citizens are equal, and where all can aspire to even the highest honors that the nation can bestow, the enormous fortunes amassed in a few years by the managers and manipulators of these colossal corporations, seem almost an outrage on the individual. This view is natural, although its existence may be deplored. The change which has come over the whole system of incorporations has been a gradual one, inevitable in the increasing development of means of communication, the increasing products of the soil, and the rapidly advancing progress of our industries. It is a change which is taking place over all the world, a change indicative of a tendency to substitute combined action for individual competition. In the earlier days of our national life the conditions under which industrial corporations existed, without railway or telegraphic communications, were not such as to give them a pronounced advantage over the individual. All this is now changed, and the corporation has shown its superiority; it is to the mass of the people what a highly organized and trained army is to an undrilled, unconnected, inharmonious, and scattered aggregation of individuals.

There are many kinds of business in which, if the individual is not very highly endowed, it is better for him to take service with a corporation. Individual success is growing more rare; and even the successful individual is usually succeeded by a corporation of some sort. In the United States, as in England, the new era came into a country which had always been decided in its leanings to individual freedom and the country could see no new departure in recognizing fully an individual freedom of incorporation instead of the old system, under which each incorporation

was a distinct legislative act. General provisions were rapidly adopted by the several States, providing forms by which any group of persons could incorporate themselves for any purpose. The first act of the kind was passed in Connecticut, in 1837, and the principle of the English Limited Liability Act of 1855 was taken directly from it. The change was first embodied in New York in its constitution of 1846, as follows: "Corporations may be formed under general laws, but shall not be created by special act except for municipal purposes, and in cases where, in the judgment of the Legislature, the objects of the corporation cannot be attained under general laws." The general laws were for a long time merely directions to the incorporators as to the form of the certificate and the place where it was to be deposited. The New York provision was only a development of the principle of a statute of 1811, applying to manufacturing, but it is an instance of what was taking place all over the country. The consequent freedom of corporations was also influenced by the law, as expounded by the Supreme Court of the United States in the Dartmouth College case (1819), which principle has always been the object of vigorous but unsuccessful criticism. The States are prohibited by the Constitution from passing any laws which shall alter the obligation of contracts. This decision held that a charter was a contract between the State and the corporation created by it, and therefore unalterable, except by consent of the corporation. The States were careful thereafter to insert in all charters a clause giving the State the right to alter the charter, but the decision has tended to give judges a bias in favor of the corporations in all fairly doubtful cases. Corporations in the United States thus grew luxuriantly, guarded by the Constitution and very little trenched upon by the States.

Our corporations have usually been well managed, and very much of the extraordinary development of the wealth of the United States has been due to them. But a corporation which holds \$400,000,000 of property, which owns or influences more than one State legislature, and has a heavy lien on several others, is not an easy creature to control or limit. Wars of rates between rival corporations claiming great stretches of territory as "their own," into which other corporations must not intrude, are startling things to any people. The rise of a corporation like the Standard Oil Company, built upon the ruins of countless individual business concerns, and showing that it can reduce even railway corporations to an obedience which they refuse to the State, is too suggestive of an imperium in imperio to be pleasant to a democracy.

It is, however, in the relations between employers and employed that the change in methods of carrying on business has had most unhappy results. Corporations, it is an old saying, have no souls; the directors, who control everything, are never seen they are mere names, representing so much capital and wielding so much power the subordinates, who execute everything, can merely carry out the instructions they receive. In any case, the substitution of a soulless, intangible abstract creature of the law, such as a corporation is, could not but affect the relations between the capitalist and the laborer, the employer and the employed. It could not but affect them disastrously for at least a time. Still, the disastrous results of such a substitution of employers might have been mitigated, if not quite averted, by mutual forbearance and consideration, but the freedom and power of the corporate employers strained the relations farther than was at all necessary. The first clumsy attempts to control the corporations, by limiting the percentage of their profits, led to the artifice of "watering" - unnecessarily increasing their stock. In good years

the nominal dividends were thus kept down to an apparently normal percentage. When bad years, or increasing competition, began to cut down the dividends, the managers were often forced to attack the wages or increase the duties of their employees. "The bad years" began to be more numerous and constant after the financial crisis of 1873 had set in, and the first serious effects appeared in the railroad strikes of 1877, which have been repeated disastrously in following years, as in the strike on the Missouri Pacific and other great lines of communication. One of the most serious of those occurred on Dec. 24 on the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad. Certain men were discharged for declining to move some "boycotted" goods. New hands were employed, and the Knights of Labor demanded that the discharged men should be reinstated. This the company's officials refused to do. A general strike of all employed in the goods traffic followed, and about 25,000 men were thrown out of employment. The Knights of Labor then ordered the 30,000 colliers employed in the coal pits of the company to join the strikers but, as many of the men remained at work and new men were easily procured, the company was able to move the traffic without difficulty. This was a serious blow to the Knights of Labor. Referring to these disturbances, Mayor Hewitt, of New York, Dec. 19, made a remarkable speech before the Board of Trade, which attracted much attention. He opposed the Knights of Labor, declaring that their obstruction of public business created an issue more important than those of the tariff or the surplus, and that secret organizations acting outside the law, which undertook to stop the work of common carriers, must be put down as guilty of crime worse than burglary or highway robbery.

In April, 1887, an important change took place in the Cabinet, the Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Daniel Manning, being compelled by ill-health to resign his high position. Mr. Manning, who was born in Albany in 1831, entered in his twelfth year the office of an Albany newspaper, the Argus, and rose to be its manager, and in 1873 the president of the company. He had also extensive business relations, being elected in 1881 President of the National Commercial Bank of Albany. His personal entry into political life, as distinguished from his journalistic support of his party, took place in 1872, and from 1874 to 1885 he was a member of the Democratic State Committee. To his exertions the election of Grover Cleveland as Governor was mainly due, and his action in the National Convention of 1884, as head of the New York delegation, had equally great influence on his nomination to the Presidency. His knowledge of banking and finance well qualified him for the office to which he was assigned, and his discharge of his duties was satisfactory to the financial and commercial community. After his resignation he paid a visit to Europe, but the improvement of his health did not continue on his return hence, and in December he died, in his native city of Albany.

Before this, several prominent men had passed away, among them three who had unsuccessfully aspired to the Presidency.

In 1885, death removed from the scenes of active life General George B. McClellan, the commander of all the armies of the United States after the retirement of General Scott, and the organizer of the Army of the Potomac. His career in the war and his candidacy for the Presidency in 1864 have already been told in these pages. In that year he had resigned his commission in the army, and took up his residence in New York and New Jersey, of which latter State he became

Governor in 1877. Thenceforward he devoted himself to various engineering enterprises, to travel, and to literary pursuits. He was a clear writer, a good speaker, and profoundly versed in the arts of strategy and tactics. Too much caution and a strange suspicion that the Government did not wish him to succeed, led to all his failures and disappointments. But, to quote the words of Prof. Henry Coppee, "his personal magnetism has no parallel in military history, except in that of the first Napoleon. He was literally the idol of his officers and men, and they would obey him when all other control failed."

Samuel Jones Tilden was born in Lebanon, New York, in the year 1814, the descendant of a New England family that settled in America in 1634. His father was a friend of Martin Van Buren, and politics was the very atmosphere of the household in which the boy grew up. Both before and after his entrance at Yale, in 1832, as well as before and after his admission to the bar, his tongue and pen were devoted to discussing the political questions of the day. As a lawyer, he made his fame and laid the foundation of his fortune by his argument in the suit between the Pennsylvania Coal Company and the Delaware and Hudson Canal Company, and from 185 all the great Northwestern railroads were his clients. In 1848 he had joined in the Free Soil schism which that question provoked in the Democratic party, but throughout the war maintained that the struggle against the Confederate States could be carried on to a successful termination without having recourse to unconstitutional methods. In 1868 Tilden was the leader of the Democrats in New York State, and, to his honor, he opposed with the utmost determination the corrupt ring which, under the command of William M. Tweed, plundered the city of New York. He became the directing spirit which carried out the impeachment of Judges Barnard and Cordoza, and gave his energy and time and labor to prosecute the suits by the city against the "Tweed Ring" and its agents and allies. He became Governor of New York in 1874 and his first message denounced the extravagance and dishonesty that had prevailed in the management of the canals of the State. In 1876 he was nominated the Democratic candidate for the Presidency, and although the Electoral Commission gave the high office to Mr. R. B. Hayes, yet Tilden had the popular vote, the numbers being 4,284,265 for Tilden, against 4,033,295 for Hayes. Henceforth he was the first of Democratic leaders, but his state of health compelled him to decline the nomination in 1880, and again in 1884. He died, after a protracted period of feebleness, in 1886. His last important act in public affairs was a letter addressed to Speaker Carlisle, urging the necessity of liberal appropriations for the purpose of making our coasts safe against the attacks of any naval power. In public life Mr. Tilden was more a politician than a statesman. Astute, secretive, and dexterous, he was an excellent organizer of his party and held them together in defeat, although he could not lead them to victory in his lifetime. To his advice Mr. Cleveland owed the presence in his Cabinet of its strongest man, Mr. Manning, the Secretary of the Treasury. Mr. Tilden will be long known from the contested result of his candidacy for the Presidency; he will be perhaps better known for the munificent legacies he left to the city of New York to establish a free public library in the large and stately house in Gramercy Park, which he also bequeathed to the city.

Another unsuccessful candidate for the honor of the Presidency died in 1886, General Winfield Scott Hancock, who was defeated by I. A. Garfield in 1880. Whatever slanders political malignity

had scattered abroad during General Hancock's candidacy had been forgotten before his death, and his deeds during the war were alone remembered. "Hancock," wrote General Grant, "stands the most conspicuous figure of all the general officers who did not exercise a separate command. His name was never mentioned as having committed in battle a blunder for which he was responsible. He was a man of very conspicuous personal appearance; tall, well-formed, he presented an appearance that would attract the attention of an army as lie passed. His genial disposition gained him friends, and his presence, with his command, in the thickest of the fight, won him the confidence of the troops that served under him." General Sherman spoke equally highly of their fellow-soldier. "Sit down," he said to a raker-up of scandals during the heat of the Presidential campaign, "sit down and write the best thing that can be put in language about General Hancock as an officer and a gentleman, and I will sign it."

To these may be added the name of one who had been nominated by the Republican party as their candidate for the Vice-Presidency in 1884, General Logan, of Illinois, equally distinguished as a soldier and as a statesman.

John Alexander Logan was born in Illinois in 1826, and died at the capital of the Union in 1886. He served as a soldier in the Mexican war, and after it was over embraced the profession of the law, where his pleasing address and forcible oratory soon rendered him popular. After some experience in State politics, he was elected to Congress in 1858 as a Douglas Democrat, and in 1860 advocated the election of that statesman. He declared, however, on the first suspicion that the election of Abraham Lincoln would be the cause of strife, that he would "shoulder his musket to have him inaugurated." He fought as a volunteer at the first battle of Bull Run, and afterwards organized the Thirty-first Illinois Regiment, of which he became Colonel. He greatly distinguished himself in the field, and refused to interrupt or abandon his military service by accepting a nomination to Congress. "I have entered the field to die, if need be," he said, "and never expect to return till the object of the war is obtained." He was conspicuous for his skill and gallantry at Vicksburg, Resaca, Atlanta, and marched with Sherman "to the sea." When active service was over he resigned his commission and was returned to Congress, where he was one of the managers of the impeachment of President Johnson. In 1871 he was elected to the Senate, and in 1884 was nominated as the Republican candidate for the Vice-Presidency on the same ticket as Mr. Blaine. The most fitting tribute to his memory is expressed in the words of Mr. Blaine: "General Logan was a man of immense force in a legislative body. His will was unbending; his courage, both moral and physical, was of the highest order. I never knew a more fearless man. He did not quail before public opinion when he had once made up his mind, any more than he did before the guns of the enemy when he headed a charge. In debate he was effective and aggressive. While there have been more illustrious military leaders in the United States and more illustrious leaders in legislative halls, there has, I think, been no man in this country who has combined the two careers in so eminent a degree as General Logan." General Logan was a man of striking personal appearance; swarthy, as if he had Indian blood in his veins with jet-black hair, which he wore long, a heavy black mustache, dark eyes, and regular features, he looked the type of the Western American.

Before passing on to narrate the foreign relations which the Secretary of State had to conduct, and which brought upon him much obloquy, it will not be out of place to take some notice of the alarming earthquake - or rather series of earthquakes - at Charleston, the first and most alarming shock being on August 31st, 1886. This was felt, indeed, throughout the whole region of the United States between the Mississippi River and the Atlantic Ocean. It was especially severe in North and South Carolina, reaching its climax in the city of Charleston, where it caused terrible destruction. The city was wrecked, and the streets encumbered with masses of fallen bricks and tangled telegraph and telephone wires, making it almost impossible to pass from one part of the city to another. Most of the people, with their families, passed the night in the streets, which were, for some days, crowded with men and women who were afraid to re-enter their houses. Fires broke out in different parts of the city immediately after the earthquake, adding to the general alarm. An examination of the ruins showed that the damage was greater than was supposed. The loss was variously estimated at from ten to fifteen millions of dollars. Though few persons were killed, the suffering of the people was very great. The city was, for a time, virtually cut off from the outer world. The rails had been twisted like threads, so that no trains could approach or leave the place. There was some prospect of famine, the principal hope of relief from such disaster lying on the seaward side. Famine was, however, happily averted by strenuous effort and by contributions in kind from adjoining cities. These were, later, supplemented by considerable money donations from all parts of the world.

Chapter CXLIII

The Bartholdi Statue - Liberty Enlightening the World - The Largest Colossal Statue of Modern Times - A Gift from the French People to the American Nation - Speeches by W. M. Evarts, President Cleveland, M. Lefaivre, C. M. Depew - The Fisheries Question - History of the Question - The Reciprocity Treaty of 1854 - The Convention of 1877 - Withdrawal of America in 1553 - American Vessels Seized by Canada - Retaliation Measures - British Ships Seized in Alaskan Waters - The Fisheries - Commission Sitting in Washington - The Treaty Signed, but Rejected by the Senate - The Samoan Question - American Interests in the Islands - German Outrages - The King Deposed - President's Message on the Subject - Conference of Germany, England, and America at Washington Suspended, but Renewed at Berlin - Treaty Signed - The Hurricane at Samoa - Loss of the "Trenton" and "Vandalia" - Heroism of the Sailors - Centenary of the Constitution at Philadelphia - The President's Speech - The Message of 1857 on Finances - The Surplus - The Mills Bill - The Great Tariff Debate of 1858 - The Presidential Election - General Harrison and L. P. Morton Elected - Causes of Cleveland's Defeat - The Sackville-West Letter - Dismissal of British Minister - The Rebel Flags - Appointment of Lamar to Supreme Bench - Insurrection in Hayti - Death of General Sheridan - The Pension Bill - The Indians.

In the fall of 1886 a ceremony took place which rose to the dignity of a national event - that was, the solemn unveiling of the statue, "Liberty - Enlightening the World," which now stands in New York Harbor - "a grand beacon enlightening the waves at the threshold of free America," and holding aloft her torch of invitation to all who seek to escape from obsolete laws or conditions repugnant to souls inspired with liberty. The idea of this work, the largest colossal statue made in modern times, is due to M. Bartholdi, who began his labors in 1879. The cost of the statue was over a million of francs (\$200,000), and was defrayed by a popular subscription throughout France. It is thus essentially a gift of the French people to the American people. The pedestal on which the figure stands was completed by popular subscriptions in America, and thus the complete work symbolizes the fraternal union of the two republics. The summer of 1886 was spent in its erection, and on the 28th of October the ceremony of accepting it took place. A procession of imposing dimensions, comprising not only military bodies, but other organizations representative of civil life, and of citizens of all nationalities, under the command of General Schofield, marched in review before President Cleveland, who, after this part of the proceedings was ended, embarked on the Hudson River and passed through a flotilla of war vessels and commercial steamers to Bedloe's Island, where the statue was seen towering aloft. The statue, which faces to the east, is made of "repousse" copper, and is 151 feet high. It is a draped female figure crowned by a diadem, holding a tablet close to the body in the left hand, and a torch in the uplifted right hand, and this stands upon a pedestal 155 feet high, square in form, built of granite and concrete. The lower part, or 65 feet, is unornamented, while the upper part is decorated by the resources of the architect's art. At night the torch is lighted by electricity, the base and pedestal being also illuminated by the same means. The statue can be distinctly seen from a distance of four or five miles. The total height above low-water mark is 305 feet 11 inches. The star-shaped walls of old Fort Wood, within which it stands, add materially to its appearance, and here the delivery and acceptance of the gift of the French people took place.

Mr. W. M. Evarts had been selected to perform the first part of this ceremony, and he did so in these words: "The statue, on the 4th of July, 1884, in Paris, was delivered to and accepted by this Government, by the authority of the President of the United States, delegated to and executed by Minister Morton. To-day, in the name of the citizens of the United States, who have completed the pedestal and raised thereon the statue, and of the voluntary committee that have executed the will of their fellow-citizens, I declare in your presence, and in the presence of these distinguished guests from France, and of this august assemblage of the honorable and honored men of our land, and of this countless multitude, that this pedestal and the united work of the two republics is completed and surrendered to the care and keeping of the Government and people of the United States." Due response was made by President Cleveland in behalf of our country: "This token of the affection and consideration of the people of France demonstrates the kinship of republics, and conveys to us the assurance that, in our efforts to commend to mankind the excellence of a government resting on a popular will, we still have beyond the Atlantic a steadfast ally. We will not forget that Liberty has here made her home, nor shall her chosen altar be neglected. Willing votaries will keep alive its fires, and these shall gleam upon the shores of our sister Republic in the East."

To this succeeded an eloquent address from one of the French delegates, who, with the artist, Bartholdi, took part in the ceremonies. M. Lefavre said: "More powerful than mere monuments and inscriptions will be the majestic statue itself which not only recalls a glorious past, but spreads ominous light upon the present and over the future. This symbol which we inaugurate to-day is not a clumsy allegory. Pledge of a fraternal union between the two greatest republics of the world, it is greeted simultaneously by more than one hundred millions of freemen, who tender friendly hands to each other across the ocean.

In a more rhetorical style Mr. Chauncey M. Depew concluded the exercises: "Higher than the monument in Trafalgar Square, which commemorates the victories of Nelson on the sea; higher than the column of the Place Vendome, which perpetuates the triumphs of Napoleon on land; higher than the towers of the Brooklyn Bridge, which exhibit the latest and grandest results of science, invention, and industrial progress, this Statue of Liberty rises toward the heavens to illustrate an idea which nerved the three hundred at Thermopylae, and armed the ten thousand at Marathon which drove Tarquin from Rome and aimed the arrow of Tell which fired the farmer's gun at Lexington, and razed the Bastille at Paris; which inspired the charter in the cabin of the Mayflower and the Declaration of Independence from the Continental Congress. It means that, with the abolition of privileges to the few and the enfranchisement of the individual, the equality of all men before the law, and universal suffrage, the ballot secure from fraud, and the voter from intimidation, the problems of labor and capital, of social regeneration and moral growth, of poverty and property, will work themselves out under the benign influence of enlightened law-making and law-abiding liberty."

Mr. Cleveland, at the conclusion of his speech, had unveiled the statue, amid salvos of artillery from the forts and ships of war, and cheers from the multitudes assembled within sight of the proceedings. The day was, unfortunately, a rainy one, and this led to the postponement of the

display of fireworks that had been promised for the evening. This, as well as the first kindling of the torch, was put off for some days, when they took place amid the greatest enthusiasm, but with less pomp.

From the balcony, seventeen feet below the summit of the torch, there is a magnificent view of the bay, Long Island, New York, Staten Island, and the shore of New Jersey, with their forests of masts and mountains of buildings. It is, however, the stranger that comes into the unrivaled harbor of New York who is most struck by this colossal pledge of friendship between old allies, and of welcome to all.

One of the most important and delicate questions that occupied the attention of the Secretary of State during President Cleveland's administration was the so-called "Fisheries Question," or the controversy between Canada and Great Britain on one hand, and the United States on the other, respecting the rights of American fishermen who plied their trade in the waters adjacent to the Dominion of Canada. It is a question that is coeval with the republic, and which, on several occasions, has produced considerable coolness between the two Governments.

The fisheries question may be set forth briefly as follows : By the treaty of 1783 American fishermen were recognized as possessing the same power to fish in the territorial waters of British North America as they had enjoyed before the separation of the colonies from the Mother Country. This was coupled with certain restrictions and conditions, which became subject of dispute, and so remained till the Convention of 1818. By the terms of this convention our fishermen obtained all the powers and privileges they had possessed as colonists of Great Britain, on condition that they should neither take, dry, nor cure fish "on or within three marine miles of any of the coasts or bays of British North America. The question at once arose, What is a bay, and where do the three miles begin? The British said a bay means any bay, great or small, and three miles must be measured from a line drawn from headland to headland. The United States replied that the three-mile line followed the sinuosities of the coast. In 1854 a Reciprocity treaty was negotiated between Canada and the United States of America, giving to the former certain privileges of free trade, and to the latter the use of the in-shore fishings. In 1865 the convention was abrogated, and in 1877, under the Treaty of Washington, the sum of \$5,000,000 was awarded to Canada as compensation for the acts of American fishermen since 1865. The old dispute had been about the three-mile limit; it now turned upon the purposes for which a foreign fishing vessel could enter Canadian ports. The American view is that the word purposes includes the purchase of bait, ice, and supplies, hiring seamen, and trans-shipping the catch in bond, and that such purposes do not contravene the convention of 1818, which was intended to protect in-shore fisheries, the powers of which convention must not be exercised when the manifest intention is to fish in the deep sea. Finally, in consequence of the continuance of annoyances inflicted on our hardy fishers, the United States in 1883 gave two years notice of its intention to withdraw from the treaty or arrangement made in 1877. In 1885, therefore, treaty arrangements ceased, and the rights of fishing vessels once more became subjects of discussion and dispute.

This condition of affairs might have lasted almost indefinitely, but the matter was brought to a

crisis by the action of the Canadian authorities, who, doubtless, took no steps without consultation with the Imperial Government of England. The action taken by the Canadian ministers was to equip and send to sea in 1886 a fleet of armed cruisers, with instructions to patrol the fishing grounds and see that no American fishing vessel transgressed the limits which the Canadians claimed as defining the rights of the Americans; and at the same time instructions were issued to all the Custom House officers in the neighborhood of the disputed fishing grounds to enforce rigidly the regulations in their several jurisdictions. The results of this course of proceeding were speedily visible. On the 7th of May the schooner "David F. Adams," hailing from the port of Gloucester, in Massachusetts, was seized in Digby Bay, in Nova Scotia, on the charge of violating the customs regulations. Subsequently the "Ella M. Doughty" was seized by the Canadian cruisers at Elizabethtown, Cape Breton, an account of its having purchased bait at St. Ann's. On July 2d the City Point, a schooner belonging to Portland, Maine, and two other vessels from the same port, the C. B. Harrington and the George W. Cushing, were seized at Shelbourne. On the 28th of August the Howard Holbrook, of Gloucester, Massachusetts, was seized at Port Hawkesbury, in Cape Breton. All these seizures above enumerated were made on the charge that they had violated the customs regulations. The other claim of the Canadian Government as to the meaning of the three-mile limit was also enforced, the first vessel seized on this charge being the Highland Land, which was said to have come within and fished in the forbidden waters. It is needless to mention other captures of American vessels while plying their trade in their accustomed way in the waters from which, according to the Canadian contention, they were excluded. Great was the indignation felt, especially in the Eastern States, at this forcible assertion by the Dominion of Canada of claims which the American Government held to be unfounded, or at least to be still in dispute. Petitions were sent up to Washington, and delegates of representatives of the fishing interests followed them to urge upon Congress the necessity of taking some steps to protect the American fishermen. Retaliation was advocated and adopted. A bill was passed which denied to Canadian vessels entrance to the ports and waters of the United States and prohibited the entry of fish. Such a state of affairs between two countries coterminous from ocean to ocean and bound together by so many commercial ties and common interests, was seen to be fraught with danger to the harmony and good feeling that ought to exist, or, if not existing, to be restored between two neighboring powers, who had neither interest nor desire to create a cause of more serious strife. A similar state of things existed on the Pacific Coast, with, however, this difference : that British ships were there charged with violating Alaskan waters by taking seals within the limits which the United States claimed as exclusively American under the terms of the purchase by which Russia had ceded her territory of Alaska. The vessels thus seized by the authorities of the United States, the "Caroline", "Onward," and others, were, as was the case in the Canadian seizures, released on bonds being given to abide ultimate decisions.

Numerous communications took place between the Federal Government and the Colonial office in London and the Dominion Government at Ottawa, and these diplomatic negotiations resulted in propositions for the formation of a mixed commission of representatives of the parties in interest, to examine and discuss the whole question and, if possible, to devise some plan by which all misunderstandings, either respecting the limits, which the respective parties might define

or the customs regulations that they might establish, should in the future be avoided. It was clearly to the advantage of both countries that some arrangement should be made that would be equitable and satisfactory to the citizens alike of the United States and of the Dominion, and the commission was formed with a sincere desire on both sides that a satisfactory treaty should be drawn up, to set at rest forever the disputed points that had, since the very first treaty of peace with Great Britain in 1783, been the cause of occasional ill-feeling, and which threatened, the closer the commercial interests of Canada and the United States became, to become more annoying and even more dangerous.

The question was, indeed, a very curious one; one impossible to arise between Great Britain and any other country, or between the United States and any other country. The American claim to certain rights or privileges in Canadian waters rests on the fact that the United States, that signed the treaty of peace in 1783, had, like Canada, formed a part of the British Empire. In the old days, before the Declaration of Independence, Massachusetts and Canada had stood exactly on the same footing as to all rights and privileges of fishing or of free intercourse in the waters of New England or Canada. They were both colonies of Great Britain, separate only as New England is today separate from New York, but with full, free, uninterrupted, indefeasible rights of communication, of hospitality, and of commerce. In other words, the United States claim, as they had always claimed, that, in virtue of their previous political condition as integral parts of the British Empire, they are tenants in common with Canada, and that they have never, by treaty, at any time or in any way, relinquished their title, all the conventions and arrangements which, from time to time, have been entered into by the two nations, being intended merely to define the modes and extent under which these never-surrendered rights could be exercised most harmoniously. That some definitive arrangement had not been made in the Treaty of Peace in 1783 is to be regretted, for from that time onward, these fishing rights have been an ever-present, though at times dormant, source of possible trouble. Nor is it a controversy to which the ordinary rules of international law can be applied, for international law defines the rights of independent nations, while in this case the very basis of the American claim is that the rights of American fishermen in Canadian waters arose before the independence of the United States. It is obvious that disputes between France and England as to their reciprocal rights of fishing, of hospitality, or of commerce, stand on a very different footing from the question that the commission was formed to settle.

The diplomatic negotiations between the respective Governments finally resulted, as we have said, in the formation of a mixed commission. On behalf of the United States, President Cleveland appointed W. L. Putnam, of Maine, and James B. Angell, of Michigan, to act in conjunction with Secretary Bayard in negotiating with Great Britain for a settlement of the question, and about the middle of November the Right Honorable Joseph Chamberlain, a Privy Councillor and Member of Parliament for Birmingham, with Sir Charles Tupper, of Canada, arrived in Washington, and they, with the British Minister, Sir Lionel Sackville West, constituted the commission on behalf of the British Government. A series of meetings took place, but from the necessity of submitting many of the points in dispute to the Imperial Government and the consequent delay in obtaining replies, the business of the convention progressed slowly. The delay, however, was not without its

compensations to one of the British Commissioners, for Mr. Chamberlain had thus the opportunity of wooing and winning Miss Endicott, the daughter of the Secretary of War, to whom he was married in the following spring.

A conclusion satisfactory to the joint commission was finally reached, and on the 15th of February, 1888, the proposed treaty was signed. On the 20th of that month it was forwarded by the President to the Senate, with a message suggesting that it was advisable to publish the text of the treaty as soon as possible. The Senate, regarding this as a challenge, at once gave the treaty to the press, and on May 28 it was debated in open session. The chief clauses stipulated that the contracting parties should appoint a mixed commission of four, to delimit the British waters, bays, creeks, and harbors of the coast of Canada and Newfoundland, and define the regulations to be conformed to by United States vessels entering such waters. A protocol was added, with a view to establish a *modus vivendi*, pending the ratification of the treaty, by which certain privileges were to be allowed to our fishing vessels on taking out a license at a fee of \$1.50 per ton. In the debate that ensued Senator Frye, of Maine, led the opposition to the ratification of the treaty. He exclaimed that no one had asked for delimitation, and that our fishers could tell where the three-mile limit was and what bays were six miles wide, without all the machinery of a commission, and concluded: "This is a complete surrender of the position which we have occupied for more than fifty years. We claimed these privileges and these rights. We have insisted on their enjoyment. We have enjoyed them all up to two years ago, and now here is a treaty which admits that Canada's refusal has been right and that we have been in the wrong; which admits, if we desire to enjoy these privileges, that we must buy them of Canada instead of claiming them under the laws of Great Britain and the United States." Senator Evarts strongly denounced the treaty. "We are constitutionally, in our habits, repugnant to treaties. Let us govern, let Great Britain govern, let every nation govern its own interior arrangements of trade. We will do the same for ourselves." The great subject outside the fishery was the question of hospitality, the right to touch and trade," and this right, he held, was by the treaty abrogated. On the other side, Senator Gray, of Delaware, argued that no important doctrine as to jurisdictional waters had been abandoned that the United States had conceded less than Great Britain as far as area went that there had been substituted reasonable, certain, and easily-ascertained lines, in place of vague and disputed limits. "Canada," he concluded by saying, "has conceded nearly all that we have any right in fairness to ask. We have no right to ask that we shall make her harbors our basis of fishing operations while we refuse to share with her any advantages we possess. I repeat, she has given us nearly everything we ask, and more than we had a right to demand." The debate was continued with much heat and passion on both sides, and on August 21st a vote was reached, by which the proposal to ratify the treaty was rejected by thirty voices against twenty. seven.

Two days later President Cleveland created considerable surprise by sending to the Senate a message, in which he asked for fuller power to undertake retaliation, in case harsh measures should become necessary in consequence of the rejection of the treaty. Such a change of tone as this document displayed was evidently adopted by Cleveland in the hope of recovering some of the support which the negotiations for the treaty had taken from him, and at the same time of throwing on the Senate any odium which might accrue from his executive acts. It was a smart

political trick, played in view of the approaching Presidential campaign, but it failed of any effect for although a bill such as he asked for was introduced, the Senate took no action on it, the majority holding that the act of 1887 gave the Executive ample power in the premises.

While the Fisheries Question has come down as a legacy from Colonial times, the other matters which occupied the attention of the Secretary of State, as our Minister for Foreign Affairs, are the outcome of the changed position in which our country stands in its relations to other nations. The marvelous growth of the United States in population and in wealth and their territorial extension from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean, have made them to-day one of the Great Powers of the world, and justify our aspirations to the hegemony of the continent. As such a Great Power, the Union has been compelled to enter into treaties with numerous States with whom otherwise it would not have been brought into connection. The islands of the Pacific Ocean, since the development of the trade of the States of California and Oregon and the acquisition of Alaska, have attracted the attention of American merchants and planters, and have been largely benefited by the investments and enterprise of our citizens and as these groups of islands are still in a rudimentary state of civilization, the treaties formed with them generally convey exceptional territorial rights.

In the course of ships between San Francisco and Auckland in New Zealand, between Panama and Sydney, in Australia, and between Valparaiso and China, lies the group of the Samoa Islands. American missionaries were the first to carry to the natives the religion of Christ, and till within the last twenty years the trade was exclusively in the hands of American and English commercial houses. In 1872 Commodore Meade made a treaty with the then ruling powers of Samoa, by which they ceded to the United States the harbor of Pango Pango, and President Hayes dispatched thither a vessel to survey and to take possession of the ceded territory. In a naval point of view, it is the key to the Samoan group and to Central Polynesia the harbor can hold safely the largest fleets it is free from hurricanes, land-locked, and easy of defense from attacks either by sea or land. It is, to all intents and purposes, the possession of the United States, and has been occupied for over ten years as a coaling station for our navy. Since the occupation of Pango Pango by our naval authorities, the necessity of keeping such a station has become more apparent. The projected canal through the Isthmus of Panama, and the possibility that it might be executed by foreign capital, and even under the auspices of some foreign State, render it absolutely indispensable for the safety of our communications that the United States should have some fixed stations for its fleets within easy distance of the Atlantic and Pacific ends of the canal. The occupation of such strategic points is but the legitimate development of the Monroe Doctrine, that no European power must be permitted to gain a foothold on our borders. It is, then, a strict regard to the vital interests of the country that dictates the action taken by our statesmen with reference to such an important station as Samoa and the attention given by the Government to the equally important group of the Sandwich Islands. Down to the year of the cession of Pango Pango, the chief trade of the Samoan group, it must be repeated, was in American hands; but about that time civil wars, among the various native competitors for supreme power, gave to some German houses that did business in the Pacific Ocean an opportunity to establish themselves. They sold arms to all the belligerents, and in return took cessions of land.

In 1873 the islands had petitioned to be taken under the protection of the United States, and in 1877 a similar petition was addressed to the Government of Great Britain. Both of these powers declined to comply with the request of the Samoans; but in 1878 a treaty between them and the Governments of the United States, Great Britain, and Germany was signed, in which one of the clauses was as follows: "In the event of the Government of Samoa being, at any time, in difficulty with powers in amity with the United States, the Government of Samoa then reserves to itself the right to claim the protection of the American flag." In 1884 Germany and Great Britain entered into mutual engagements to respect the independence of Samoa, for the King had appealed to the British Government for protection, alleging that a treaty which had been made with Germany had been made under duress, and really handed over the government of the islands to German officials. In 1885 the unhappy Samoans, smarting under the insolence of the German consuls and repulsed from the shelter of the great powers, voted the annexation of their islands to New Zealand but again the policy of Great Britain stepped in and forbade the consummation of this arrangement. The Germans continued their high-handed proceedings, and went so far as to hoist the German flag; but this act was disavowed by the Emperor. The King of Samoa who had been generally recognized was Malietoa, and the treaties made by Germany, Great Britain, or the United States, had been with him. He proved, however, not supple enough for the Germans, and they began a series of intrigues with a rival chief, Tamasese, who finally, encouraged by them and relying on their support, took up arms, and civil war was begun, to the great detriment of American interests. A well-grounded fear, too, arose, that the result of the struggle would be either the establishment of a German protectorate or the annexation of the islands to Germany. This fear was based on the efforts that the Government of Berlin was making, in various parts of the world, to found German colonies and a German colonial empire. In 1886 three large German ships of war entered the harbor of Apia, the capital of Samoa, and acknowledged Tamasese as King. The recognized King, Malietoa, appealed to the American Consul, Greenbaum, to act as a peacemaker. "As the kingdom of Samoa," wrote the distressed chief "has appealed to the United States for assistance and protection," and as he feared that English and Americans might fire on the rebel forces under Tamasese, he requested Consul Greenbaum to issue a proclamation that might prevent so disastrous a result. The Consul did so, and, moreover, hoisted the United States flag over the Samoan flag on the same halyards, as a token that the islands were under the protection of America. This step, having been taken without reference by the Consul to the Federal Government at Washington, was repudiated by the Secretary of State, Mr. Bayard, and Consul Greenbaum was recalled.

In 1886 President Cleveland called the attention of Congress to the deplorable condition of the islands. He wrote "Civil perturbations in the Samoan Islands have, during the last four years, been a source of extreme embarrassment to three Governments - Germany, Great Britain, and the United States, whose relations and extra territorial rights in that important seaport are guaranteed by treaty." He announced, too, that special agents of the three Governments had been deputed to examine the situation in the islands, and hoped "that this change and an harmonious understanding would secure the business prosperity of the autonomous administration and the neutrality of Samoa." As a result of the reports of their agents, a conference between the representatives of Great Britain, Germany, and the United States was held on board the American vessel "Mohican,"

commanded by Captain Day, and a declaration was signed that these three powers did not recognize Tamasese as King.

But, meanwhile, the Germans were busy in the islands. In August the German vessel Adler arrived at Apia, and demanded from King Malietoa a heavy fine for damages alleged to have been caused by his acts to German interests, and also "an abject apology for his conduct. The fine thus sought to be extorted was enormous in amount, and evidently quite beyond the resources of which Malietoa could dispose, while the letter conveying the demand was of a most insulting and arrogant character. Not satisfied with this, the German Consul prevailed on the captains of the German ships of war, the Adler, the Eber, and the Olga, to land a considerable body of troops, who searched the town in quest of Malietoa, without any regard to the nationality of the owners of the houses searched. The United States protested, but the only reply was a proclamation issued by the German Consul on August 25, that "War is proclaimed against Malietoa." On sight of this document, the representatives of the United States and Great Britain published a counter proclamation, announcing that they had never recognized Tamasese, and would continue to recognize Malietoa. Still the Germans continued in their course of action, probably not without some sort of understanding with Great Britain, for it is likely enough that that kingdom would be willing to leave Germany free to act in the Pacific Ocean, in return for concessions to be made in Africa or New Guinea, where British interests were larger. On September 8 came the announcement that Malietoa had been deposed by Germany, had been taken prisoner and sent to a German settlement in New Guinea, whence he was transferred to the Cameroons, and finally to Hamburg.

The conventions which the three powers had entered into in the years 1879 and 1883, were based on assurances of mutual guarantees for the independence of Samoa; but the events above related, as occurring in 1886 and 1887, evidently made it necessary for our Government to insist on a new treaty. A conference between delegates from the three powers interested was held in the summer, at Washington, at which the German Minister proposed that the government of the islands should be vested, for a term of five years, in a foreign adviser, who was to be nominated by the power having the largest material interests in Samoa. This was rejected by Mr. Bayard, who made a counter proposition, to place the supreme authority in the hands of the King, the Vice-King, and three foreigners, one from each of the great powers. This, in its turn, was not satisfactory, and the conference was, on July 26, suspended, but not abrogated. The events above described, however, and other proceedings of the German civil and naval officers, rendered a renewal of the negotiations indispensable. German marines had been landed, all foreign vessels were searched, and American goods not allowed to be landed. An American named Klein, who had taken an active share in the military operations of the party of Malietoa, had taken refuge on board the Nipsic, and his surrender was demanded. This demand called forth energetic communications from the Secretary of State but as President Cleveland's term of office was expiring, the renewal of the conference did not take place till President Harrison had been inaugurated and appointed Mr. Blaine as his Secretary of State. On April 29, 1889, the suspended conference was resumed at Berlin, the representatives of Germany being Count Herbert Bismarck and Dr. Krauel; of Great Britain, Sir Edward Malet, the British ambassador to

the German Empire, and Mr. Scott; and of the United States, Mr. Kasson, who had previously been our Minister to the Court of Vienna, and Mr. Bates, who had been one of our Commissioners to Samoa, and they were assisted by Mr. W. W. Phelps, Consul Sewall, and Lieutenants Buckingham and Parker. The first meeting was held in the palace of Prince Bismarck, the Chancellor of the Empire, and the proceedings were opened in the French language by an address, to which Sir Edward Malet and Mr. Kasson responded. After this diplomatic formality had been gone through, it was agreed that the further proceedings should be carried on in English, and that strict secrecy should be observed by all members of the conference.

It was understood that Count Herbert Bismarck's remarks were to the effect that arrangements ought to be made for non-interference by any of the powers represented in the conference, and that the natives should be allowed to select their King. Within three days of the meeting of the conference, King Malietoa was released from the confinement in which he had been kept, a decided testimony to the desire of the German authorities to bring the negotiations to a peaceful and speedy conclusion. By the well-defined instructions of Mr. Blaine, the American Commissioners were directed to insist upon the autonomy of the native Government to resist all attempts to hold Americans responsible for the disturbances in the islands; to endeavor to lighten, as much as possible, any burden in the way of indemnity the Germans might seek to place upon the impoverished Samoans; to demand an equal representation with the other treaty powers in the local government of the islands, in the event that any foreign influence should be permitted a share in it, and to insist most strenuously upon the restoration of the status quo ante.

The result seems to be, in every way, satisfactory to our statesmen, and to insure due respect to American rights and interests.

But before the conference met, while the ships of war of Great Britain, Germany, and the United States were lying in the harbor of Apia, there took place one of those extraordinary outbreaks of the forces of nature which paralyze all human efforts, and teach how weak a thing man is. On the 14th of March the barometer began to fall with alarming rapidity, and at three o'clock on the 15th the storm burst in all its fury, veering from the northwest to the nor'-nor'west. On the morning of the 16th the German ships Eber and Adler were blown on to the reef, and at nine o'clock the British ship Calliope seemed doomed to the same fate. She was a new ship and had good engines, and her commander resolved on the desperate task of running out to sea in face of the storm. She got into collision with the Olga, and passed close to the Trenton, on board of which the fires were extinguished, and which, like her consorts, the Vandalia and the Nipsic, was being irresistibly forced on the deadly reefs. Yet at that moment of despair the crew of the Trenton greeted the efforts of the Calliope with three ringing cheers. "Those cheers," said the British captain, saved my ship, for it gave new heart to my men." "Consider the scene," said an English writer, "and the matchless heroism and generosity of this Yankee crew. Almost sure of instant death themselves, they could see the Queen's ship fighting the hurricane and appreciate the gallantry of the effort with the generous pleasure of true mariners. We do not know, in all naval records, any sound which makes a finer music upon the ear than the cheer of the Trenton's men. It was distressed manhood greeting triumphant manhood, the doomed saluting the saved. It was

pluckier and more human than any cry raised upon the deck of a victorious line-of-battle ship. It never can be forgotten, never must be forgotten by Englishmen speaking of Americans. The dauntless cheers to the Calliope was the expression of an immortal courage." The heroism of the American sailors was beyond parallel in recent years. Their labors were incessant, their sufferings great, no help possible, nothing but death before them yet, in the very crisis of the hurricane, the band of the Trenton struck up the Star-Spangled Banner as the ship swept onward to the reef.

The Trenton and Vandalia became total wrecks, like the German ships, Adler and Eber, but the Nipsic and the German ship Olga were got off the beach with little damage when the storm had abated. In his letters reporting this disaster, Admiral Kimberly bore generous testimony to the assistance the wrecked crews received from the natives, who, regardless of all danger, hurried to rescue the survivors that were swimming to the shore, and to recover the bodies of those who had perished either in the wreck or on the reef. The great storm at Apia will be remembered when the affairs of Samoa are forgotten.

In September, 1887, the Centenary celebration of the completion of the Constitution was kept in Philadelphia. The festivities lasted three days. On the first was a Grand Industrial Parade of 12,000 members of the various trade societies on the second, a military parade of 30,000 men, and a public reception by the President and on the last day a public meeting was held in Independence Square, at which a hymn by Francis Marion Crawford was sung and orations made by Mr. J. A. Kasson and Mr. S. F. Miller, Judge of the Supreme Court.

President Cleveland and his Cabinet attended, and many other prominent persons were present, including the Justices of the Supreme Court, Senators, Representatives in Congress, the foreign diplomatic body, and the Governors of the several States. Dense crowds of people filled the square and the adjacent streets. President Cleveland presided at one of the stands and made a brief address. Referring to the difficulties overcome by the framers of the Constitution, he said : Continuing, in face of all discouragements, the fathers of the Republic labored on for four long, weary months, in alternate hope and fear, but always with rugged resolve, with their endeavors sanctified, with a perfect sense of the value to posterity of their success, and with unflinching faith in the principles which make the foundation of government by the people. At last their task was done. It was related that on the back of the chair occupied by Washington as President of the Convention, a sun was painted. As the delegates were signing the complete Constitution, one of them said: "I have often and often, in the course of this session, in the solicitude of my hopes and fears as to its issue, looked at that sun behind the President, without knowing whether it was rising or setting. But now, at length, I see it is rising, and not setting." We stand to-day on the spot where this rising sun emerged from political night and darkness, and in its own bright meridian light we mark its glorious way. Clouds have sometimes obscured its rays, dreadful storms have made us fear, but God has held it in its course, and through its life-giving warmth has performed His latest miracle in the creation of this wondrous nation and people. When we look down one hundred years, and see the origin of our Constitution when we contemplate its trials and triumphs; when we realize how completely the principles upon which it is based have met every national peril, how devoutly should we say with Franklin, 'God governs in the affairs of

men,' and how solemn should be the thought that to us is delivered this ark of the people's covenant, to us is given the duty to shield it from impious hands! It comes to us sealed with the tests of a century. It has been found sufficient in the past; it will be found sufficient in all years to come. If the American people are true to their sacred trust, another Centennial day will come, and millions yet unborn will inquire concerning our stewardship and the safety of their Constitution. God grant they may find it unimpaired; and as we rejoice to-day in the patriotism and devotion of those who lived one hundred years ago, so may those who follow us rejoice in our fidelity and love for constitutional liberty."

In the President's message, December 6, 1887, attention was again called to the state of the national finances, which, he stated, imperatively demanded immediate and careful consideration. The amount of money annually exacted through the operation of present laws from the industries and necessities of the people largely exceeds the sum necessary to meet the expenses of the Government. On the 30th of June, 1885," he continued, the excess of revenue over public expenditure, after complying with the annual requirements of the sinking fund, was \$17,859,785.84. During the year ended June 30, 1886, such excess amounted to \$49,405,545.20, and during the year ended June 30, 1887, it reached the sum of \$55,567,849.54. The annual contribution to the sinking fund during the three years specified, amounting in the aggregate to \$138,658,320.94, and deducted from the surplus as stated, were made by calling in for that purpose outstanding 3 per cent. bonds of the Government." It was also stated that the condition of financial affairs among the people was rendered precarious by the withdrawal of such large sums from the circulation of the country. Nor was there any clear and undoubted executive power of relief. All the bonds redeemable at the option of the Government had been called in, and there were no bonds outstanding which the Government had a right to insist on retiring. The right of the Secretary of the Treasury to go into the market and purchase bonds at a premium was perhaps doubtful, and if not so, such a power ought not to be left to the judgment of a single official. Nor was it advisable to deposit Government money in banks through the country, for such a course would establish too close a connection between the operations of the Treasury and general business, thus fostering a reliance in private business upon public funds. It could not be expected that extravagant appropriations should be made to avoid the accumulation of a surplus. Such expenditure, apart from all conceptions of public duty, stimulated reckless improvidence, inconsistent with the mission of the American people and the purposes of the American Government." This was quite in harmony with the opinions that President Cleveland had expressed in his inaugural address and in his other messages to Congress; and in accordance with these views a bill to reduce the duties on many articles of import was prepared and brought into the House of Representatives by Mr. Roger Q. Mills, of Texas. The question had been warmly debated by both political parties, both in the press and in speeches through the country, and the introduction of the bill resulted in the great tariff debate of 1888." The general debate occupied no less than twenty-three day and eight evening sessions, during which, in the time of one hundred and twelve hours, no fewer than one hundred and fifty-one speeches were delivered. The debate on separate paragraphs was still more lengthy, occupying twenty-eight days, or one hundred and twenty. eight hours. Mr. Mills, in advocating his bill, argued that taxation was necessary during war that the raising of the duties from an average of 18.84 percent in 1861 to an average duty of

40.29 percent in 1862 to 1866 was a war measure, a temporary measure to which good citizens must give their support. But these duties became excessive when continued in a time of peace, and became unjust when they were raised still higher, as they had been between 1883 and 1887, when the average impost had been 44.51 percent. The levying of such excessive duties, he maintained, destroyed the value of our exports by limiting the amount of our imports. "It took two to trade," he continued, and as seventy-five percent of our exports consisted of agricultural products, cotton, breadstuffs, pork, beef, and the like, the direct tendency of the existing tariff was to check foreign nations from sending their products to us. Such heavy duties crippled our productions and closed to them the markets of the world." In reply Mr. McKinley, of Ohio, said that a protective tariff made the foreigner who came into competition with our home products bear the burden of taxation, and thus encouraged our own industries. We tax the foreigner because he is an alien, and as such free from the obligations that lie on the citizen of the United States. He denounced the levying of duties ad valorem, as leading to dishonesty and fraud upon the Government, and held that protection meant high wages to the workingman and home markets to the producer, whether his products were agricultural or industrial. In the same vein Mr. Randall, as the leader of the protectionist wing of the Democratic party, called for a repeal of the internal revenue taxes, which he characterized as distinctly war taxes and direct taxes. Protective duties only added to the price of imports when they came into competition with home products, nor do they constitute a bounty on manufactures, but are really an equalization of profits. In the words of Jefferson, what we want is, the manufacturer alongside the farmer," and this can only be effected by protection and protective duties. Mr. Reed, of Maine, pointed out the results of the system of a protective tariff as demonstrated by the growth of our cities through the length and breadth of the land, and by the unparalleled development of our inland commerce, and then took higher and more general ground, that a nation must diversify its industries, so that every man may do what he can do best. Let the inventive faculties and the mechanical skill of the people not only have fair play, but due encouragement.

"For a nation to get out of itself or out of the earth all the wealth there is in both, it is not necessary for the nation to buy cheap or sell dear. That concerns individuals alone. What concerns the nation is how to utilize all the work there is in man, both of muscle and of brain, of body and soul in the great enterprise of setting in motion the ever-gratuitous forces of nature."

The debate was a remarkable one, but the result had been foreseen, and the bill was never considered by the Senate.

The Mills bill was but the expression of the declared policy of President Cleveland, elaborated in the form of practical legislation, and when it was reported it was regarded as an explanatory preface of the platform of the Democratic Convention, which had been summoned to meet in St. Louis on June 5, 1888. The Convention nominated as the party's candidate for the ensuing Presidential term, the then holder of that exalted office, and the Republican Convention, that met at Chicago on June 19th, nominated as its candidate General Benjamin Harrison, of Indiana, who had already served his country as a soldier in the field, as Congressman in the House of Representatives. and as a Senator. The veteran Allen G. Thurman, of Ohio, was nominated by the

Democrats as Vice-President on the same ticket with Grover Cleveland as President, while the Republicans named Levi P. Morton, of New York, as the Vice-President on their ticket. The campaign was not disgraced by the personalities which had formed so revolting a feature in the campaign of 1884, but was conducted on broad, economic issues. The result was that Benjamin Harrison and Levi P. Morton were elected President and Vice President of the United States by 233 electoral votes, against 168 cast for Cleveland and Thurman.

While the failure of the Democracy to return their candidate must be chiefly attributed to the position assumed by the President on the questions of Civil Service and Tariff Reform, and the consequent division of the party, other causes were at work. Appeals were made by Republican journals and speakers to the evil passions of the most ignorant part of the Irish citizens, and everything done by the President was represented by the word English." The Civil-Service Reform was English; the Mills Bill was English the Fisheries treaty was a truckling to England the Extradition treaty was a base surrender to British influence. A harmless club of old political economists, who meet in London once a year and call themselves the Cobden Club, was described as flooding the country with British gold and British pamphlets in behalf of free trade. Every effort was made to detach the Irish vote from the Democrats, by fair means or foul and an error in judgment, almost ludicrous in a trained diplomatist, on the part of the British Minister, Sir L. Sackville-West, came to the aid of these efforts. A letter was addressed to him from the State of California, which purported to be signed by Charles T. Murchison, an American citizen of British birth. He professed to seek for guidance as to his course in the political campaign just opening, and therefore applied for such guidance to the British Minister as would enable him to influence the political action of other British-born citizens. The letter was offensive in tone, imputing insincerity to the Government of Washington, and Lord Sackville's reply was indiscreet, for he wrote that, in the rejection of the Fisheries bill and the President's message referring to retaliation, allowance must be made for the political situation." He also implied, therefore, that the message was insincere, but indicated that a vote for Cleveland would be the most likely to conduce to the prosperity of Great Britain and to a continuance of harmony between the nations. The letter to the Minister, it may be useless to say, was a campaign trick, and his answer was at once spread abroad by the Republican press. At first little was thought of the affair. Mr. Bayard expressed himself to the effect that it was merely a private affair - a private reply to a private inquiry - and the whole Government seemed inclined to treat the business as of little importance. As, however, the Republican party began to make use of the document thus dishonorably acquired to arouse the susceptibilities of the national as well as of the Irish feeling at any attempt whatever by a foreign power to influence our internal policy, remonstrances were made by Mr. Bayard to the British Foreign Office in London. Lord Salisbury replied that, before he could recall a British Minister, he must know the charges against him. A compliance with this request would have involved delay, and been again described as yielding to England. The extreme step was, therefore, resolved on by the President, who, it is said, dictated his course to Mr. Bayard, of dismissing the English Minister; and on the 20th of October Sir Lionel Sackville-West, Lord Sackville, received his passports. But even this assertion of the national honor did not avail Cleveland. Those who had clamored for the dismissal of the Minister denounced it as too tardy, while an equally numerous party regarded it as an ignominious yielding to popular clamor, unworthy of a great nation and a

strong Government, and especially uncalled for when the British Government had the question of recall under consideration, and merely asked for information and time. The British Government resented the action by not appointing a successor to Lord Sackville till a new President was inaugurated.

In 1887 another mistake of a high officer created justly considerable feeling prejudicial to Mr. Cleveland's candidacy. This was the recommendation of Adjutant-General Drum advising the restoration of the battle-flags captured from the soldiers of Confederate States during the war to the various States whose regiments had borne them. The recommendation was signed and approved of by the President. But at once widespread indignation was expressed. The Grand Army of the Republic, the well-known organization of veterans, was loud in its denunciations of such a measure. Everywhere it was felt that a great blunder had been made. That the President was only guilty of thoughtlessness was not conceded. He was regarded as the author of the measure, and it was described as a natural outcome of Democratic consideration for the Southern States, a consideration which, it was added, was evidenced by the President's vetoes of so many pension bills. The flags were not returned, as it was discovered that they had become the property of the nation, and could not be restored without an act of Congress. But this, too, came too late, and the affair nearly led to an open insult to the President by the encampment of the Grand Army of the Republic when the President visited St. Louis during a tour through the Western States.

The appointment of the Secretary of the Interior, Lucius Q. C. Lamar, to the Supreme Bench also provoked much criticism. It was remembered that Mr. Lamar had sat in Congress, and left it to sit in the Confederate Congress, and that he had held command in the Confederate army, and it was loudly argued that such a man was unfit to sit in a court that had to decide constitutional questions, even if he had displayed any legal abilities but, in place of being a Taney, or a Marshall, he was a dreamy scholar, who had not even distinguished himself by industry in his Secretariate. After considerable delay, the nomination was approved by the Senate, but of course the Republican party found it a good weapon of attack in the campaign.

While measures already described were being taken to secure the independence of Samoa as necessary for the security of the United States on the Pacific coast, in view of any canal or canals being cut through the isthmus of Central America, disturbances that might easily have led to foreign intervention, or at least embarrassing intrigues by European powers, broke out in the Republic of Hayti. On the second of June, 1888, President Salomon was expelled from his office by two officers holding high commands in the Haytian army - Generals Manigat and Legitime. Against the pretensions of these two men, a revolt was organized in the northern part of the island by General Thelemaque. Cape Haytien was the headquarters of this faction, and the districts of Gonaives and St. Marc followed its example. A Provisional Government was organized for the election of a new President, and by it a body of eighty-four Presidential electors was constituted, to choose the new executive. A canvass of these electors before the official meeting of the body, disclosed the fact that the probability was that General Thelemaque would be elected by a large majority. He was, however, before the day of election, killed in a riot at Port-au-Prince, and

Legitime was declared President. He at once seized the treasury, and assumed all the powers of a dictator. A strong opposition to him had already existed in the northern provinces, and this was intensified by the killing of General Thelemaque, which his partisans did not hesitate to describe as a murder, instigated, if not ordered, by Legitime. Another revolt broke out at Cape Haytien, under General Hippolyte, and Legitime announced the blockade of the northern ports, and attempted to make it effective by dispatching thither his two warships, the Dessalines and the Toussaint Louverture. These vessels, on the 21st of October, signalized themselves by seizing an American steamer, the Haytian Republic, which was duly condemned by Legitime's courts as a lawful prize. The American Minister at once protested, on the ground that the blockade was not an effective, but only a paper one, and that the Haytian Republic had done no illegal act. To give strength to his protest, the Boston opportunely came into the harbor, and in the following week the Yantic and Galena arrived, to support their consort. With this display of force on the part of the Americans, the vessel seized and condemned was turned over to Admiral Luce, and a compensation for damages paid to its owners. Disturbances, however, still continued, trade everywhere began to suffer, and at the same time a report was spread that intrigues were carried on, with a view to give the protectorate of the republic to France. The report seems to have been set afloat by irresponsible parties, with a view to test the feeling of that country. It was well known that she had never thoroughly reconciled herself to the separation of this former colony from her dominions. Napoleon the First expended 60,000 men in a vain attempt to recover the island, and Napoleon the Third had plotted for the same end. The collapse of M. de Lesseps' scheme of a canal through the Isthmus of Panama, to which we have already alluded (p. 1 792), when mentioning his visit to this country in 1880, led to considerable pressure being put on the French Government either to complete the canal as a Government undertaking or to give it such official support as would insure the French shareholders from imminent ruin. In either of these contingencies the possession of Hayti would be of incalculable advantage to France, and in the agitated condition of political parties in the French Republic, it was impossible to foresee what rash plans might not be favored by some of the ambitious aspirants to power. The very fact that such a proposal as the establishment of a French protectorate had been mooted, even by irresponsible parties, even in the face of repudiation of such schemes by the French Government, brought before the minds of thinking men the dangers which, however improbable, might still, possibly, menace American rights and the maintenance of the Monroe Doctrine. The policy of our Government and the sentiment of our people are averse to schemes of control or purchase or conquest of the islands, like Hayti or Cuba, that are of as great strategic and commercial importance to us as any of the near and distant possessions of England that she has gained, held, and fortified. Yet President Grant came near acquiring the Bay of Samana, on the San Domingo end of the island, and would have completed the purchase but for scandals that attracted more popular attention than the real advantages of such an addition to our naval and commercial positions.

The present situation in Hayti - with a chronic, yet only partially successful, revolution tempting the natives to resort to intrigues with foreign powers, especially with France, and the development of our new navy and enlargement of our policy in regard to naval and commercial stations - compelled our Government to keep a watchful eye over affairs in the island and the

parties that are striving for supreme power in a manner that interrupts our trade and endangers our citizens.

In 1888 another great American soldier went to his last home. General P. H. Sheridan has been mentioned too often in OUR COUNTRY in connection with deeds of gallantry and patriotism, to need more than the record of his name to call up his exploits. After the war he was successively in command of the Departments of the Gulf and of the Mississippi: and in 1869, when General Grant became President and General Sherman the General-in-Chief, Sheridan was raised to the rank of Lieutenant-General. In 1870 he visited Europe, and was with the German Headquarters staff at the bloody battle of Gravelotte. In 1883 he became General-in-Chief, and in 1888 the full rank of General was restored by Congress for him and during his lifetime. He did not long survive the granting of this honor, as he died on the fifth of August, in his fifty-seventh year.

Mention has been made of the frequent use of the veto by the President, to kill the system of private bills for pensions. In February, 1887, another bill was returned by him. This was the so-called Dependent Pension Bill, the purport of which can be seen by his message:

"I herewith return, without my approval, House bill No. 10,457, entitled 'An act for the relief of dependent parents and honorably-discharged soldiers and sailors who are now disabled and dependent upon their own labor for support.' This is the first general bill that has been sanctioned by the Congress since the close of the late Civil War, permitting a pension to the soldiers and sailors who served in that war, upon the ground of service and present disability alone, and in the entire absence of any injuries received by the casualties or incidents of such service."

In President Cleveland's first message he had spoken about the Indians. The most intricate and difficult subject in charge of this department is the treatment and management of the Indians. I am satisfied that some progress may be noted in their condition as a result of a prudent administration of the present laws and regulations for their control. But it is submitted that there is lack of a fixed purpose or policy on this subject, which should be supplied. It is useless to dilate upon the wrongs of the Indians, and as useless to indulge in the heartless belief that because their wrongs are revenged in their own atrocious manner, therefore they should be exterminated. They are within the care of our Government, and their rights are, or should be, protected from invasion by the most solemn obligations. They are, properly enough, called the wards of the Government; and it should be borne in mind that this guardianship involves, on our part, efforts for the improvement of their condition and the enforcement of their rights. There seems to be general concurrence in the proposition that the ultimate object of their treatment should be their civilization and citizenship. Fitted by these to keep pace in the march of progress with the advanced civilization about them, they will readily assimilate with the mass of our population, assuming the responsibilities and receiving the protection incident to this condition." One of the first steps he had to take in their defense was when war between the Apaches and Cheyennes was imminent. He dispatched General Sheridan to the spot, and that good old "Indian fighter" reported that the trouble came from the encroachments of the "cattle kings" of the West on the

Indian reservations. The President at once ordered the withdrawal of the trespassers, and peremptorily refused all delay. The white men and their herds went peacefully, without any use of the military being required, and this was speedily followed by an order to remove all the fences in the Indian Territory at the same time, steps were taken to induce the Indians to surrender some of their claims, and to adopt a mode of life more consonant with that of the dominant race.

Chapter CXLIV

President Harrison, His Birth and Parentage - His Cabinet Ministers - The Foreign Missions - The Centenary of Washington's Inauguration - The President at Elizabeth - His Arrival at New York - The Naval Parade - The Receptions and the Ball - The 30th of April - Service at St. Paul's Church and Bishop Potter's Address - The Military Parade - The Triumphal Arch - The Centennial Banquet - The Industrial Parade, May 1 - Behavior of the Crowds - A Contrast between 1789 and 1889 - Floods in the Allegany Region - The Bursting of Conemaugh Dam - Appalling Loss of Life Descriptions by Eye Witnesses - Johnstown Swept Away - Other Disasters - Gross Negligence - Fire at Seattle - The Business Portion Consumed - Energy of the Citizens.

Benjamin Harrison, the twenty-third President of the United States, was the grandson of General William Henry Harrison, "Old Tippecanoe," who was President in 1841, and great-grandson of Benjamin Harrison, of Virginia, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence. He was born at North Bend, Indiana, in 1833, and practiced law in that city till he entered the army, in which he rose to the rank of Brigadier-General. When the war was over he resumed his profession, and was one of the Senators of his State in Congress, from 1880 to 1886. The Vice-President, Levi P. Morton, an eminent banker of New York, had been Minister to France during Mr. Arthur's administration. The new Executive was duly inaugurated at Washington with the accustomed ceremonies, and nominated as his Cabinet James G. Blaine, of Maine, Secretary of State William Windom of Minnesota, Secretary of the Treasury; R. Proctor, of Vermont Secretary of War; John Wanamaker, of Pennsylvania, Postmaster-General William H. Miller, of Indiana, Attorney-General B. F. Tracy, of New York, Secretary of the Navy; J. W. Noble, of Missouri, Secretary of the Interior; and Jeremiah Rusk, of Indiana, Secretary of Agriculture. This last was a new office, of which Mr. Rusk was the first incumbent. Mr. Blaine and Mr. Windom had both held the same offices under President Garfield; Mr. Proctor had been Lieutenant-Governor of his State; Mr. Tracy, an eminent lawyer, well known from his connection with the celebrated case of H. W. Beecher, had seen active service in the Army of Virginia, and had attained the rank of General. Mr. Miller had been the partner of General Harrison in his law business in Indianapolis, and was his most intimate and devoted friend, while Mr. Rusk had served in Congress, been Governor of his State, and gained great reputation from the firmness and promptitude with which he repressed the threatened Anarchist disturbances in Milwaukee. Mr. Wanamaker was an eminent dry goods merchant of Philadelphia, widely known for his Christian zeal and labors in developing the Sunday School system. The great foreign missions were assigned: France, to Mr. Whitelaw Reid, editor of the New York Tribune - England, to Mr. Robert Lincoln, son of the martyr President, Secretary of War in Garfield and Arthur's terms; for Germany Murat Halstead was nominated, but rejected by the Senate, for the personal reason that in his paper, the Cincinnati "Commercial Gazette," he had criticized harshly some of the proceedings of that body; to Russia Mr. A. Thorndike Rice, the accomplished editor of the "North American Review", was appointed, but he died suddenly, just as he was about to sail. Of the minor missions, the nomination of Mr. P. Egan to Chili, was the most open to censure. He had been closely identified with the Irish Home Rule agitators, had fled from his native country, and had been naturalized only a very short time before he received his appointment. Colonel Grant,

son of President Grant, received the mission to Vienna, and Mr. Hirsch that to Turkey.

The first great public function in which President Harrison was called to appear was the Centennial celebration of the inauguration of Washington at New York. The centenary of the Declaration of Independence was marked by the Great Exhibition in Philadelphia in 1876, under President Grant the termination of the War of Independence by the surrender of the British forces at Yorktown was commemorated in 1881 under President Arthur. President Cleveland witnessed the long processions and elaborate ceremonies with which Philadelphia, in 1887, kept the centenary of the signing of the Constitution, and now this series of national celebrations was completed by due observance of the hundredth anniversary of the day on which the first President had been inaugurated. In a certain point of view, this last was the most epoch-making event, for it marked the beginning of our National life and of our present Federal Constitution. How George Washington was inaugurated in 1789, has been already told in these volumes, and there may be read the route taken by the Father of his Country from his home at Mount Vernon to New York, of the honors that welcomed him in every place through which he passed, and of the ceremonies gone through when he took the prescribed oath of office. It was resolved that, as far as the change in circumstances would allow, the course of General Washington should be followed. The day (April 30) and the following day (May) were declared national holidays liberal appropriations were made by the State and the city, and generous subscriptions to defray the expenses were poured into the treasury of the Committee of Citizens who had charge of the affair. Days before the Centennial day the streets of the city began to assume a festive appearance; triumphal arches were erected over the wide and stately line of Fifth Avenue at Washington Square and Madison Square; flags were displayed from every house, and it was noteworthy, as evincing the widespread feeling of patriotism, that these were quite as numerous in districts through which no procession would pass as in the more favored localities through which the citizen soldiery or the industrial parade would defile. Indeed, if any distinction is to be made between the decorative displays of various parts of the city, it may be safely asserted that the poorer sections were gayer and brighter with the Stars and Stripes than were the mansions of the wealthy. It was universally felt that the occasion was a national one, in which every citizen had a share. Thousands upon thousands poured into the city from all quarters - east, west, and south - all intent on duly celebrating the important day. On Sunday, the 28th of April, the President prepared to leave Washington, and a little after midnight the special train conveying him and his Cabinet officers was on the road northward. The real beginning of the celebration was at Elizabeth, N. J., where the President alighted, to a salute of twenty-one guns, and was driven to the house of the Governor of New Jersey. There he held a reception, and afterwards reviewed the military who were to form his escort to Elizabethport. Three triumphal arches spanned the road which the procession had to take, and the march was completed amid continuous applause. The most interesting arch was at Elizabeth and the Cross-Roads. On it were stationed forty-nine pretty girls, dressed in costumes representing forty-two States and seven Territories, and as the President passed under he was showered with flowers. Historically speaking, there was an anachronism in this celebration at Elizabeth, for it was on the 23d of April, 1789, that Washington had been entertained there by Elias Boudinot. At Elizabethport the Dispatch was lying in the channel, and to it the President was rowed by a picked crew of the Alcyone Boat Club. patch began her passage across the bay.

Soon after eleven o'clock the Dispatch began her passage across the bay. In the early morning the daylight had revealed the men-of-war and revenue cutters anchored in a long line from a point off the Battery to a distance of two and a half miles down the bay. In the line were the new cruiser Chicago, the old Kearsarge, the Yantic, the Essex, the Brooklyn, the new cruiser Atlanta, the Jamestown, the Juniata, the Yorktown, and the new cruiser Boston. All were trimmed with rainbow lines of colors from their bows to a point abaft their sterns, where the colors dipped into the water. The new vessels, though only cruisers, were all larger than the fighting ships of the war epoch. They had a modern, stately manner impressive, trim, and soldier-like, if the term may be used. Their newness shone in every line of their construction, in every flag, in every finishing touch of color or of bright work. Among them all the Boston, farthest away though she was, was distinguished by her color, or absence of it, for she was white, while all the others were black. The cutters Grant, of New York; Gallatin, of Boston Dexter, of Newport; McLane and Ewing, of Baltimore, and the boarding tugs Manhattan, Chandler, and Washington, of New York, steamed along behind the war-ships, veering from one position to another with the changing tide. The upper bay was alive with boats, for no less than one thousand vessels were afloat, to participate in the demonstration, and fifty thousand people, at least, were afloat, to witness the spectacle. Cheers rent the air as the Dispatch, with the Presidential flag flying, entered the line, and, as she passed, the merchant fleet began to close in behind her, forming a huge fan of ships in her wake. Then the fleet of yachts was passed, then the fleet of revenue cutters, and then the yards of the men-of-war were manned, and the guns of the Boston began the salute, to which the patriotic pilots of nine hundred river steamers added the appalling discord of their whistles. It was with some difficulty that the Dispatch worked her way through the throng of vessels in the East River to her anchorage of Wall Street. At one o'clock the President stepped into the barge, which was rowed ashore by twelve old captains, members of the Marine Society - white-bearded, white-haired veterans of the sea - amid cheers that echoed from housetop to housetop, and from pier to pier all along the river front. When the President had landed Mr. Hamilton Fish, the President of the Centennial Committee, presented the following address:

"MR. PRESIDENT: In the name of the Centennial Committee, representing the enthusiasm, the gratitude, and the pride of the Nation on this Centennial anniversary, I tender to you the welcome of New York, on the very spot where, one hundred years ago, your great predecessor, our first President, planted his foot, when he came to assume the duties of the great office which has now devolved upon you, and to set in operation the machinery of the glorious Constitution under which the Government has prospered and enlarged and extended across the Continent, insuring peace, security, and happiness to more than 60,000,000 of people, and not a single slave. We welcome you to celebrate the Centennial anniversary of the inauguration of that Constitution to whose preservation and defense you have sworn."

A brief reply was returned, and then a procession was formed, to escort the President and invited guests to the Equitable Building. In that immense edifice were gathered many of the leading men of the nation, including the Governors of twenty-eight States, in the order of the admission of their States to the Union: Delaware, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Georgia, Connecticut, Massachusetts, Maryland, South Carolina, New Hampshire, Virginia, North

Carolina, Rhode Island, Vermont, Kentucky, Ohio, Indiana, Alabama, Maine, Missouri, Michigan, Iowa, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Oregon, West Virginia, Nebraska, Colorado, Montana, and the Governor of Washington Territory, Governor Hill, of New York, forming part of the Presidential party. Following the custom in Washington's time and of common sense, there was no shaking of hands by those presented to the President. It was a representative crowd that passed before President Harrison. There were descendants of the gallant Frenchmen who had fought, side by side with Washington, for independence; the veterans who had fought for the Union by land and sea; representatives of that society which its founders fondly hoped would be an American order of Knighthood, the Society of the Cincinnati; members of the Holland Society, that embraces the descendants of the Dutch colonists of New Amsterdam heads of great financial firms; authors and publishers engineers and photographers; delegates of the Chamber of Commerce and the various Exchanges - in fact, representatives of every trade, art, industry, or profession that men exercise. At the banquet that followed the only toast drunk was "To the memory of George Washington, the Father of his Country." From the Equitable Building the line of march was resumed to the City Hall through ever denser crowds, whose cheers were renewed as the procession swept into the City Hall parade ground. Two lines of white-robed schoolgirls stretched from the entrance of the Hall down the broad steps in front to the first line of troops. As the President, with Mayor Grant, walked slowly for ward, flowers were strewn before him at every step. In the Governor's room, beneath a canopy of National flags, the President took his stand and a truly public reception ensued, mostly of plainly-dressed men and women, many of the former in their working clothes, many of the latter with their children in their arms. About five thousand passed before him during the hour devoted to the reception. Meanwhile, the East and North Rivers had been the scenes of two grand naval parades. While the Dispatch was landing the President, the ships of war got up their anchors and steamed in line up the North River to the anchorage off Fifty-ninth Street, and were followed by the yachts and revenue cutters. The view of the shores as seen from the ships was only less interesting than the spectacle of the marine pageant. Not a pier, not a house-top, not a patch of ground from which a view of the harbor could be had but was occupied, and hundreds of thousands of men and women and children cheered the fleet that sailed first up the North River. The scene in the harbor as the procession of merchant steamers began to round these war-ships off West Fifty-ninth Street, was as astounding as any that had gone before, The long and varied line extended down along the piers of the North River, around the Battery, up the westerly side of East River above Twenty-third Street, over to the easterly side of the river, and down to Wall Street again, while from Wall Street to Governor's Island there was a host of vessels, probably numbering more than one hundred. This procession started up the East River at about 11:15. At 4 they were still in line, although many did not cover the entire route.

In the evening the Metropolitan Opera House was the scene of a grand ball, at which were assembled America's loveliest maids and most gracious matrons. At the back of the stage a box for the President had been erected, and to this he was conducted between two lines of artillerymen, with drawn swords, who formed a pathway across the auditorium. The opening quadrille was danced by Vice-President Levi P. Morton, with Mrs. Jones Lieutenant-Governor Jones, with Mrs. Morton Lieutenant Judson, special aide to the President, with Mrs. Astor; Senator Aldrich, with Mrs. Cruger; Admiral Jouett, with Mrs. Washington General Vincent, with

Mrs. Gerry General McCook, with Mrs. A. S. Webb; Commodore Ramsey, with Mrs. Newbold Morris; General Fitzgerald, with Mrs. Gracie King; Harry Cannon, with Mrs. De Peyster; Dr. A. L. Ruth, U. S. N., with Mrs. Bayard Cutting; Mr. J. William Beekman, with Miss Livingston; Captain Dorst, with Mrs. Cooper; Mr. J. De Peyster, with Mrs. Van Rensselaer Colonel J. M. Varnum, with Mrs. Weir; Mr. G. Creighton Webb, with Miss Schuyler. Seldom has such a group of bearers of historic names been gathered together in our country.

Such was the prelude to the great day - the hundredth anniversary of the first Presidential inauguration - and if the naval displays of the 29th were admirable, the ceremonies and processions of the 30th perhaps appealed to larger multitudes of enthusiastic citizens. From early morn the streets through which the procession had to pass had begun to be filled with throngs of sight-seers, and as hour after hour passed new accessions of spectators crowded every footway and occupied the countless stands which had been erected on the line of march. The proceedings were ushered in by the ringing of the bells of all the churches, and in most of these sacred edifices special services were held, notably in the Dutch Reformed and the Episcopalian Churches. The former remembered that they had been loyal to the cause of independence in its darkest days; the latter were mindful that George Washington belonged to their communion. In the venerable Church of St. Paul, where Washington had worshipped before his inauguration, the religious service took place. The President sat in George Washington's pew, and Governor Hill in that which had been occupied by Governor Clinton. The church was richly decorated with flowers and flags, conspicuous in which were the old thirteen-starred flag of the last century and the liliated-white flag of France. After the usual services of the Episcopal Church, the Right Reverend Henry C. Potter, Bishop of the Diocese of New York, delivered an address, which, from its boldness and fearless frankness, evoked much comment. The reverend prelate said "One hundred years ago there knelt within these walls a man to whom, above all others in its history, this nation is indebted. An Englishman by race and lineage, he incarnated in his own person and character every best trait and attribute that have made the Anglo-Saxon name a glory to its children and a terror to its enemies throughout the world. But he was not so much an Englishman that, when the time came for him to be so, he was not even more an American and in all that he was and did, a patriot so exalted, and a leader great and wise, that what men called him when he came here to be inaugurated as the first President of the United States the civilized world has not since then ceased to call him - the Father of his Country. "The goodly company," he continued, "that a hundred years before had assembled in these walls, acknowledged reverently the hand of Divine Providence in the events that had made the cause of America triumphant. The event they were that day celebrating was not merely an illustration of the continuity of the Chief Magistracy and of the corporate life of the nation rather it was felt with an unerring intuition which has, once and again and again in human history, been the attribute of the people as distinguished from the theorists, the system-makers, that that which makes it worth while to commemorate the inauguration of George Washington is not merely that it is the consummation of the nation's struggle towards organic life, not merely that by the initiation of its Chief Executive it set in operation that constitution which is 'the most perfect instrument which the wit of man has devised'; but that it celebrates the beginning of an Administration which, by its lofty and stainless integrity, by its absolute superiority to selfish or secondary motives, by the rectitude of its daily

conduct in the face of whatsoever threats, blandishments, or combinations, rather than by the ostentatious phariseism of its professions, has taught this nation and the world for ever what the Christian ruler of a Christian people ought to be." Then he spoke of the change that a century had effected in the character of our population, then homogeneous, now motley, and in the nature and influences of the forces that determine our destiny. To-day, there are indeed ideas that rule our hour, but they must be merchantable ideas. The growth of wealth, the prevalence of luxury, the massing of large material forces, which by their very existence are a standing menace to the freedom and integrity of the individual, the infinite swagger of our American speech and manners, mistaking highness for greatness, and sadly confounding gain and godliness - all this is a contrast to the austere simplicity, the unpurchasable integrity of the first days and first men of our republic, which makes it impossible to reproduce to-day either the temper or the conduct of our fathers. As we turn the pages backward, and come upon the story of that 30th of April in the year of our Lord 1789, there is a certain stateliness in the air, a certain ceremoniousness in the manners, which we have banished long ago. We have exchanged the Washingtonian dignity for the Jeffersonian simplicity which was, in truth, only another name for the Jacksonian vulgarity. And what have we gotten in exchange We need to recall his image and, if we may, not only to commemorate, but to reproduce his virtues. The traits which in him shone preeminent as our own Irving has described them, Firmness, sagacity, an immovable justice, courage that never faltered, and most of all truth that disdained all artifices - these are characteristics in her leaders of which the nation was never in more dire need than now. God grant we may reproduce them." After this stirring, perhaps startling, address, the Bishop read from Washington's prayer-book the Prayer for Rulers, and dismissed the congregation. From the Church President Harrison was conveyed to Wall Street. In that centre of present business activity, where the bronze statue of Washington stands in front of the marble portico of the Sub-Treasury, Washington had taken the oath of office, and there the literary exercises were held. A platform to hold a thousand people had been erected in front of the building, and from it projected a small balcony, in which were placed the chair in which Washington had sat and the Bible on which he had been sworn into office. On the arrival of the Presidential party, the Reverend Richard S. Storrs offered prayer. Then a poem by the Quaker bard, John Greenleaf Whittier, was read. It was entitled

"THE VOW OF WASHINGTON."

The sword was sheathed in April's sun Lay green the fields by
Freedom won;
And severed sections, weary of debates,
Joined hands at last and were United States.

O City sitting by the Sea!
How proud the day that dawned on thee,
When the new era, long desired, began,
And, in its need, the hour had found the man

One thought the cannon salvos spoke

The resonant bell-tower's vibrant stroke,
The voiceful streets, the plaudit-echoing halls,
And prayer and hymn borne heavenward from St. Paul's

How felt the land in every part
The strong throb of a nation's heart,
As its great leader gave, with reverent awe,
His pledge to Union, Liberty and Law!

That pledge the heavens above him beard,
That vow the sleep of centuries stirred
In worldwide wonder listening peoples bent
Their gaze on Freedom's great experiment.

Could it succeed Of honor sold
And hopes deceived all history told,
Above the wrecks that strewed the mournful past
Was the long dream of ages true at last ?

Thank God the people's choice was just,
The one man equal to his trust,
Wise beyond lore, and without weakness good,
Calm in the strength of flawless rectitude !

His rule of justice, order, peace,
Made possible the world's release
Taught prince and serf that power is but a trust,
And rule, alone, which serves the ruled, is just;

That Freedom generous is, but strong
In hate of fraud and selfish wrong,
Pretense that turns her holy truths to lies,
And lawless license masking in her guise.

Land of his love with one glad voice
Let thy great sisterhood rejoice;
A century's suns o'er thee have risen and set,
And, God be praised, we are one nation yet,

And still, we trust, the years to be
Shall prove his hope was destiny,
Leaving our flag with all its added stars
Unrent by faction and unstained by wars

Lo where with patient toil he nursed
And trained the new-set plant at first,
The widening branches of a stately tree
Stretch from the sunrise to the sunset sea.

And in its broad and sheltering shade,
Sitting with none to make afraid,
Were we now silent, through each mighty limb
The winds of heaven would sing the praise of him.

Our first and best - his ashes lie
Beneath his own Virginian sky.
Forgive, forget, O true and just and brave,
The storm that swept above thy sacred grave!

For, ever in the awful strife
And dark hours of the Nation's life,
Through the fierce tumult pierced his warning word,
Their father's voice his erring children heard !

The change for which he prayed and sought
In that sharp agony was wrought
No partial interest draws its alien line
'Twixt North and South, the cypress and the pine

One people now, all doubt beyond,
His name shall be our Union-bond
We lift our hands to Heaven, and here and now,
Take on our lips the old Centennial vow.

For rule and trust must needs be ours;
Chooser and chosen both are powers
Equal in service as in rights the claim
Of Duty rests on each and all the same.

Then let the sovereign millions, where
Our banner floats in sun and air,
From the warm palm-lands to Alaska's cold,
Repeat with us the pledge a century old!

The orator of the day was Mr. Chauncey M. Depew. "We celebrate," he said, "to-day the Centenary of our nationality. One hundred years ago the United States began their existence. The powers of government were assumed by the people of the Republic, and they became the sole

source of authority. The solemn ceremonial of the first inauguration, the reverent oath of Washington, the acclaim of the multitude greeting their President, marked the most unique event of modern times in the development of free institutions. The occasion was not an accident, but a result. It was the culmination of the working out by mighty forces through many centuries of the problem of self-government. It was not the triumph of a system, the application of a theory, or the reduction to practice of the abstractions of philosophy. The time, the country, the heredity and environment of the people, the folly of its enemies, and the noble courage of its friends, gave to liberty after ages of defeat, of trial, of experiment, of partial success and substantial gains, this immortal victory. Henceforth it had a refuge and recruiting station.

"More clearly than any statesman of the period, did Thomas Jefferson grasp and divine the possibilities of Popular Government. He caught and crystallized the spirit of free institutions. His philosophical mind was singularly free from the power of precedents or the chains of prejudice. He had an unquestioning and abiding faith in the people, which was accepted by but few of his compatriots. Upon his famous axiom, of the equality of all men before the law, he constructed his system. It was the trip-hammer essential for the emergency to break the links binding the Colonies to Imperial authority, and to pulverize the privileges of caste. It inspired him to write the Declaration of Independence, and persuaded him to doubt the wisdom of the powers concentrated in the Constitution. In his passionate love liberty he became intensely jealous of authority. He destroyed the substance of royal prerogative, but never emerged from its shadow. He would have the States as the guardians of popular rights, and the barriers against centralization, and he saw in the growing power of the Nation ever-increasing encroachments upon the rights of the people. For the success of the pure democracy which must precede Presidents and Cabinets and Congresses, it was, perhaps, providential that its apostle never believed a great people could grant and still retain, could give and at will reclaim, could delegate and yet firmly hold the authority which ultimately created the power of their Republic and enlarged the scope of their own liberty." Then, after an allusion to the old Congress and the Convention of 1787, he continued: "The Constitution, which was to be strengthened by the strain of a century, to be a mighty conqueror without a subject province, to triumphantly survive the greatest of civil wars without the confiscation of an estate or the execution of a political offender, to create and grant home rule and State sovereignty to twenty-nine additional commonwealths, and yet enlarge its scope and broaden its power, and to make the name of an American citizen a title of honor throughout the world, came complete from this great Convention to the people for adoption. As Hancock rose from his seat in the old Congress eleven years before to sign the Declaration of Independence, Franklin saw emblazoned on the back of the President's chair the sun partly above the horizon, but it seemed setting in a blood-red sky. During the seven years of the Confederation he had gathered no hope from the glittering emblem, but now, as with clear vision he beheld fixed upon eternal foundations the enduring structure of constitutional liberty, pointing to the sign, he forgot his eighty-two years, and with the enthusiasm of youth electrified the Convention with the declaration: Now I know that it is the rising sun.'

"Success was due to confidence in Washington and the genius of Alexander Hamilton. Jefferson was the inspiration of Independence but Hamilton was the incarnation of the

Constitution. In no age or country has there appeared a more precocious or amazing intelligence than Hamilton. At seventeen he annihilated the president of his college upon the question of the rights of the Colonies in a series of anonymous articles which were credited to the ablest men in the country; at forty-seven, when he died, his briefs had become the law of the land, and his fiscal system was, and after a hundred years remains, the rule and policy of our Government. He gave life to the corpse of National credit, and the strength for self-possession and aggressive power to the Federal Union. Both as an expounder of the principles and an administrator of the affairs of government he stands supreme and unrivaled in American history. His eloquence was so magnetic, his language so clear, and his reasoning so irresistible, that he swayed with equal ease popular assemblies, grave senates, and learned judges. He captured the people of the whole country for the Constitution by his papers in *The Federalist*, and conquered the hostile majority in the New York Convention by the splendor of his oratory.

"The first Congress of the United States gathered in this ancient temple of liberty greeted Washington and accompanied him to the balcony. The famous men visible about him were Chancellor Livingston, Vice-President John Adams, Alexander Hamilton, Governor Clinton, Roger Sherman, Richard Henry Lee, General Knox, and Baron Steuben. But we believe that among the invisible host above him, at this supreme moment of the culmination in permanent triumph of the thousands of years of struggle for self-government, were the spirits of the soldiers of the Revolution who had died that their country might enjoy this blessed day, and with them were the Barons of Runnymede and William the Silent, and Sidney and Russell, and Cromwell and Hampden, and the heroes and martyrs of liberty of every race and age.

"No man ever stood for so much to his country and to mankind as George Washington. Hamilton, Jefferson and Adams, Madison and Jay, each represented some of the elements which formed the Union. Washington embodied them all. They fell at times under popular disapproval, were burned in effigy, were stoned, but he, with unerring judgment, was always the leader of the people. Milton said of Cromwell, 'that war made him great, peace greater.' The superiority of Washington's character and genius was more conspicuous in the formation of our Government and in putting it on indestructible foundations than in leading armies to victory and conquering the independence of his country. 'The Union in any event,' is the central thought of his farewell address, and all the years of his grand life were devoted to its formation and preservation." Then, after alluding to the enormous armies which impoverished the nations of Europe, and which are not a guarantee of peace, but rather a provocation to war, he concluded with this peroration : But for us no army exhausts our resources nor consumes our youth. Our navy must needs increase in order that the protecting flag may follow the expanding commerce which is successfully to compete in all the markets of the world. The sun of our destiny is still rising, and its rays illumine vast territories as yet unoccupied and undeveloped, and which are to be the happy homes of millions of people. The questions which affect the powers of government and the expansion or limitation of the authority of the Federal Constitution are so completely settled, and so unanimously approved, that our political divisions produce only the healthy antagonism of parties, which is necessary for the preservation of liberty. Our institutions furnish the full equipment of shield and spear for the battles of freedom, and absolute protection against every danger which

threatens the welfare of the people will always be found in the intelligence which appreciates their value, and the courage and morality with which their powers are exercised. The spirit of Washington fills the executive office. Presidents may not rise to the full measure of his greatness, but they must not fall below his standard of public duty and obligation. His life and character, conscientiously studied and thoroughly understood by coming generations, will be for them a liberal education for private life and public station, for citizenship and patriotism, for love and devotion to Union and Liberty. With their inspiring past and splendid present, the people of these United States, heirs of a hundred years marvelously rich in all which adds to the glory and greatness of a nation, with an abiding trust in the stability and elasticity of their Constitution, and an abounding faith in themselves, hail the coming century with hope and joy."

President Harrison then stepped forward, and, after a graceful compliment to Mr. Depew as having met the demands of the occasion on its own high level, said: "We have come into the serious, but always inspiring, presence of Washington. He was the incarnation of duty, and he teaches us to-day this great lesson - that those who would associate their names with events that shall outlive a century, can only do so by high consecration to duty.

Self-seeking has no public observance or anniversary. The captain who gives to the sea his cargo of rags, that he may give safety and deliverance to his imperiled fellow-men, has fame he who lands the cargo, has only wages.

"Washington seemed to come to the discharge of the duties of his high office impressed with a great sense of his unfamiliarity with these new calls upon him, modestly doubtful of his own ability, but trusting implicitly in the sustaining helpfulness and grace of that God who rules the world, presides in the councils of nations, and is able to supply every human defect.

We have made marvellous progress in material things, but the stately and enduring shaft that we have erected at the National Capital at Washington symbolizes the fact that he is still the First American Citizen."

The benediction was pronounced by Archbishop Corrigan, and then the President left the platform to proceed to the reviewing stand in Madison Square. There passed the greatest military parade ever seen in America, except when the mighty host that had fought the battles of the Union marched on the two memorable days of May 22 and 23, 1865, through the avenues of the National Capital. The men who defiled before President Harrison numbered over fifty thousand. For five hours and a half the air of Broadway was charged with stirring music, with the regular tread of hoofs and shoes, the rattle of gun-carriages, the clink of sabres, and the gorgeous and kaleidoscopic panorama of colors. For nearly six hours the people stood in solid ranks along the line of march, and the soldiers were hemmed in by these living walls, and saw the multitude towering far above their heads, in the windows, on the balconies, and on the roof edges. Cheering was continuous.

Detachments of the United States troops under General Schofield led the way cavalry and

infantry, artillery and marines, sailors and West Point cadets, two thousand in number, followed in admirable array. Then came the militiamen of the National Guard, each body placed in line in the order in which the States were admitted into the Union. First came little Delaware with seven hundred and fifty men then the Pennsylvania contingent, in heavy marching order, with all the impedimenta of actual service in the field. At their head rode Governor Beaver, who, having lost a leg, rode strapped to his horse. The uniforms were the regulation State dress; sober and workman-like, the men, every inch soldiers. A striking contrast was furnished by the New Jersey troops, in which each regiment had different uniforms from its neighbor, but all were gay and gleaming. After the eight thousand of the Keystone State and the three thousand seven hundred of New Jersey came Georgia, with a representative delegation of thirty-five men, and Governor Gordon at their head. He and they had long fought gallantly and in vain against the forces of the Union, but, like true Americans, were ready to honor the great day. The Connecticut six hundred were resplendent, especially the Foot Guards in bear-skins, red coats, and buff breeches, and the Zouaves. The Governor of Massachusetts and her old "Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company," now in the two hundredth year of its existence, led on the fifteen hundred State troops, the first who saw active service in the War of the Secession. Then followed five hundred Marylanders and one thousand men from New Hampshire (one corps in Continental uniform, with 1784 on their caps), and from the late seceded States three hundred and fifty of South Carolina and five hundred Virginian cavalry and artillery, with the Governor of Virginia, Fitzhugh Lee. The cheers that greeted and accompanied this representative soldier of the Lost Cause were another proof of how the people honor valor, sincerity, and self-sacrifice in their fiercest enemies, and how ready it is to extend a welcome to those enemies when the strife is passed and they loyally acquiesce in the arbitrament of war. The citizens of the North saw in the son of the great Southern general only a citizen of the South, like them loyal to the Union, like them rejoicing to honor the birthday of the Presidency. The strongest body of troops followed Virginia - the National Guard of New York, twelve thousand strong, with Governor Hill in front, immediately followed by the famous Seventh Regiment. The first two brigades were city troops, the third and fourth consisted of men from the northern part of the State, and, in the opinion of many, their bearing, marching, and appearance surpassed all others in the review. North Carolina, Rhode Island, and Vermont preceded six companies of the Kentucky militia under Governor Buckner, and the Ohio contingent of three thousand men headed by Governor Foraker. The ten regiments, in blue uniform and in full marching order, looked ready to take the field; and the Cleveland Hussars, in black and gold, made a brilliant contrast to their somber comrades, Then came Louisiana, commanded by General Beauregard, the victor of Bull Run regiments from Missouri and Michigan, with its celebrated corps of cadets. Florida and Texas closed the line of States, and then appeared the Light Infantry of the District of Columbia, in bear-skins, buff coats, and blue trousers, and a colored regiment. After the troops in active service came the Grand Army of the Republic, to whom the President paid special honor. By half-past six the great parade was over. The day had been a trying one and the march long. The column had begun to form at half-past eight in the morning, at Wall Street, and as the head moved up, the regiments stationed in side streets fell into their places. Nearly half a million of spectators were massed on the pavement, cheering as regiment after regiment moved up. The most striking moment of the day was when the line turned out of Washington Square into Fifth Avenue and passed the graceful, classic arch

which had been erected at the foot of the finest avenue of America. Gleaming white in its exquisite proportions, gay with many-colored flags, crowned by a statue of Washington, no more imposing entrance to a magnificent highway can be imagined than this simple yet stately structure. When it is reproduced in marble it will remain, for after ages, a memorial of the early days of the Republic and of the great celebration, as well as a permanent ornament to the city.

"After all has been written," said an eye-witness of the scene, the imagination would best be depended on to delineate the real picture. Populate Broadway and Fifth Avenue as densely as you please, leaving scarcely room enough for the moving column, stop at no obstacles, mount platforms of observation for every conceivable place that offered an advantage, fill the cross-streets with platforms erected on trucks and vehicles of all kinds, give to each of the myriad of windows its own group of eager sightseers, perch them on cornices, on roofs, on spires and domes, turn City Hall and Union and Madison Squares into great seas of humanity, with influent and effluent currents that flow like a river till movement is stayed because there is no further room for it, dot this dark mass with innumerable spots of red, white, and blue, project it up and down the great thoroughfare for five miles, endow it with the capacity of breaking out at intervals with an irruption of fluttering white, which moves along synchronously with some courtly horseman or high dignitary whom the people love to honor - exercise your fancy in painting such a picture, beautified, varied, and heightened by a thousand and one details which baffle the recorder, raise it to the highest power of a final and supreme effort, and you will have a faint and incomplete idea of what the historic spectacle was like."

A banquet at the Metropolitan Opera House closed the day's proceedings. As one looked from the entrance to the auditorium from the main corridor, the scene was dazzling in its brilliance. On every side were flowers in such profusion that one could scarcely distinguish the dividing lines in the masses of color, so artistically were the variegated blossoms blended by the decorator. Above, below, and on all sides were hundreds of brilliant jets of light. The Mayor of New York presided and announced the toasts. The most noteworthy speeches in reply were those to the toast of "The People," by the late President Grover Cleveland, and of Our Literature, by James Russell Lowell. "The literature of a people should be the record of its joys and sorrows, its aspirations and its shortcomings, its wisdom and its folly. We cannot say that our own as yet suffices us, but I believe that he who stands a hundred years hence where I am standing now, conscious that he speaks to the most powerful and prosperous community ever devised or developed by man, will speak of our literature with the assurance of one who beholds what we hope for become a reality and a possession forever." To the toast of "The United States," the President responded: Have you not learned that not stocks or bonds, or stately houses, or lands, or products of mill or field, is our country. It is a spiritual thought that is in our minds. It is the flag and what it stands for, it is its glorious history, it is the fireside and the home, it is the high thoughts that are in the heart, born of the inspiration which comes of the story of the fathers, the martyrs to liberty - It is the graveyard into which our grateful country has gathered the unconscious dust of those who died. Here in these things is that thing we love and call our country rather than anything that can be touched or handled.

"Let me add the thought: That we owe a duty to our country in peace, as well as in war. Perhaps never, in the history of our Nation, have we been so well equipped for war upon the land as now; and yet we have never seen a time in our history when our people were more smitten with a love of peace.

"To elevate the morals of our people; to hold up the law as that sacred thing which, like the Ark of God of old, may not be touched by irreverent hands; to frown upon every attempt to dethrone its supremacy; to unite our people in all that makes the home pure and honorable, as well as to give our energies in the direction of our material advancement - this service we may render, and out of this great demonstration do we not feel like reconsecrating ourselves to the love and to the service of our country

After the pageant of war on Tuesday, came on Wednesday the pageant of peace, the civic and industrial parade. Wednesday was distinctively the people's day. Conspicuous among the marshalled throng were the Public School Battalions, in knee-breeches and Derby hats, and they easily carried off the marching honors of the day. In one respect they set an example that ought to be always followed - no flag but that of the United States was borne in their ranks; there was no sign of a divided allegiance or of by-gone feuds in the lines of Young America. Next in popularity were the Veteran Firemen. Then came French, Italian, and German Societies, the members of the Tammany Society, and countless workingmen's organizations. The fact was impressed strongly on all spectators, that the most attractive part of the parade was that contributed by our adopted citizens. The German was the most significant division of the day's show. The introduction, not into America, but into the civilized world, of the art of printing, the cultivation of the art of music, and the spread of its humanizing influences through the medium of societies of singers floriculture, with its gentle ministrations; the growth of the vine and the manufacture of wine, with its corollaries of geniality and good friendship; the pretty and poetical myths of childhood, he whose name we have translated into St. Nicholas and all his merry train of fays, fairies, gnomes, and spirits that populate the meads and woods and brooks of the German Fatherland, and transported hither, have helped to quicken the fancy and warm the emotions of American children - all these things, and many more, were called to the attention of the myriad of careless sight-seers by the tableaux that beautified the German division in the parade. But besides the tableaux of the Germans and the Labor Unions, there were many other elaborate and historical displays. Such were "The Landing from the Mayflower," "The Arrival of William Penn," "The Swedes on the Delaware," "Washington Crossing the Delaware," "Valley Forge in 1778," and "Washington Taking Leave of his Officers." All these tableaux, historical as well as mythical, formed a succession of pictures full of color, variety, and picturesqueness. In the evening the President returned to Washington. The procession dispersed, but still crowds of sight-seers filled the streets and carried off strips of bunting, flags, and decorations of all sorts as relics of the eventful day. And so ended the celebration. The conduct of the countless spectators was a more remarkable display of the American character than either the naval, military, or industrial parades. Crowded as were the streets from early morn, great as was the influx of strangers, manifold as were the temptations, no more orderly, patient, or good-humored throng ever was assembled. Drunkenness was unknown, and there was no pilfering, pocket-picking, or disturbance. There

was, here and there, inevitable pressure, and occasionally confusion, but the good sense, the self-restraint, the civic virtue of the citizens, kept order more effectually and more surely than whole squads of police could have done.

What did this outpouring of the people, this universal display of loyalty, this general rejoicing, mean? It meant that the American people were celebrating the coming-of-age of the nation. It meant that the Federation was no longer an experiment, watched by European statesmen with curious, if not hostile eyes, but a great fact in the world's history. The United States had passed successfully through wars with foreign nations had conquered, by the arms of peace, by industry, frugality, and enterprise, the noblest empire the world had seen from the Atlantic to the Pacific the people, by their own efforts, had made the desert blossom like the rose, had built up great industries and reared cities to vie with the greatest of those of the Old World in all that constitutes civilization and freedom, and now, one hundred years after the first President took his exalted office, the United States proudly assumed and took its rightful place as one of the great nations of the world. Henceforth, in a sense stronger than ever before, America is for the Americans. Well did Washington foresee the future when, in his inaugural address, he said:

"The foundations of our national policy will be laid in the pure and immutable principles of private morality, and the preeminence of a free Government be exemplified by all the attributes which can win the affections of its citizens and command the respect of the world,

"I dwell on this prospect with every satisfaction which an ardent love for my country can inspire; since there is no truth more thoroughly established than that there exists in the economy and course of nature an indissoluble union between virtue and happiness, between duty and advantage, between the genuine maxims of an honest and magnanimous policy, and the solid rewards of public prosperity and felicity; since we ought to be no less persuaded that the propitious smiles of Heaven can never be expected on a nation that disregards the eternal rules of order and right, which Heaven itself has ordained and since the preservation of the sacred fire of liberty, and the destiny of the republican model of government, are justly considered as deeply, perhaps as finally, staked on the experiment intrusted to the hands of the American people."

The experiment is one no longer; the American Republic, to use a trivial but expressive phrase, "has come to stay."

"If it were possible," wrote the New York Tribune, "to contrast the industries of 1789, when the world had lived and learned at least fifty-eight centuries, with those of 1889, when only one century more has been added, what a startling contrast!

"It is not possible. A new world has been created. The methods, tools, products, and arts of a century ago in many departments have vanished as completely as if they belonged to another planet. What has become of the spinning wheel or the wooden clock? The suit of woolen cloth worn by President Washington at his address to Congress in 1789, was presented by a woolen factory only established in the preceding year, and cloth then cost five dollars a yard; the people

were clothed in the homespun made in every family. The power loom for knit goods was not invented until 1830. In 1789 two citizens of Norwich asked exemption from poll-tax for themselves and their apprentices because they had set up eight stocking frames, which required two men for each. A century ago woolcarding had been done by hand, but Whittemore invented machinery to make cards. The first carpet factory in the country was established a little later. A century ago the cotton-gin had not been invented, the spinning-jenny was yet an experiment, and the first shipment of cotton to England, only eight bags, was made in 1784 Now the country has raised more than seven million bales of cotton in a year, and worked up more than one thousand million pounds of cotton and four hundred million pounds of wool.

"A century ago only charcoal iron was produced, and not as much of that, probably, as thirty thousand tons yearly; for, twenty years later, the product was but fifty-three thousand tons. Even Great Britain in 1788 produced only sixty-eight thousand three hundred ton - not as much as any one of several furnaces in this country now turns out yearly. The manufacture of steel was just beginning here; twenty years later only nine hundred and seventeen tons were produced in the country. The coarsest pigiron then cost about as much as steel rails do now. A single railroad now buys yearly more iron than both Great Britain and this country then made, but there were neither railroads then, nor iron bridges, nor buildings no petroleum pipes, for there was no petroleum no gas-pipes, for there was no gas-lighting even in Europe until later. Washington lived in an age of darkness instead of the electric light, the millions had candles costing about two cents apiece. In all the departments and applications of chemistry the century has simply created a new world. American pressed glass, which has completely revolutionized the supply of table and house ware, is an invention of the last sixty years. The silk manufacture has not existed in this country half a century; the paper made a hundred years ago would hardly be thought fit for use since modern methods have been invented; the only use discovered for India-rubber then was to erase pencilmarks; and while the town of Lynn made one hundred thousand pairs of boots and shoes in 1788, they were not the shoes of to-day, and the manufacture by machinery is wholly due to inventions since 1800. Sewing machines for any purpose were unknown, and salt was made by boiling sea- water, though in 1787 it was first made from the springs near Syracuse at the rate of about ten bushels per day, and the cost soon fell to fifty cents per bushel.'

Farming in Washington's day knew nothing of machinery; even the first iron plough, patented in 1797, was a failure, for New Jersey farmers thought it poisoned the soil. Mowers, reapers, and harvesters began to be invented about the same time, and even the ordinary implements were such as it would not now be thought possible to use. The steamboat was practically unknown, and the railroad entirely until forty years later, and the cost of transportation by wagon confined the area of possible production with profit, as to most crops, to the margin of navigable waters. The whole Nation could not produce in Washington's day as much wheat as single Territories not yet States now export each year, and when the accounts of a century ago tell of vast quantities' exported, they really mean less in a year than the country has since moved in a single week.

"Volumes could be filled, and yet but a small part of the change in industry within the century could be mentioned. But the revolution in the condition of the laboring population has been the

crowning result of all this progress. Of wages, it is enough to say that masons a century ago earned 61 cents per day in Massachusetts, carpenters 52 cents, blacksmiths 70 cents, and ordinary labor, 30 cents. Food near the farms was cheap, but pork is quoted in Massachusetts at 16 cents per pound, flour at \$8.16 per barrel, corn at 76 cents per bushel, and ham at 20 cents per pound. Calico cost 48 cents per yard, broadcloth \$2.70, buckram 22 cents, cotton cloth 88 cents, and tow-cloth 30 cents; hose cost \$1.35 per pair, and 'corded Nankeen breeches' \$5.50; buttons from 1 to 5 shillings per dozen, shoes of lasting 84 cents per pair, and sugar from 15 to 22 cents per pound. One does not need to study such figures as these very long to discover that the world and the living of to-day were simply impossible for the working people of a century ago. The whole world has changed, but nowhere has the marvellous advance been greater than in these United States."

But as if to remind us that there are greater powers than those of man, and agencies against which all his skill, industry, and courage are impotent, the month that opened with such a jubilant celebration, and such a display of human achievements, ended in an appalling catastrophe. For some days heavy rains had been falling in the region of the Allegheny Mountains and swollen every stream. On the Conemaugh River, between Altoona and Pittsburgh, stood the town of Johnstown, the most populous in the county of Cambria, and the seat of extensive iron works, around which the 28,000 inhabitants dwelt. It had its rolling mills, steel works, and wire works it had a freight station on the Pennsylvania Railroad, which corporation had also repairing shops in the town. It had churches of all denominations, daily and weekly newspapers, street cars, gas and electric lights, and was in every respect a thriving community. It lay, however, right under three hills several hundred feet high, from which the streams descended that formed Conemaugh Creek and River, and filled nearly the whole space between the two bluffs that formed the valley. Back in the hills at the head of Conemaugh Creek, three hundred feet higher than the town, was a huge dam that had originally been constructed for the old Pennsylvania Canal. When the canal was abandoned the lake and the dam became the property of a fishing club, and this society increased the size of the dam till it was over a hundred feet high, and held back a lake three miles in length and a mile and a quarter in width. Alarm about the stability of the dam had often been expressed but, as no accident had happened, men thought little of the danger, or, at all events, thought that if it did break, it would only flood the lower parts of the town. The rains in the last week of May had been continuous and heavy, and on the 31st of the month, at three o'clock in the afternoon, the huge mound gave way, and the pent-up waters were precipitated on the doomed town.

Examination showed that the repairs and the heightening of the dam by the fishing club had been imperfectly done, and that adequate sluice-ways had not been provided. In addition to these defects of original construction, the top of the dam had sunk in the centre. The danger was seen by John G. Parke, Jr., a civil engineer engaged on the grounds of the club, and he succeeded in warning the inhabitants of South Fork. He stated: "By half-past eleven I had made up my mind that it was impossible to save the dam, and getting on my horse, I galloped down the road to South Fork to warn the people of their danger. The telegraph tower is a mile from the town, and I sent two men there to have messages sent to Johnstown and other points below. I heard that the lady operator fainted when she had sent off the news, and had to be carried off. The people at

South Fork had ample time to get to the high grounds, and they were able to move their furniture, too. In fact, only one person was drowned at South Fork, and lie while attempting to fish something from the flood as it rolled by. It was just twelve o'clock when the telegraph messages were sent out, so that the people of Johnstown had over three hours' warning."

It was the lowering of the centre of the mound that immediately led to the disaster. The waters overflowed at that point, and their rush down the outer side of the embankment washed away rapidly the rip-rap and loose earth, cutting a deep channel right into the dam, till it could no longer contain the mass of waters behind it. An eye-witness who escaped from a train at Conemaugh and gained higher ground, thus writes of the force of the flood as it came thundering and foaming down: "The roundhouse of the Pennsylvania Railroad had stalls for twenty-three locomotives. There were eighteen or twenty of these standing there at this time. There was an ominous crash, and the roundhouse and locomotives disappeared. Everything in the main track of the flood was first lifted in the air and then swallowed up by the waters. A hundred houses were swept away in a few minutes. These included the hotel, stores and saloons on the front street, and residences adjacent."

Another man, who stood on the bluff below Johnstown and saw the first wave of the flood come down the valley, tried to describe it. "I looked up" he said, "and saw something that looked like a wall of houses and trees up the valley. The next moment Johnstown seemed coming toward me. It was lifted right up, and in a minute was smashing against the bridge, and the houses were flying in splinters across the top and into the water beyond." The wall of water had a front forty feet high and an eighth of a mile wide, and came on with the force of thirty Niagaras. In a few moments all was desolation, death, and agony in Johnstown. The only outlet for the torrent was over or under the railroad bridge, in part a solid stone structure, and up against it the houses, borne down in the torrent, were heaped in wild confusion. Above it for the space of sixty acres extended the pile of debris which, to add new horrors to the flood, soon took fire, and burned with a heavy, sickly odor, for numerous corpses were there imbedded. In this mass of ruin were the timbers of four square miles of houses, twenty-seven locomotives, Pullman cars and freight cars, fragments of the iron work of bridges, and no one knows how many dead. Strangely, the first reports from the disaster underestimated the loss. It was said that two hundred had perished; then that two thousand; then, when the whole extent of the calamity was seen, it was stated that ten thousand to fifteen thousand lives had been lost. What befell Johnstown befell other villages in the valley for fifteen miles all was swept away. The greatest loss of life was that of women and children, for in many cases they were incapable, through fear, of availing themselves of means of escape, which involved letting go of the debris in which they were whirled along. By half-past five - that is, within two hours and a half from the bursting of the dam - the force of the flood was spent. Many heroic deeds were done, but none perhaps more worthy of record than that of Mrs. Ogle, a widow, who, with her daughter, managed the Western Union Telegraph Company's office. In spite of repeated notifications to get out of the reach of danger, she stood by her instrument with unflinching loyalty, sending warnings to points in the valley below. When every station in the path of the torrent had received its warning, she sent the words: "This is my last message." It was so, for she and her daughter both perished. Appeals for help were sent out in all

quarters, for merely local generosity was entirely unequal to the task of housing, feeding, clothing, and tending so many homeless, starving, half-naked outcasts, much less to undertake the necessary task of burying the dead. The Governor of the State, James A. Beaver, simply told the tale in a few words: The Valley of the Conemaugh, which is peculiar, has been swept from one end to the other as with the besom of destruction. It contained a population of forty thousand to fifty thousand people, living for the most part along the banks of a small river, confined within narrow limits. The most conservative estimates place the loss of life at five thousand human beings, and of property at twenty-five million dollars.

"Whole towns have been utterly destroyed; not a vestige remains. In the more substantial towns the better buildings, to a certain extent, remain, but in a damaged condition. Those who are least able to bear it have suffered the loss of everything," and he added that there had been no exaggeration in the newspaper reports as to the loss of life and property. He sent to the spot the Adjutant-General of the State, and placed the district under martial law, for all traces of self-government had ceased. The whole country nobly responded; the State of Pennsylvania advanced one million of dollars, New York gave nearly three-quarters of a million, and other cities in pro portion. Relief trains, with goods and provisions, poured in as soon as the railroad tracks were passable, but the greatest difficulty was still to clear away the ruins, bury the dead, and prevent the outbreak of disease. As far as can be estimated, the total loss of life was about eight thousand or less. It can never be accurately known, as many unknown corpses were buried where they were hurled ashore, miles below the homes that knew them.

On the west branch of the Susquehanna the floods inflicted great loss. At Lewistown the water was four feet higher than ever known; at Williamsport and Lock Haven both booms were swept away, and nine-tenths of the sawed lumber was lost at Milton the water was five feet high in the streets. In all directions bridges were carried down and the railroads rendered impassable. The Potomac rose till it spread from the highlands of Maryland to the highlands of Virginia, and the bridge at Harper's Ferry was only saved by the desperate expedient of loading it down with every locomotive that could be procured. The Chesapeake and Ohio Canal received damage that it would take a million of dollars to repair. In Washington itself it was feared that the foundations of the Washington Monument were injured, and the Long Bridge was badly torn and strained in fact, the whole country irrigated by the rivers from the eastern slopes of the Alleghanies was flooded, and days elapsed before railroad communication could be restored, owing to the destruction of bridges and the washing out of the road-bed. Every town was temporarily isolated, for in most cases the telegraph had ceased to work or was sadly crippled. In New York State less damage was done, but still the loss inflicted on Elmira reached nearly half a million; from Hornellsville to Corning the country was almost all under water; at Olean houses and bridges were swept away.

The flood fell nearly as fast as it rose, but its traces will long remain in homes left desolate and fertile fields made barren.

While water was thus laying waste exterior districts in the East, fire almost blotted out one of

the most rising towns, on the Northwestern seaboard. Seattle, in Washington Territory, was the centre of trade for the rich country lying on Puget Sound, and had developed considerable coastwise and foreign commerce. The business district embraced within its limits banks, professional and business offices, wholesale and retail stores, newspaper and printing establishments, docks and warehouses, and a small but crowded manufacturing quarter, and the tenements, in which some three thousand Chinese and Italians dwelt. On Monday, June 6th, a fire broke out, and in six hours this whole site of the active life of the town ceased to exist even the piles and docks on the tidal-flats were consumed. No lives were lost, but the damage was estimated at fifteen million dollars - a sum which, estimating the population at twenty thousand, is higher in proportion than the loss in the Chicago fire. But if all the business machinery of Seattle was destroyed, the motive power remained. At nine o'clock the next morning the banks opened wherever they could find a room. At noon a mass meeting was held, at which the leading citizens resolved to rebuild their town in brick, to lay out wider streets and straighter thoroughfares, allowing therein no wooden buildings. Within twenty-four hours the heaviest losers were blasting down ruins, removing debris and contracting for new buildings.

Chapter CXLV

The Fifty-First Congress - Speaker Reed and the House Rules - The McKinley Bill Passed - The Reciprocity Clause - The Pan-American Congress - Treaties for Reciprocity - The Bering Sea Question - The Case of the W. P. Sayward Brought before the Supreme Court - Decision of the Court Treaty with Great Britain for an International Court of Arbitration - The Republic of Chili - Victory of the Chilian Congressional Party over Balmaceda - Bad Feeling toward the United States - Outrage on the Sailors of the Baltimore" - Apology and Indemnity Demanded and Granted - An Indian Outbreak - The "Ghost Dances" - Death of Sitting Bull - Surrender of the Hostile Indians - Their Grievances - Congressional Neglect - The Pension Bill - International Copyright - The Census of 1890 - New States - Deaths - The New Orleans Lynching - The Mafia - Recall of the Italian Minister - Diplomatic Correspondence with Italy - The Question of Immigration - Meeting of the Fifty-Second Congress - Democratic Majority in the House - The People's Party - The World's Columbian Exposition.

The Fifty-first Congress met December 2, 1889, with a Republican majority in both Houses, and as the whole Presidential campaign had turned on the question of tariff, and as Mr. Harrison entered the White House as the triumphant candidate of the party which advocated protection of native industries, the first important measure which was brought before the House of Representatives for discussion was the Tariff Act, commonly known as the McKinley Bill. Before it was introduced, however, some time was spent in debating the rules by which the proceedings of the House were to be governed. Although the Republican party had a majority in each branch of the Legislature, yet it was in both cases so slight - only two in the Senate and only eight in the House - that attempts were made by the Democrats to block the course of legislation by refusing to vote, under the idea that by such abstention from voting it would be impossible to have a quorum. As the Republicans had 169 members in the House, and as 166 constituted a quorum, if all the adherents of that party were present on any occasion, the House would be in a condition to transact business. If, however, the Republican members fell short of that figure, and there were not sufficient members of the opposing party present, then by the rules of parliamentary law, no business could be done. The Democratic members contended that according to the laws of the House, to constitute a quorum members must not only be personally present within the walls of the House, but must answer to their names and vote "Yes" or "No." Acting on this principle, when a contested election case from West Virginia came up for consideration, on January 29th, 33 members out of 195 then present in their seats refused to answer to the roll-call and vote, and claimed that there was no quorum. Mr. Reed, who had been elected Speaker, thereupon directed the Clerk of the House to enter on the journal the names of the thirty-three recusants, and this being done, announced that a quorum was present within the meaning of the Constitution. Similar rulings were made by him in like cases, and finally the following provision was inserted in the House Code of Rules of Procedure On the motion of any member, or at the suggestion of the Speaker, the names of members sufficient to make a quorum in the hall of the House who do not vote, shall be noted by the Clerk and recorded in the journal, and reported to the Speaker, with the names of the members voting, and be counted and announced in determining the presence of a quorum to do business."

The McKinley Bill - to give it the title by which it is best known - is called a bill "to reduce the revenue, and equalize duties on imports." It was reported from the committee to the House by Mr. McKinley on April 16th, and after debate, amendment, and renewed debate, was reported to the House on May 21st, and thence to the Senate on June 18th, where it was agreed to on September 30th, and received the approval of the President on October 1st. The bill is a lengthy one, and it is impossible to give even an abstract of it. The duty on wool, and, therefore, on woolen goods, was raised; sugar was placed on the free list, and a bounty granted to all sugar grown within the United States the duties on steel rails, bar iron, etc., in the metal schedule, were reduced, and the duty on tin plate raised the general result being, in the opinion of Senator Sherman, that nearly as many goods would be imported free of duty under the new law as the whole dutiable articles imported. In fact, according to the estimates of the Treasury Department, fifty per cent. of the importations would be entirely free of duty. The chief speakers on the introduction of the measure were the member whose name it bears, and the proposer of the defeated bill in the previous Congress.

In opening the debate Mr. McKinley said If any one thing was settled by the election of 1888, it was that the protective policy as promulgated in the Republican platform should be secured in any fixed legislation to be had by the Congress chosen in the great contest and upon that overmastering issue. The bill does not amend or modify any part of the internal revenue taxes applicable to spirits or fermented liquors. It abolishes all the special taxes and licenses, so called, imposed upon the manufacture of tobacco, cigars, and snuff, and reduces the tax on manufactured tobacco. From this source we reduce taxation over ten millions of dollars." In reply to the statement that the operation of the bill would not diminish the revenues of the Government, he stated, Every member of the House knows that the moment that you have increased the duties to a fair protective point, that very instant you diminish importations, and to that extent diminish the revenue." In opposition to the bill, Mr. Mills, of Texas, said: The Democratic party maintains that taxes should be imposed on such articles, and at such rates as will bring the required revenue for an honest and economical administration of the Government, with the least possible restrictions upon importations, the least possible limitations upon exportations, and the least possible interference with the private business of the people. The avowed object of the bill is to check importation. To check importation is to check exportation. The great body of the people are laboring in order to obtain profit for their toil, and when they transfer something to another it is for something received from that other in return," and hence he argued, this and all similar enactments, by preventing the farmer from exporting his products, will only depress still more our agricultural interests."

As passed by the House, the bill was especially unfavorable to the scheme for reciprocity entertained by the State Department, and the President in consequence sent a message covering a letter from the Secretary of State, in which the suggestion was made that the bill be amended so as to authorize the President to declare the ports of the United States free to all the products of any nation of the American hemisphere upon which no export duties are imposed, whenever such nation shall admit to its ports free of all taxes our breadstuffs, machinery, petroleum, etc. As the bill was amended, the clause thus suggested 3) empowers the President, when he is satisfied that

the government of any country imposes duties on the products of the United States, which, in view of the free introduction of its products, he deems unequal, he may suspend the provisions of the act relating to the free introduction of the products of the said foreign country. In other words, the amendment gave the President power to enforce concessions from other countries in all cases where he deemed it necessary, by refusing them the enjoyment of reduced duties. In this point of view, the bill as amended may be justly regarded as a step toward an American customs union, which will embrace finally all countries on the American continent.

In his first annual message President Harrison wrote, It is a matter of high significance and no less congratulation that the first year of the second century of our constitutional existence finds, as honored guests within our borders, the representatives of all the independent States of North and South America, met together in earnest conference touching the best methods of perpetuating and expanding the relations of mutual interest and friendliness existing among them," and he called the attention of Congress to the necessity of removing barriers to intercourse between the nations of America; not only would the commercial results, he believed, be great, but peace be maintained and all contentions settled by means that a Christian civilization can approve.

Mr. Blaine, it will be remembered, cherished the design, when he held office under President Garfield, of forming a commercial union between all American States, and when he was again in the high position of Secretary of State, he proceeded to give effect to his views. In response to a joint resolution of the United States Congress, a congress of representatives of all American nations met on October 2d, at Washington, with Mr. Blaine and the President, and the following day the delegates began a series of excursions extending over the whole country. This congress considered the questions of international communication by ship and rail, a customs union or equitable tariff arrangement, a continental system of weights and measures, and coinage, and an international court of arbitration. Among the suggestions made was one for an international railroad to run from Cartagena, in Colombia, up the valley of the river Magdalena, and along the eastern slope of the Andes as far as Cusco in Peru, where it would connect with the existing South American systems; another contemplated a system of subsidies for lines of steamers in the Gulf of Mexico and Caribbean Sea, and from San Francisco to Valparaiso. At a second meeting of the congress in December, a recommendation was made for the appointment of a commission of engineers to survey the route of the proposed railroad, which should be forever neutral territory. The question of international coinage was referred to an International Monetary Conference which assembled at Washington, on January 7, 1891, and held its first business meeting in February, when committees were appointed, but the sessions closed on April 3d without any definite practical results, as the establishment of a fixed ratio between gold and silver, and the question of a monetary unit, were beset with such practical difficulties that the solution seemed impossible under then existing circumstances. The amount of coined silver in the Latin States of America is small as compared with that in the United States, and there is little uniformity in denomination, weight, or pureness, while none of the coins agree with our standard silver dollar.

Pursuant, it is said, to the recommendation of the Conference, there was drawn up a scheme by some enthusiasts, for a Pan-Republican Congress, to consist of two bodies, one nominated by

the Presidents of the various Republics, the other composed of delegates from civil, commercial, and industrial organizations; these two houses to bear to each other the relation of our Senate and House of Representatives. The object of the congress is described as being the promotion of the interests of free institutions in all nations. A general committee of 200 was named, and at its second meeting on April 10th the scheme of organization was presented by Champion L. Chase, and unanimously approved, and the committee itself was incorporated as the Human Freedom League, its special object being to bring about a meeting of the congress in 1893, with subsequent congresses at intervals of five years to be held in Paris, Rio de Janeiro, and Berne. It is to be regretted that the Pan-American Congress should have lent the weight of its name and influence to any scheme which is so impracticable and dangerous, and only calculated to embarrass the work of harmonizing the various States of America. The scheme of a great League of Human Freedom may be grand and noble in conception, but it is, to say the least, premature. The Brotherhood of Man, the Federation of the World must, like all things, grow, and the task which lies nearest to our statesmen is to spread the influence of our free institutions in nations that lie nearest to us, and with which we are geographically connected.

Meanwhile Mr. Blaine was actively engaged in negotiating treaties under the Reciprocity clause of the McKinley Bill, and satisfactory arrangements were made with Brazil, which became a republic on the deposition of Dom Pedro, and with Spain respecting the commerce with her West Indian possessions. At the same time more satisfactory terms respecting the importation of American products into France, Germany, and other States of Europe have been successfully made by our diplomatic representatives abroad.

The negotiations with Great Britain respecting the seal fishery in Bering Sea, were continued by Mr. Blaine and the English government, a great part of the correspondence being devoted to examination of the question whether the term Pacific Ocean included Bering Sea at the time of the sale of Alaska to the United States by Russia. Mr. Blaine invited the British minister to make an offer of arbitration on the real points at issue, and this proposal was, with some trifling exceptions, accepted by Lord Salisbury, the Prime Minister of England. While this diplomatic discussion was being carried on, a curious turn was given to popular discussion by the proceedings respecting seizure of the Canadian sealer, W. P. Sayward, in Bering Sea and its condemnation by the District Court of Alaska in 1887. In January, counsel instructed by the Canadian authorities, appeared before the Supreme Court of the United States at Washington, and moved for leave to file a petition for a writ of prohibition against the condemnation of the said vessel. At first, this proceeding was viewed with distrust, and Senator Morgan introduced a resolution in Congress declaring that the British action was without precedent, prejudicial to the comity of nations, and not in consonance with the dignity of the Government and the People of the United States, and the respect due to the President of the United States. But these hasty views were soon modified, the charge of insulting inference was seen to be unfounded, as a decision of the court would be in no way an arbitration on subjects beyond its jurisdiction. The court allowed the counsel for the British to file their petition, and the hearing, after being set down for the 13th of April, was postponed, owing to the illness of Justice Bradley, till October. Meanwhile diplomatic negotiations were continued without interruption, and on June 15th a

modus vivendi was agreed upon by which Great Britain undertook to prohibit sealing by her subjects and vessels in Bering Sea till May, 1892, offending persons being liable to seizure by either of the contracting parties, and license being given to British agents to visit the islands to make such inquiries as may be necessary for the adequate presentation of the British case. On February 29, 1892, the decision of the Supreme Court was given; it held that the court had jurisdiction in the case, but refused to grant the writ of prohibition. It also declined to decide on the main question as to whether Bering Sea is a closed sea, as that was a political question merely, and would not fall within the province of the court to determine. The court also decided the case of the schooner *Sylvia Handy*, involving points nearly similar, in favor of the United States. Justice Field was the only member of the court dissenting.

On the same day a treaty relegating the whole of the Bering Sea question to an international commission of seven, was signed by Secretary Blaine and the British Minister, and ratified by the Senate in the following month.

The terms of the treaty may be briefly recapitulated by stating that they provide for the creation of an international commission to be composed of seven members. Two are to represent the United States, and two Great Britain -one of the latter being presumably a Canadian. The remaining three members are to be nominated by Sweden, Italy, and France. The sittings of the commission are to be held in Paris. There is no provision made in the treaty for a renewal of the modus vivendi of last year, but an agreement between the two powers in interest has been reached, by which pelagic fishing will be restrained. The British Government has refused to grant clearance papers to Canadian ships intending to visit the waters in dispute. The question of seal-fishing will be the province of the four experts. It is hoped that the court of arbitration will not only succeed in reconciling the conflicting views of the two parties immediately before it, but lay down a code of rules that will tend to protect many valuable industries, and conserve natural resources which have been hitherto regarded as outside of law.

Another subject which occupied the attention of the President and the Secretary of State was that of our relations with the republic of Chili. In 1890 a struggle commenced in that country between President Balmaceda and the Chilian Congress which ended in October of that year by the triumph of the latter. No sooner had this legislative body adjourned than Balmaceda broke faith, and on New-Year's day, 1891, issued a manifesto in which he declared that he would govern in despite of the resolutions of Congress, and accordingly decreed the budget which the representatives of the people had refused. On the 7th, the navy of the republic declared in favor of Congress, put to sea, and proceeded to blockade the ports on the coast from Iquique to Coquimbo. The vessels of the insurgent fleet bombarded several towns, and severe fighting took place between the troops that had remained loyal to the President, and the bands raised by the Congressional party. The latter, after several battles, became masters of the Northern Provinces, and made Iquique its headquarters. A difficulty in procuring arms and ammunition soon presented itself, and a merchant vessel, the *Itata*, was armed as a cruiser for Congress, and despatched to California for the much needed supplies. On her arrival at San Diego, she was at once seized by the United States Marshal under the provisions of the neutrality laws, but on May 6th she put to

sea, with the American officer on board. Him she landed a few miles from that port, and then took on board a cargo of arms and ammunition. On the 9th of May the United States ship Charleston started in pursuit, and on her arrival at Iquique without having seen the Itata, was there informed that the Congressionalists, in order to avoid all complications with our Government, would surrender the vessel that had insulted our hospitality. She was at once surrendered to Admiral McCann and taken back to California. In August, the Congressional party determined to attack Balmaceda's stronghold, Valparaiso, and heavy fighting took place about ten miles north of the town, in which the President was worsted, being finally driven into the city and soon afterward died a Roman death by his own hand. It was to be expected that the Congressionalists should feel annoyed at the action of the United States in recovering the Itata, and the ill-will of the mob was increased by an unfounded suspicion that the landing of the Congressional forces near Valparaiso had been reported to the President by one of our naval vessels, and by the protection that our Minister, Mr. Egan, had extended to the friends of the late President by sheltering them in our Legation, and escorting some of them to neutral vessels in the harbor. This feeling of irritation against our Government and our Minister unfortunately manifested itself by an attack in the streets of Valparaiso on some sailors that had landed from the United States ship of war, the Baltimore, by a mob of citizens in which some armed police joined. A demand for an apology and indemnity for the victims was at once demanded by our Government, but the reply was slow in coming and its terms were not satisfactory. The course of diplomacy was not facilitated by the warlike tone assumed by the American press. To judge from the articles that appeared in journals of all shades of opinion, nothing ought to satisfy us but war. It seemed, indeed, as if the possession of the new, magnificent navy had inspired every one with a longing to try its efficiency on the first possible occasion. The Government seemed to feel the effect of these expressions of popular sentiment and more ships were fitted out with feverish haste. Just in time, however, to prevent these sparks of hostility being fanned into a flame, the Chilians consented to the requirements of our Government, and the factitious war fever subsided. Reports were current that, as regards the course of action that was to be pursued, the President and his Secretary of State held conflicting views; that the former urged immediate action, the latter pleaded for consideration for a country that had just passed through a bloody civil war. Whether the reports of such divergence of opinion be baseless or not, cannot at present be known. At length, however, terms were accepted by Chili, which were acceptable to our Government, and the danger of hostility was obviated. Whatever may be thought of the wisdom of the nomination of Mr. Patrick Egan to such a responsible post as our Minister to a great and proud republic, we must remember that it was to Balmaceda that he was accredited, and that no power except Bolivia had granted to the insurgents the status of belligerents, and that his acts in protecting the leaders of the fallen party from popular vengeance were those of humanity. What is most to be regretted in this unfortunate complication is that the feelings of Chili toward our Government may not be soon abated, and that it will be no willing participant in Mr. Blaine's plan of a United America.

As usual it is melancholy to have to record another Indian outbreak. In May, 1890, reports came in that the Indians were in a state of great excitement caused by the promised coming of their Messiah, whose advent was openly preached by a leading medicine man of the Shoshones in September, and this Indian millennium was spoken of as the Return of the Ghosts," as all the dead

Indians were to return to life, and repeople the decimated tribes. Large herds of buffaloes and horses were to gallop in the Messiah's train. The Great Manitou had seen his children suffer long enough. When the grass grew again he would gather all faithful Indians around him, and roll back the earth upon the palefaces. Thirty feet of additional soil, well sodded and timbered, would the Messiah roll upon the earth, burying under it the white oppressors of the red men, all those who escaped from smothering being metamorphosed into buffaloes and catfish. Then would the happy hunting ground of the Indian's dream be realized. While waiting for their Messiah the Indians were to show their devotion by dancing continuously for five days and nights. These "Dances of Death," better known as the "Ghost Dances," began during the last week of October. Meantime half a dozen Messiahs appeared, the most widely accepted being the son of Wal-tit-a-win although Co-we-go, at Mt. Grant, as well as Queetize-ow, a Piute, had each a strong following.

The craze of the "Return of the Ghosts" gained its most fervent believers among the Sioux Indians, and the wily chief, Sitting Bull, posed as its high-priest and leading apostle. The treacherous old chief not only fomented the craze, but undoubtedly altered its character to fit his hatred of the whites. Instead of peacefully dancing, the young Sioux bucks arrayed themselves in war-paint, and stocked themselves with ammunition. Sitting Bull's influence alarmed the Government, and General Miles determined to end the "Ghost Dances." The dancers at Lower Brule, exhausted by their circling, were easily arrested; but other dancers were not to be so dealt with. The savages would not report at the Agencies, and declared that they would not peaceably lay down their arms. Soon some of them began burning and pillaging cabins near Wounded Knee. General Brooke quickly surrounded the trouble-makers, and a pow-wow was held at Pine Ridge, but resulted in nothing. The hostiles escaped into the Bad Lands. General Brooke surrounded their retreat with a cordon but the Indians refused to return, and dared the whites to fight. Upon this General Miles ordered the arrest of Sitting Bull and, at daylight on December 15th, Indian police under Bull Head and Shave Head, followed by United States cavalry, entered Sitting Bull's camp, 40 miles northwest of Fort Yates, N. D. He was just ready to start out for the scene of hostilities. His camp attempted a rescue, and in the skirmish which ensued the wily leader of the outlaw Sioux was killed. The remainder of Sitting Bull's band escaped, but toward the end of the year the Indians began hostilities, by attacking a provision train near the Rosebud Agency, and set fire to a mission school the troops were sent to quell the disturbance, and a series of engagements took place which ended in the submission of the hostiles to General Miles on January 15th. At the first of these fights, at Wounded Knee, the loss of the troops had been heavy, and many Indian women and children had been killed, and a charge was preferred against Colonel Forsyth, of the Seventh Cavalry, as having caused these lamentable occurrences by a faulty disposition of his troops. Colonel Forsyth, however, was fully exonerated when an investigation had been made, and it was proved that orders had been repeatedly given not to shoot at squaws or children. A deputation of chiefs, in order to restore entire confidence, was sent to Washington, and one by one the chiefs related their grievances, we may say their wrongs. It was these wrongs that had driven the Indians into disaffection, and the Messiah and the ghost dances had been used merely to excite the men to the pitch of revolt. The latest grievance, the immediate cause of the outbreak, was the neglect of Congress to fulfill the treaty of 1889, by paying to the Sioux the price of the portions of their territory that they had surrendered, and by appropriating money for

the payment of annuities, according to agreement. The crops had failed, rations had diminished, and Congress had, moreover, cut down their supplies. It is to such violations of national good faith and to the unsatisfactory character of many of the Indian agents that all our troubles with the native possessors of the soil are to be attributed. It may be said that since 1851 till to-day, no single engagement entered into with the Indians has been kept to the letter. Many observers favor a restoration to the War Department of the control over the Indians, but this is by others regarded as inadvisable, as the experiment of ruling them by the army officers was abandoned as unsatisfactory by General Grant, after it had been tried for two years. The advance westward of white settlers and the rapid filling up of the country have entirely altered the conditions of Indian life, and require a radical modification of our system of management. The present plan has undoubtedly improved since the time of the old Indian Trading scandals, and the 64,000 red men in the five civilized tribes demonstrate that there is no inherent antipathy to civilization in their natures. The plan lately adopted, of enlisting young Indians in our cavalry, is said to promise well, and it is probable that a course of military training will teach the Indian the blessings of discipline, order, and obedience, while the establishment of schools and the diffusion of education will train up the rising generation to the blessings of civilization.

A bill which has a very important bearing on the finances and revenue of the country, was passed by Congress. This is the bill introduced by Mr. Quay, of Pennsylvania, in the Senate, to increase the pensions of certain soldiers and sailors who are totally helpless from injuries received or diseases contracted during the war," which became law on March 4, 1890. Supplementary to this bill was another introduced into the Senate on March 31st, granting pensions to soldiers and sailors who are incapacitated for the performance of labor and providing for pensions to widows, minor children, and dependent parents. This bill was approved of by the President, June 27th. The sum thus appropriated by this Congress under the head of pensions was over two hundred and eighty-eight millions of dollars, and the whole of the appropriations which had been passed by it was nine hundred and eighty-eight millions of dollars. A bill for establishing International Copyright was at length passed, and this country now recognizes the rights of literary property in the productions of foreign authors. By this prohibition of reprints, our market will cease to be flooded by piratical reproductions, and our own authors, free from this unfair competition, will reap a fitting reward for their labors.

In 1890 the decennial census of the population was taken. and the returns showed that on June 1, 1890, exclusive of white persons in Indian Territory, Indians on reservations, and Alaska, was 62,622,250; including these persons, the population will probably reach, in round numbers, 63,000,000. In 1880 the population was 50,155,783. The absolute increase of the population in the ten years intervening was 12,466,467, and the percentage of increase was 24.86. In 1870 the population was stated as 38,558,371. According to these figures, the absolute increase in the decade between 1870 and 1880, was 11,597,412, and the percentage of increase was 30.08. These figures show, on their face, that the population has increased, between 1880 and 1890, 869,055 more than between 1870 and 1880; while the rate of increase has apparently diminished from 30.08 to 24.86 per cent. Such a reduction in the rate of increase, in the face of the heavy immigration during the past ten years, would argue a diminution in the fecundity of the

population, or a corresponding increase in its death rate.

The centre of population of the United States for the year 1890 was in latitude 39 degrees, 11 minutes, 56 seconds longitude, 85 degrees, 32 minutes, 53 seconds, at a point in Southern Indiana, a little west of south from Greensburg, the county-seat of Decatur County, 20 miles east of Columbus. The returns also showed that in the decade ending 1890, Federal indebtedness has decreased \$567,975,077.61, and State indebtedness, \$58,020,931.44. The net debt of the United States in 1880, was \$1,922,517,324.51 in 1890, \$923,376,119.36.

Idaho and Wyoming both knocked at the door of the States during the year 1890 and were admitted, President Harrison signing the Idaho bill July 3d, and the Wyoming bill July 10th.

Among the deaths of the year 1891 were those of William Windom, the Secretary of the Treasury; the Admiral of the Navy, David Dixon Porter, who shared with Farragut the highest naval honors; and William Tecumseh Sherman, who succeeded Grant as General of the army, and held that office till 1884. Literature has to mourn the loss of our great historian, George Bancroft and, as in private duty bound, we record in these pages, which owe their inspiration and value to his talents and labors, the regretted decease of Benson John Lossing.

In the spring of 1891 the moral feeling of the country was profoundly shocked by a disgraceful violation of law by leading citizens of New Orleans. For many years past that city has been a favorite spot for immigrants from Italy. Many of these have acquired wealth by their thrift and industry, and are respectable members of the community; many, however, while accumulating a competence by their labors, have retained many of the evil customs of their native land. A large number of emigrants who have left the old Neapolitan provinces and Sicily, brought with them to our shores that redoubtable secret organization named the "Mafia," which had for centuries flourished in evil luxuriance in that island, where its ramifications are still, in spite of the exertions of the Italian Government, dangerously widespread. In Sicily the Mafia has organized lawlessness, and is more feared than the law its code of honor leads its members to seek no redress from the courts, or even give evidence before them it represents indeed a preference among the people for securing their persons and property rather by their own strength and influence than by the law and its officers, The active members are perhaps few in number, but the bulk of the society consists of those who accept the protection of the more daring spirits, and obey its behests. The Mafia levies blackmail in return for its protection, and dictates whom employers of labor must engage it controls elections, defends its members from officers of justice, and extorts contributions from even the poorest. The Italian Government on the annexation of Naples set to work to stamp out this evil, but as yet without success, the chief result of its endeavors being to drive numbers of the Mafiosi abroad. Such it is believed are the majority of the Italians in New Orleans, ready at all times for deeds of vengeance, and prepared to baffle justice by all means at their command. Numerous murders and attempts at murder had taken place in the city and detection of the criminals seemed impossible, till an active and intrepid officer, the chief of the police, David C. Hennessy, gathered strong evidence against various members of the band. To the Mafia, inspired by its traditional principles, the removal of such a

man was necessary, and he was brutally murdered on October 15th, falling dead from six serious wounds before the door of his own home. A number of Italians were at once arrested and identified as among the assassins, and nineteen were indicted. When the case came before the court a batch of nine were first arraigned, and the trial was continued for the space of twenty-five days. The evidence showed that a cabin near Hennessy's home had been taken by one of the prisoners, and that a boy had been placed in the street to give notice to the concealed assassins of the approach of their victim, and it was considered by the citizens that conclusive evidence had been given as to the identity of those who really fired on the chief of police. Under these circumstances the verdict of the jury excited general surprise and indignation. Six of the prisoners were acquitted, and a mistrial was entered in the case of the other three. On hearing this issue of the trial, a body of influential citizens met at night and called a mass meeting of the citizens for the morrow, adding to the call, as it was published in the morning papers, the words, "Come prepared for action." At 10 A.M. on the 14th thousands were assembled around the statue of Henry Clay on Canal Street, and addressed by prominent citizens, who told them the time to act was come. The prison door was broken open and sixty men were admitted, all armed nine Italians, four of the acquitted men and five as yet untried, were shot down, and two others were hung outside the jail under circumstances of disgraceful barbarity.

The act of the mob cannot be justified by any one who respects law or order. It may have been true that terror of the Mafia extorted the verdict, yet the jury was legally impanelled from the citizens of New Orleans, and had given its verdict according to law. The usual arguments in defense of lynch law could not avail in this case, where some of the victims had undergone trial and been declared not guilty; the guilty party, if the citizens were justified in their suspicions, was the jury that had rendered an unjust verdict through fear. The outrage was at once reported to Washington, and Baron Fava, the Italian Minister, entered a vehement protest. Mr. Blaine, in a letter to Governor Nicholls, of Louisiana, expressed the deep regret of the United States Government at the deed, and called upon him to bring the offenders to prompt punishment. The governor replied that the case was under investigation by the grand jury. "This, however, did not satisfy Baron Fava. Not understanding the relations between the State and Federal governments, he demanded from Mr. Blaine an assurance of punishment of the murderers and indemnity for the victims. As Mr. Blaine could give no such assurance under the Constitution, the Baron was recalled by the home Government. In a further correspondence between the two governments, the Italian Minister, Rudini, modified his demand for punishment into a demand for prompt institution of judicial proceedings. With regard to indemnity, Mr. Blaine replied that foreign residents in America must be content with the redress offered by the law to American citizens that the United States did not insure the lives or property of Italian residents in America and that it would only consider the question of compensation if the victims were subjects of King Humbert and law-abiding citizens, and that the police had failed to take any steps to preserve the peace. Meanwhile the New Orleans grand jury found no indictments against any citizen who took part in the tragedy of the prison, but did indict a detective named O'Malley and five others, for attempting to bribe jurymen,-an offense which it was soon discovered is not punishable under the bribery act. The controversy gradually cooled down, and the affair was settled without difficulty. The event has, however, called attention to a defect in our system under which a State can violate

international obligations which the Federal Government is powerless to enforce, and which it will prevent a foreign power from enforcing by belligerent acts against the offending State. It seems probable that the United States courts may be empowered by Congress to deal with all cases involving international treaties.

The tragedy, too, deepened the attention with which the whole question of immigration is now regarded.

Up to about forty-five years ago, the population of the United States, if we except the Dutch in New York, and the French in Louisiana, was mainly, Anglo-Saxon. The famine in Ireland caused the first great inroad of people of an alien race. The great German influx followed but the Germans are as a rule, industrious and law-abiding, becoming pretty thoroughly Americanized in the second generation. This is true also of the Scandinavians, who are so numerous in Minnesota and the adjoining States.

Of late years, however, immigrants from other countries, far more alien in their ways than either Irish, Germans, or Scandinavians, have poured into the United States, giving rise to the quite serious question of the cohesive forces of American nationality. Poles, Hungarians, Russian Jews, and Italians are found in great numbers. Many have brought with them a spirit of lawlessness and ferocity, which has been emphasized to such an extent that American statesmen have awakened to the serious conviction that the time has passed when this country may longer be made the receptacle for the worthless and depraved of every nation. Not only has the system of encouraging immigration by means of bureaus, agencies, and bounties, been abandoned but, definite legislation has been enacted, with a view to check the objectionable tide. The character of the immigrants is not the only reason for this legislation. The free homestead area is practically exhausted and the disappointment and distress which are liable to follow settlement when carried far beyond the limits of the rain-belt, are very apt to foster the spirit of unrest and lawlessness.

Laws dealing with this question were passed in 1875, 1882, 1885, 1887, and in 1888 when the office of "Superintendent of Immigration was established." This last law took effect on April 1st of that year and has been systematically enforced with beneficial results ever since.

On the assembling of the Fifty-second Congress, in December, 1891, a remarkable change in the relation of parties was disclosed. In the Senate the Republicans had 47 members, the Democrats 39, while two described as Independents were returned by the Farmers' Alliance. In the House the Republicans numbered only 88 votes, while the Democrats had 235, and the Farmers' Alliance 9 votes. The causes which led to this change in the constitution of the Legislature may be conjectured to be dissatisfaction with the McKinley bill and the Pension legislation, and the stand which President Harrison hid taken in opposition to the free coinage of silver.

A new political party announced its intention to put a Presidential candidate in the field in 1892. This organization, which assumed the title of the People's Party, is the offspring of the

Farmers' Alliance. It is the outcome of a movement which first culminated, shortly after the Civil War had ended, in the formation of the Patrons of Husbandry, or, as they were more commonly called, "The Grange," the object of which organization was the mutual protection of farmers against the encroachments of capital. The collapse of the Grange was due to a mistake it had made in not limiting its membership originally to those whose interests were agricultural. The first "Alliance was formed in Texas, to oppose the wholesale buying up of the public lands by private individuals; and, although the scope of the organization soon became not merely local, but national in its importance, for about ten years the Alliance remained a Southern organization. In 1887, about ten years after the first local Alliance in Texas was formed, and five after the State Alliance, the Farmers' Union of Louisiana united with it, under the name of the "Farmers' Alliance and Co-operative Union of America." Branches were quickly established in Missouri, Kentucky, Tennessee, North and South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Florida, and Mississippi. Later in the same year, the Agricultural Wheel," a similar society operating in the States of Arkansas, Missouri, Kentucky, and Tennessee, was amalgamated with the Alliance, the new organization being called The Farmers' and Laborers' Union of America."

The spirit of the movement had simultaneously been embodied in the National Farmers' Alliance of Illinois, which was started in 1877, and quickly extended into Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, Missouri, Kansas, and Dakota. A minor organization, the Farmers' Mutual Benefit Association," was started in 1887, in the southern part of Illinois. Finally, in 1889, at a meeting held in St. Louis, these different bodies were all practically formed into a union for political purposes, aiming at legislation in the interests of farmers and laborers and the name of the Farmers' Alliance and Industrial Union was chosen. In a meeting at Cincinnati in the spring of 1891, delegates from the Knights of Labor were present, and the name of "The People's Party of the United States of America was adopted, and a platform adopted. In this declaration of its principles and objects, it demands the abolition of National Banks, and the issue of legal tender Treasury notes, the free and unlimited coinage of silver, the prohibition of alien ownership of land, that taxation shall not be used to build up one class at the expense of another, that revenue be limited to necessary expenses of the Government, a rigid national control of the railroads, that sub-treasuries be established to lend money at two percent upon non-perishable products and real estate, and the election of the President and Vice-President by a direct vote of the people.

The time of the Fifty-second Congress was, as is too often the case in years when a Presidential election takes place, spent less in actual legislation than in seeking to define the position of parties toward the great issues before the country. In March Mr. Bland, of Missouri, Chairman of the Committee on Coinage, and originator of the Silver Coinage Act of 1878, reported to the House of Representatives a bill for free coinage of silver, and an animated debate took place, showing that Republicans as well as Democrats were divided on this important monetary question. At the same period a bill was introduced by Mr. Springer, of Illinois, to abolish the duty on wool imposed by the McKinley tariff. The debate lasted for nearly six weeks, and took the form of a discussion of the merits of protection and tariff reform respectively. It was passed by a decisive majority of 194 to 60 votes, and thus afforded a fair test of the opinion of the House of Representatives on the revision of the tariff. Both debates, however, revealed

dissensions within the opposing parties; as an important section of the Republicans favored free silver, and an equally important part of the Democrats favored a tariff for protection.

Meanwhile the labor party was gaining a considerable amount of sympathy from the disastrous events that took place at the great iron works at Homestead, Pennsylvania. These mills, situated on the Monongahela River, a few miles from Pittsburg, are the property of the Carnegie Steel Company, and in June the managers announced to their workmen a reduction of wages, not because the works could 'not be carried on with profit unless a reduction was made, but because improvements in the plant enabled the men to make a greater output with the same amount of labor." In other words, wages were to be reduced, not because the company was losing money, but because the men were making too much. The men, backed by the Amalgamated Association of Steel and Iron Workers, refused to accept the new scale of remuneration, and on July 1 the whole of the hands who adhered to the union were locked out. The company resolved to continue operations with non-union men, and to employ armed men to protect their works, if necessary. Two hundred and fifty men, under the employment of the notorious Pinkerton Agency, of Chicago, were ordered to Homestead, and an attempt was made to land them by the river during the night of July 6. The boats conveying the armed guards were met at the works by a mob of thousands of workmen who forbade their disembarkation. A parley ensued, and during the parley a shot was fired - it is not known from which side - then firing became general, and was kept up in a desultory manner during the day. At five in the afternoon the Pinkerton men surrendered under a guarantee of safe-conduct, but the leaders of the workers were unable to protect them from the fury of the men and women who had assembled. Fully one hundred of them were seriously injured as they were being taken to jail, while in the previous fighting eleven workmen and six Pinkerton men had been killed, and eighteen workmen and twenty-one guards wounded. On July 12 the town was occupied by all the military forces of the State. The trouble at Homestead was speedily followed by disorder in the mining regions of Idaho, where the union men had been locked out on April 1, and here so threatening were the miners that the President had to dispatch a body of United States troops to the scene. In Buffalo, a serious strike of switchmen took place in August, and the National Guard of various cities, to the number of 8,000 men, were hurried to the spot. In Tennessee, there was a revolt against the system of employing convicts in the mines, and again military forces had been employed to preserve the peace. To these and other disturbances arising from the relations of employers and employed, may be attributed, to a great extent, the political revolution of November.

On the 7th of June, 1892, the National Republican Convention assembled at Minneapolis. There had been long a growing dissatisfaction with President Harrison on the part of some leading politicians, and when, on June 4, Mr. James G. Blaine resigned his office as Secretary of State, he was at once made a strong candidate for the nomination. On the final ballot, however, Mr. Harrison was nominated by 535, while Mr. Blaine and Mr. McKinley had only 182 votes each. The platform of the party embodied resolutions in favor of protection, reciprocity, bimetallism, and "a free and unrestricted ballot." The Democratic National Convention met at Chicago on June 21, and in its ranks too dissension was revealed but in spite of the efforts of the whole delegation from New York State, Grover Cleveland was nominated by 617 votes on the first ballot. The

platform denounced the policy of protection as unconstitutional, the enactment of any Force Bill, and the system of reciprocity, and declared that the dollar unit of coinage of both metals must be of equal intrinsic value." Two other tickets were put into the field, that of the Prohibitionists, who nominated as their candidate General J. Bidwell, and that of the People's Party, whose standard-bearer was General J. B. Weaver, of Iowa. The campaign was truly one of education, the results of the McKinley Bill being used by both parties in confirmation of their arguments. The final vote in November was a surprise to all even the warmest partisans of Grover Cleveland, who had always believed that he would be elected, never hoped for such a triumph at the polls. Of the whole 444 electors chosen, no fewer than 277 were on the Cleveland ticket, against 145 for Harrison, and 22 for Weaver. A striking sign of the revolution in public sentiment was given by Illinois, which was carried for Cleveland by 27,000 majority, popular vote.

Early in September renewed attention was drawn to our immigration laws by the arrival of several steamers from ports in Europe where cholera had been raging, and when it became known that numerous deaths from cholera had taken place during the voyage, a widespread feeling of apprehension was the result. The President issued a proclamation ordering that no vessel be admitted to any port until it had undergone a quarantine of twenty days. Camps of refuge were instituted at Sandy Hook and on Fire Island, and a cholera hospital was established on Swinburne Island. In spite of all these precautions the disease found its way into the city, but was kept under control. The measures adopted to prevent the introduction of this epidemic involved the exclusion from this country of 200,000 immigrants, and has vividly impressed on citizens and municipal authorities the importance of attention to the laws of health.

One of the most imposing functions which President Harrison was called upon to discharge was the opening of the Columbian World's Fair Exposition at Chicago, on October 21, 1892. As the four hundredth anniversary of the discovery of America by Columbus was approaching, a unanimous desire was expressed to celebrate the event in a fitting manner, and as the United States held the first position among American nations, it was justly held to be our duty to mark the epoch-making day when the great Genoese sailor first landed on any part of the Western hemisphere, by appropriate ceremonies. It was felt, too, that the ordinary style of festive commemoration, military processions, reviews of fleets, addresses by orators, and banner-decked cities, would not do full justice to the event. The United States can present a nobler spectacle than military array or civic pomp, in our works of industry, in displaying to the whole world in a tangible, visible form, what we have achieved during the four hundred years that have elapsed since the Santa aria disembarked her crew. In those four centuries the uncultivated wilderness, traversed only by wandering tribes, has become the granary of the world. In a land where the rude Indian bow and flint arrow-head, or the roughly hollowed-out canoe were the highest products of human workmanship, and where a few hundred thousand untutored savages roved from river to river, or lake to lake through pathless forests, we have a population of nearly sixty-three millions of citizens, educated, orderly, and happy, in peaceful communities we have cities that vie in wealth and all the resources of civilization with the most famous of the old world we have fleets, the like of which Columbus could not have imagined, and treasures of the field, the mine, and every branch of industry such as no previous age can show. As the centenary of the

birth of the United States was appropriately taken advantage of to display our progress during our independent life as a nation, so this fourth centenary of the revelation of the continent was a fitting occasion for a still more important display of our resources. Some natural competition arose as to which of our great cities should be the site of the proposed fair; but finally Chicago, from its central position, was selected, and on Dec. 24, 1890, the President issued his proclamation inviting all nations to co-operate in making it a success. Chicago raised \$10,000,000, the Federal Government contributed \$ 1,500,000, and different States appropriated nearly \$5,000,000. A committee of Congress visited Chicago early in 1892, and in its report stated that in its scope and magnificence this Exposition stands alone. There is nothing like it in all history." On the shores of Lake Michigan there arose a White City, unparalleled for picturesqueness of effect and beauty of design, where in addition to the general halls for the display of industry, art, and manufactures of home and foreign productions, each State, as well as the Federal Government, had its own State building. The real day of the discovery, October 12 - according to the old style; October 21, according to the new style of calendar - was duly observed here and in Europe. In Spain, the harbor of Palos celebrated the day with a naval display in the harbor whence Columbus sailed, and three caravels, after models of the period, were launched on its waters. In New York on the earlier date civic and military parades, and a naval review, gave three days of holiday. At Chicago the greatest display of the regular troops of the United States ever assembled since the war, defiled before Vice-President Morton, on the 21st, and in the presence of no less than 150,000 people the great Exposition was formally dedicated. The absence of President Harrison from this inaugural ceremony was caused by domestic affliction. His wife had been for months before in failing health, and he could not leave her bedside. On October 23 it was known that the end was approaching, and in the afternoon of that day she died, and on the 27th was laid to rest in the cemetery of Indianapolis.

The early weeks of the year were occupied by the President-elect in forming his Cabinet, and, by an innovation on previous custom, Mr. Cleveland announced the names of the secretaries as they each had accepted the post tendered to him. Mr. Daniel S. Lamont, of New York, who was Mr. Cleveland's private secretary during his previous administration, was nominated Secretary of War; Mr. John G. Carlisle, of Kentucky, Secretary of the Treasury; Mr. Wilson S. Bissell, of New York, who had been for years the partner of Mr. Cleveland at Buffalo, Postmaster-General; J. Sterling Morton, of Nebraska, Secretary of Agriculture; Mr. Hoke Smith, of Georgia, Secretary of the Interior; Mr. Hilary A. Herbert, of Alabama, Secretary of the Navy; and Mr. Walter Q. Gresham, of Illinois, Secretary of State. The latter appointment created some surprise, as Judge Gresham had been a prominent Republican leader, and one of the leading candidates for the Republican nomination at the Chicago Convention of 1888; and had been solicited by the Populist party in 1892 to accept the nomination for President on the Populist ticket. The office of Attorney-General was filled by the nomination of Mr. Richard Olney, of Massachusetts.

Chapter CXLVI

President Cleveland's Second Term - The Silver Question - Exports of Gold - The Panic - Drain on the Treasury - Extra Session of Congress - State of Parties - President's Message - Repeal of Silver Purchase Bill - Bering Sea Arbitration - Regular Session President's Tariff Message - The Wilson Bill - The Senate Amendments - Bill Becomes Law - Veto of Bland's Bill for Coining the Seigniorage - Repeal of the Force Bill - State of the Treasury - Issue of Bonds - Aid from the Banks - Second Bond Issue - Income Tax Declared Unconstitutional - Third Bond Issue - Contract with the Morgan Syndicate of Bankers - Fourth Bond Issue - Strikes in Coal Mines - Pullman City and Chicago - Dispatch of Federal Troops - Triumph of Republicans in State Elections - Cuba and Hawaii - The Venezuela Question - Disquieting Message on that Subject - The Venezuela Commission - Action of the Senate - The Coming Presidential Election - Free Silver Agitation - The Republican, Democratic and People's Party Conventions - Bryan and McKinley Election.

The inauguration of President Cleveland and Vice-President Stevenson took place with the usual ceremonies, on the 4th of March, but amid a storm of wind and snow that spoiled the effect of the procession that marched to the Capitol to listen to the customary Inaugural Address. The new President in this, his first official utterance, called attention to the question of currency. He promised that none of the powers with which the Executive is invested will be withheld when necessary to maintain National credit or avert financial disaster. He described the result of the election that had raised him to the Presidential chair as the verdict of the voters, which condemned protection for protection's sake, and everything which savored of paternalism. He denounced bounties and subsidies to aid all ill-advised or languishing enterprises, reckless pension expenditures which overlap the bounds of grateful recognition of patriotic services and waste of the people's money by their chosen servants. He repeated his statement that public expenditures should be limited by public necessity, measured by the rules of strict economy, and that one mode of the misappropriation of public funds would be avoided by carrying out civil service reform. He described the existence of immense aggregations of kindred enterprises for the purpose of limiting production or fixing prices - that is, trusts and syndicates - as conspiracies against the interests of the people, from which the general government should relieve the people. In conclusion he reminded his hearers that the Democratic party came into power pledged in the most positive terms to the accomplishment of tariff reform, and a more equitable system of Federal taxation.

In such terms the President repeated and officially adopted the principles on which he had been elected. Of one subject which had arisen since that date no mention was made. This subject was the question of the annexation of the Sandwich Islands. At the close of the last year an insurrection broke out in Hawaii, the Queen Liliuokalani was deposed, a provisional government of Europeans formed under the protection of marines landed from ships of war belonging to the United States and a delegation sent to Washington to solicit annexation to the United States. President Harrison and his cabinet viewed the demand with favor, and he sent to Congress a treaty to carry out this measure. It was not acted upon by the Senate, and therefore, the very important decision as to how far and in what direction it is politic or prudent to extend the

territory of the United States was left to incoming administrations.

In the Inaugural address there had been no expression of any intention on the part of the President to call an extra session of Congress, although he and his cabinet as well as the majority of the business world were alarmed at the condition of our national finances, as it was by no means certain that either the Senate or the House would repeal the Sherman Silver Purchase Act. The Monetary Conference held at Brussels, in 1893, to which President Harrison had despatched Mr. Andrews of Brown University, had come to no conclusion in our Western States, a large proportion of the people regarded the demonetization law of 1873 as a huge injustice to the debtor and agricultural classes, and clamored for free coinage of silver, at the ratio of 15 to 1 or 16 to 1. Meanwhile the Sherman Act was in full operation and the United States Treasury was purchasing four and a half million ounces of silver each month and paying for these purchases by treasury notes, redeemable in coin. By the word coin the world of trade and finance understood gold coin, as the treasury had always redeemed its issues in that metal, which alone is of use in international exchanges. Doubts had already been expressed as to whether the Treasury would be able to continue this policy, and when, in the month after the new President's accession large exports of gold took place, doubt gave place to alarm, and the alarm soon assumed the appearance of a panic. With this distorted condition of the money market came a loss of business confidence, and a sharp collapse in credit, and in the month of May an appalling list of business failures and depressions in all sections of the country. In spite of all the efforts of the Government to keep gold in the treasury with which to meet its obligations, gold continued to flow from America to Europe. Within a month after Cleveland's inauguration, Mr. Carlisle, the Secretary of the Treasury, suspended the issue of gold certificates as required by law when the greenback redemption fund fell below the hundred-million-dollar mark, and on April 23, it was announced, in order to allay fears that had appeared in some financial centers, that coin certificates issued under the Sherman Act of 1890 were to be redeemed in silver. But in spite of this declaration the month of May was marked by disaster in all financial quarters. Undoubtedly the uncertainty respecting the tariff policy of the new administration added to the commercial depression, for commerce, which soon learns to adapt itself to any permanent condition, abhors uncertainties. The disasters of May were continued in June, for banks were afraid to help their customers and depositors were afraid to trust the banks, and it became evident that public confidence would not be restored, except by Government action. Such action was resolved when the news was received that the British Government had suspended the free coinage of silver at these Indian mints, and the market-price of silver became still further depressed. Mr. Cleveland then summoned Congress to meet on August seventh in extra session, and urgently requested the immediate repeal of the silver purchase act. In his proclamation convening the two houses of Congress, President Cleveland said that the distrust and apprehension pervading all business centers was largely the result of a financial policy embodied in various laws, which needed repeal, in order that the people might be relieved by legislation from the present impending danger and distress."

When the two houses met, the division of parties was as follows: in the House of Representatives Democrats, 219, Republicans, 127, Populists, 10, and in the Senate, Democrats 44, Republicans, 38, Populists 3, and three vacancies. On August 8, the President's message was

sent to Congress, and in it he again expressed his belief that the alarming business situation, the general financial fear and distrust and the universal depreciation of securities were chargeable to the statute passed July 14, 1890, which he described as a truce after a long struggle between the adherents of free silver coinage and those tending to more conservative views." By this law it was provided that the Secretary of the Treasury should buy 4,500,000 ounces of silver monthly, issuing in payment for such purchase, treasury notes redeemable in gold or silver, at the discretion of the Secretary, but as the act declared that the policy of this country was to maintain the two metals on a parity at the present legal rates, it was manifestly impossible for the Secretary to refuse to pay the notes in gold, for thus he would establish a discrimination in favor of gold. Thus between May 1, 1892 and July 15, 1893, notes for payment of silver bullion had been issued to the amount of fifty-four millions of dollars, while forty-nine millions of dollars in gold had been paid in redemption of such notes. Hence depletion of the treasury was easy. The net amount of gold in the treasury at the beginning of the year was over one hundred and twenty-one millions, but by April 1, it had fallen to one hundred and six millions, and was soon reduced below the hundred-million limit, which the unwritten law of the department held to be a reserve, exclusively for the redemption of United States notes.

"Unless," the President continued, "government bonds are to be constantly issued and sold to replenish our exhausted gold, only to be again exhausted, it is apparent that the operation of the silver purchase law now in force leads to the direction of the entire substitution of notes for gold in the treasury, and this must be followed by the payment of all government obligations in depreciated silver, and the government must fail in its policy to maintain the two metals on a parity with each other." The people of this country he pointed out, are entitled to a sound and stable currency and to money recognized as such in every exchange and every market of the world. The matter was above the plane of party politics, and concerned every business and calling, and the wage-earner especially will be the first injured by a depreciated currency. The financial condition of the country, as evidenced by the universal depression of values and business ought at once to be considered by Congress, leaving the tariff question for attention in the near future. I earnestly recommend," he continued, the prompt repeal of the provisions of the Act of July 14, 1890, and other legislative action which may put beyond doubt the intention and ability of the government to fulfill its pecuniary obligations in money universally recognized by all civilized countries."

A bill was at once introduced into the House of Representatives by Mr. Wilson, chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means, and was passed unamended, August 28, by a vote of 239 yeas to 109 nays, after the defeat of the proposal to substitute the Bland coinage law. In the Senate considerable delay took place. The bill was referred to the Committee on Finance, and reported back with an amendment in favor of bimetallism. Various compromises were proposed and declared by the President, but on October 30, the Senate passed the bill so amended by 43 yeas to 29 nays, the votes being, for repeal 20 Democrats, 23 Republicans against repeal, 19 Democrats, 9 Republicans, and 4 Populists. Finally on November 1, the amended bill was passed by the House of Representatives, and received the President's signature, and Congress adjourned till the first regular session, which began December 4th.

For the fixity of purpose and stubborn determination with which the President compelled his own reluctant followers in Congress to carry out his will, in the repeal of the silver coinage law, over the most extreme Republicans, gave him unstinted credit. For it must be remembered that he had this credit from foes, and some of the bitterest of foes among his own household. His nomination at Chicago had been bitterly opposed by an important section of the Democratic party, which showed its hostility during the election and continued to oppose him when he had been elected.

The panic, which compelled the summoning of the extra session, commenced with the return of the Democrats to power. Prices of all securities dropped, and the panic became general on the failure of the National Cordage Company, in May. The closing of the mints of India to the free coinage of silver caused a big decline in silver bullion, and stock went down with a rush; mines in the West were closed, and in that section and in the South, bank after bank gave way under the strain. Some relief was afforded by the issue of clearing-house certificates at the important financial centers, except Chicago. The issue of such certificates in New York began on June 29, and the total put out during the summer was \$38,280,000. The issue in Boston, was \$11,450,000, and in Philadelphia, \$6,000,000. In July a remarkable dearth of currency occurred. Early in August bank and treasury notes commanded a premium as high as 4 per cent in New York. By the middle of August the worst was over, and the premium on currency ceased the first week in September. The banks began to call in the clearing-house certificates, but the last of the big issue in New York was not redeemed until November 1. The number of banks forced to suspend up to September 21 was 549, of which 151 were National banks. During the summer three large railroad corporations were forced into the hands of receivers - the Erie, the Northern Pacific and the Union Pacific.

The decision of the Court of Arbitration, respecting the seal fisheries in the Bering Sea was given on August 15. The Court, which met in Paris, in April, consisted of Justice J. M. Harlan and Senator Morgan, representatives of the United States; Lord Hannen and Sir John S. D. Thompson, of Great Britain; Baron de Courcel nominated by France, who was elected President of the Court Marquis Venosta, nominated by Italy, and Judge Graen by Sweden and Norway. On points of international law, the court was in favor of Great Britain, dismissing our claims for exclusive jurisdiction in Bering Sea and for a right to protect the seals, but prescribed the total prohibition of sealing at all times within sixty mile of the Pribyloff Islands, and established a close time from May 1 to July 31, on the high seas over a wide district of the North Pacific.

The first regular session of the Fifty-third Congress began on December 4, 1893, and continued until August 28, 1894.

In his message, the President, after referring to the settlement of the Bering Sea dispute and the repeal of the Silver Bullion Bill, expressed his conviction that no further action should be taken until financial and commercial conditions became more settled and the effects of the new law were fully apparent. He referred to the growing deficit in the Post-office Department, which was estimated at \$8,000,000 for the current year, and disapproved of the further extension of free

postal delivery. In summarizing the report of the Secretary of the Treasury, he stated that more than \$108,000,000 of gold had been exported during the year, and that the estimated deficiency in the treasury for the year was \$28,000,000. In view of this, he suggested caution in further appropriations for the new navy. He announced that 33,690 pensioners had been dropped from the rolls. The message strongly indorsed the work of the Civil Service Commission. It closed with the words: After a hard struggle, tariff reform is directly before us. After full discussion our countrymen have spoken in favor of this reform, and if public officers are really servants of the people, our failure to give relief would be sheer recreancy." While adhering to the principle of taxation for revenue only, yet the President added, in the conditions that have grown up, justice and fairness call for discriminating care in the distribution of such duties and taxation as are demanded. Any reduction therefore should be of charges on the necessaries of life, and on raw materials necessary for our manufactures. A measure on the lines suggested had been prepared, and in order to provide against a temporary deficiency which might exist while the new tariff was going into operation, a small tax on certain classes of income was included in the plan of the bill."

A bill of which the main features were thus outlined was accordingly proposed by Mr. Wilson, of West Virginia, Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means. It had been in preparation during the special session and was made public before the reassembling of Congress. The features of the bill, as described in the accompanying statement of Chairman Wilson, were: (1) The adoption, wherever practicable, of ad valorem instead of specific duties; (2) the freeing from taxes of those great materials of industry that lie at the basis of protection.' In addition to an extensive increase in the free list, the schedules showed reductions in rates, as compared with the McKinley bill, on all but a small number of items. The notable additions to the free list included iron ore, lumber and wool. Raw sugar was left free, but the rate on refined was reduced from one-half to one-quarter cent per pound, and the bounty was repealed one-eighth per annum until extinguished. Various amendments were made in the administrative provisions of the tariff law.

It was estimated that the reduction of revenue effected would be about \$50,000,000, and the committee set about the preparation of an internal revenue bill to make good that deficiency. While under consideration in committee, many changes were made in the Tariff bill the most important related to sugar, the duty being taken off of refined and the repeal of the bounty being made immediate instead of gradual. A clause was also inserted repealing the reciprocity clause of the McKinley law. The chief feature of the internal revenue bill was the provision for an income tax. The bill provided also for a stamp duty on playing cards, and increased the tax on spirits to one dollar a gallon. A tax of two per cent was imposed on all incomes in excess of \$4,000, and in case of corporations the same tax was levied on all interest on bonds, and on all dividends, and surplus income above dividends, except premiums returned to policyholders by mutual life insurance companies, interest to depositors in savings banks and dividends of building and loan associations. The income tax proposal immediately called forth lively opposition. On February 1 the Internal Revenue bill was made a part of the Wilson measure, and the latter as amended was adopted by the House by a vote of 204 to 140. The majority was composed of 194 Democrats and 10 Populists, and the minority of 125 Republicans and 15 Democrats.

A scene of great excitement took place while the voting was in progress. Democrat after Democrat who had been counted on to vote against, now when it came to the final issue, recorded their votes for it, and when the decisive numbers were announced, Mr. Wilson was raised aloft on the shoulders of his supporters and borne in triumph, and amid enthusiastic cheers, from the House of Representatives.

The Wilson Bill, that thus passed the House on February 1, was sent to the Senate on the following day, and was immediately referred to the Committee Of Finance, which turned it over for consideration to a sub-committee. The sub-committee reported it with very few changes to the full Committee on Finance, but that body submitted it to a thorough revision and made many important alterations. In this discussion the most prominent part was taken by Senator Gorman, of Maryland, a Democratic leader and hence the bill as passed is commonly described as the Wilson-Gorman Bill. The most important amendments were the imposition of duties on sugar, iron ore and coal. The Senators from Louisiana especially demanded a duty on sugar for the purpose of protecting the sugar planters of that State, and most of the other Senators expressed their dissatisfaction with the schedules affecting the industry of their constituents. At a Democratic caucus, Senator Hill, of New York, declared the bill to have been purposely framed to produce all insufficient revenue, and thus make necessary an income tax, a tax which had never been imposed except in times of war or to defray war expenses, and which was forbidden by the Federal Constitution. The Committee reported the bill on March 20, with the addition of 634 amendments; it was again referred back and again reported on May 8th with the clauses admitting free raw material struck out except in the cases of wool and lumber, and with a clause granting a large bonus to sugar. In this form the Wilson-Gorman Bill passed the Senate by 39 votes to 34 and was returned to the House of Representatives on July 3.

The House of July 7 refused to concur in the amendments sent down by the Senate, and a conference of the two houses took place. In the conference committee irreconcilable differences of opinion were manifested the crucial point in the controversy being the sugar duties. The Senate demanded instead of a bounty on sugar a general duty of forty per cent ad valorem with an additional duty on refined sugar, and a further additional duty on sugar from a country paying an export duty. Such a clause it was said, would not only protect the native planters in our sugar States, but would enormously benefit the large sugar refining company which had almost a monopoly of the business. From the beginning of the discussion on the sugar schedules report had been current that the American Sugar Refining Company had had agents at the Capitol busy in influencing legislation by a lavish use of money among the Senators, and so persistent were the accusations of bribery that the Senate in May appointed an investigating committee, which reported that no bribery was proved, but that two senators had been speculating in the stock of the company during the debates in the Senate. Finally the House conference members refused to accept the proposed arrangement as too favorable to the sugar company. On July 19, Mr. Wilson reported to the House that the conference could not agree, and took the unusual step of reading a private letter addressed to him, on July 2, by President Cleveland, in which the President stated that the Senate Bill was far short of what was demanded by the Democratic party, that Congress ought not to be driven away from Democratic principle by the fear, quite likely exaggerated, that

in carrying out this principle we may indirectly and inordinately encourage a combination of sugar refinery interests, and that a failure to pass the House Bill would be party perfidy and party dishonor." Such a letter thus communicated only hardened the hearts of the opposing Senators, who declared it impugned their motives, and the Senate refused to consent to any material change in its amendments. A deadlock resulted, the time being spent in idle talk, till the House yielded, and in a caucus held August 13, decided to concur with the Senate. The voting on the passing of the bill was, in the Senate 39 (37 Democrats, 2 Populists) against 34 (31 Republicans, 1 Democrat, 2 Populists, the solitary Democrat being Hill of New York), and in the House, 182 (174 Democrats, 8 Populists) against 106 (93 Republicans and 13 Democrats).

The bill then amended and revised became law August 27, without the President's signature. He had previously vetoed in March, Mr. Bland's bill for coining the seigniorage (that is, the difference between the cost and the coinage value of the silver bullion in the Treasury, purchased under the Sherman Act), but he naturally shrank from vetoing a bill brought in by his own party at his own suggestion, and, therefore, allowed it to become law by expiration of time, as provided for in the Constitution. Thus after an existence of three years and eleven months the McKinley Tariff Act was superseded.

At this session of Congress, another bill repealing the Federal election laws became law. It had passed the House at the special session by a vote of 202, chiefly Democrats, against a solid Republican vote of 102, and passed the Senate, February 7, by 39 Democratic and Populist votes against 28 Republican votes. The Federal Election Bill, commonly known to Democrats as the "Force Bill," was denounced in the Democratic platform of 1892 as an outrage upon the electoral rights of the people in the several States, which the party was pledged to resist. Thus three of the demands made in that platform, the repeal of the Sherman Bill, the repeal of the McKinley tariff and the repeal of the "Force Bill," were satisfied. In connection with the Wilson-Gorman Tariff Bill, the reciprocity clauses of the McKinley Act were repealed.

The President, in his veto of the Bland Bill for coining the seigniorage, denounced the measure as dangerous, adding, that it was time to strengthen and not deplete the gold reserve, and advising that the Treasury be given more power to issue bonds to protect the reserve." In truth the condition of the Treasury was going from bad to worse. On January 13 Secretary Carlisle submitted to the Finance Committee of the Senate a statement showing that the excess of expenditures over receipts to that date had reached \$3,000,000, and that at the same rate the deficit for the year would be \$78,000,000, or nearly three times what he had estimated in his annual report. The gold reserve had shrunk to \$74,000,000, and he asserted that the ordinary expenses of the Government would soon have to be paid out of that fund. Unless something was done by Congress to authorize the issue of low rate bonds, the Secretary announced that he would put forth high-rate bonds under the power granted by the Resumption Act of 1875.

Nothing, however, as we have seen, was done by Congress, and on January 17, a bond issue of \$50,000,000 was announced. Considerable dissatisfaction with the terms of the proposed issue was expressed by financiers, but on the last day allowed for bids, the New York bankers, after

several consultations with Mr. Carlisle, decided to sustain him, and subscribed for some \$45,000,000. The subscription ended on February 1, the total bids being about \$58,000,000.

The gold reserve meanwhile had run down to \$65,000,000, but the proceeds of the bonds raised it above the \$100,000,000 mark. There were heavy exportations of gold during May and June, and on June 22, the reserve was less than \$62,000,000. The New York banks now came to the aid of the Government, and voluntarily supplied from their own vaults the export demand. On June 25, President Cleveland made a public denial of the rumors that the payment of matured obligations was being postponed by the Administration, and declared that there was no cause for apprehension. Toward the end of July, the taking of whiskey out of bond, in anticipation of the increase of the tax, measurably increased the revenue. The gold reserve sank to \$54,000,000, but, the demand for export dying out, it had increased by the end of October to \$62,000,000. But this was far below the sum fixed for the so-called gold reserve, and another bond issue of \$50,000,000 was resolved on in November, and the gold reserve was thus raised to \$112,000,000. In his annual report the Secretary of the Treasury, with the approval of the President, set forth a scheme of currency reform, involving a reorganization of the National banking system. A bill embodying this plan was introduced in the House early in December, and, with some changes, was approved by the Democratic caucus. The House, however, refused to accept the proposal of the Committee on Rules by which the bill was to be pressed to passage, and the measure thus received its death blow.

Still the drain on the Treasury gold continued at an alarming rate, and on January 28, 1894, the reserve was reduced to \$52,463,173 - the lowest point reached since resumption in 1879. On that day, the President sent a special message to Congress containing a second project as to the currency. His recommendations included the issue of a fifty-year three per cent. bond, payable in gold, the proceeds to be used in maintaining the Treasury's gold reserve and in redeeming legal-tender and Treasury notes; the cancellation of all notes so redeemed permission to National banks to circulate notes up to the par value of bonds deposited, such notes to be of denominations greater than \$10; the limitation of silver certificates to denominations less than \$10, and the requirement that import duties be payable only in gold. The President intimated that a failure to legislate would be followed by another bond issue. A bill containing his recommendations was rejected by the House on February 7 - 135 to 162. In the debate the Republicans affirmed that the difficulties of the Treasury were chiefly due to the inadequate revenue produced by the Wilson-Gorman Act. The hope of the Government in its tariff measures, had been that the Income Tax that had been so fiercely denounced even by Democratic leaders, would produce revenue enough to compensate for the diminished returns under the new reduced tariff.

But this hope was frustrated by the decision of the Supreme Court, that the Income Tax Bill was, as had been argued in the previous debates in the Senate by Senator Hill of New York, unconstitutional. Before, however, this decision had been handed down by the Supreme Court and on the rejection of the bill recommended by the President for the issuing of fifty-year three percent bonds, another bond issue became necessary, the Treasury having then in its vaults only \$41,000,000 in gold in fact, on the day, February 7, when the bill was rejected, the suspension of

gold payments at the Sub-treasury of New York was within forty-eight hours of realization. The Treasury was thus at the mercy of the bankers, and as every moment was of importance in providing for the due maintenance of our financial honor, the President, in another message, on February 8, announced that a contract had been made with the banking houses of Belmont and Morgan, for the purchase of 3,500,000 ounces of gold, to be paid for in thirty-year four percent coin bonds, on terms which made the price of the bonds about 104 1/2, and the amount \$62,317,500. In addition to this, the contract gave the bankers who formed the syndicate the option of any other bonds that might be issued till October 1st. This contract subjected the Administration to violent criticism from Republicans and silver men. When the syndicate put the four per cents on the market the loan was eagerly taken up in both New York and London, and the market quotation for the bonds rose as high as 118. This occasioned further bitter attacks on the Administration, for having accepted so low a figure as 104 1/2. But, it must be remembered that the syndicate was contracting not merely for the delivery of so much specie, but for the importation of it from abroad, without drawing upon the reserve or hoards of gold in this country. Under the contract, the gold in the Treasury increased steadily until, with the last payment for bonds under the contract it stood at \$107,000,000. Still, in a short time the reserve had again fallen below the limit, and the syndicate had to fulfill its contract to sustain the Treasury by depositing gold during the months of August and September. But not even these successive issues of bonds were able to place the currency of the nation on a sound basis, and in January, 1895, after the President's message on the Venezuela question, a call was issued for bids for \$100,000,000 in gold for four per cent. bonds, and the total amount of gold received was about \$111,000,000, some of the gold in payment of the bonds being withdrawn from the Treasury. Yet, even after the final payments on this issue of bonds had been made, the reserve in the Treasury was as low, in July, as \$90,000,000. The banks, however, began now to supply the Government with gold, and enabled it to tide things over till the annual movement of crops put an end to the export of gold. This action was entirely successful in allaying the apprehension of the public and in obviating the necessity for another bond issue.

This statement of the various issues of bonds, during Cleveland's administration, has been here given without regard to the time between the separate issues, in order to present a consecutive view of the financial condition with which the Government had to deal. And it is especially necessary to remember these successive attempts of President Cleveland to maintain the gold reserve when we come to the presidential campaign of 1896. The opponents of the Government argued that the whole trouble lay in the Wilson tariff, which did not provide reserve sufficient to carry on the Government, while the latter asserted that no part of the money acquired by these bond issues was expended in defraying current expenses, but that the whole was entirely devoted to preserving the National honor in assuring the parity of silver and gold in all our National obligations.

The year 1894 may be described as a year of misfortune. Forest fires raged in Minnesota and Wisconsin, devastating forty square miles of territory, with great loss of life and great destruction of property. In the coal mining States, 126,000 men went out on strike destructive riots took place at Cleveland, Ohio, requiring the calling out of the militia; in Colorado, the silver miners

struck, and order was only restored when troops appeared; in the town created by and named after Pullman, the originator of the Pullman car system, a reduction of wages caused a strike, and the Railway Union, an extensive organization of railroad employees, in sympathy with their fellow-workmen at Pullman, ordered a blockade of all roads using Pullman cars. On June 26, traffic was suspended, scenes of violence and acts of incendiarism were recorded at various places, and on July 8, the President of the United States had to dispatch United States troops to Chicago, without having been requested by the Governor of Illinois so to do, an action justified by the fact that the strikers were interfering with the transport of the mails, but deeply resented by the Populist party. All these strikes, the depression of business and the general discontent was attributed by the partisans of free silver coinage to the closing of the mints to silver. The result was that the November election was a Republican victory; in New York, the Republican candidate for Governor defeated Senator Hill by 150,000 votes; Mr. Wilson, the author of the tariff bill, lost his seat in West Virginia; and Colorado, Kansas, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Nebraska, and a dozen other States were swept by the Republicans. Apart from the discussions of currency questions, the third session of the Fifty-third Congress was uneventful. The recognition of the Hawaiian republic was announced, but the administration refrained from any change in its policy respecting those Pacific Islands, while it had preserved a strict neutrality in the affairs of Cuba, only insisting on Spain issuing to its officers peremptory and positive orders not to interfere with legitimate American commerce.

In the first session of the Fifty-fourth Congress the result of the November elections of the previous year was seen. The Senate consisted of Republicans 44, Democrats 39, Independents 6; the House consisted of Republicans 248, Democrats 104, Independents 7. In his message the President discussed at length the currency question, declaring that the only remedy for the troubles under which the country was suffering was the retirement of the greenback and treasury notes of 1890; he reiterated the necessity of observing strict neutrality between Spain and the insurgents in Cuba, and added that Great Britain had been called on for an answer to the question whether she would or would not submit her long-pending dispute about territorial limits with Venezuela to arbitration, and that an answer was soon expected. Little attention was excited by this clause in his message till on December 17, a special message was sent to Congress, respecting Venezuela, together with the correspondence that had passed between the British Government and Mr. Olney, who had been transferred to the office of Secretary of State, on the death of Mr. Gresham. Both the message and the correspondence were of an unusual and disquieting character. In the absence of any settlement of the disputed territorial questions between Great Britain and Venezuela, the President declared that the United States must determine for its own justification the true divisional line, and must therefore appoint a commission to investigate the facts. He concluded with the threatening words: When such report is made and accepted, it will, in my opinion, be the duty of the United States to resist by every means in its power, as a wilful aggression upon its rights and interests, the appropriation by Great Britain of any lands or the exercise of governmental jurisdiction over any territory which, after investigation, we have determined of right to belong to Venezuela. In making these recommendations I am fully alive to the responsibility incurred, and keenly realize all the consequences that may follow."

This expression of President Cleveland of the extended views entertained by him respecting the so-called Monroe doctrine created great surprise and excitement, and deeply affected the stock markets of London, the Continent and New York, thus increasing the difficulty of keeping gold in the treasury, and necessitating another special message to allay the growing apprehension of the people. Two bills were, in consequence, introduced into the House of Representatives, but both were dropped in consequence of the amendments made by the Senate and the insertion of a clause providing for the free coinage of silver.

The bellicose message of the President regarding the Venezuela boundary, and its extended interpretation of the Monroe doctrine, were regarded by many as a stroke of personal policy, designed to regain for Grover Cleveland some of the popularity that he had lost by his conduct in respect to Hawaii. During the first year of his term he had sent, as a special commissioner to the islands, Mr. James P. Blount, who reported that the monarchy was overthrown by a conspiracy devised under assurances from the United States Minister, Mr. Stevens, that he would recognize any government the revolutionary party might form, and that this recognition was given before the Provisional Government had demonstrated its ability to maintain its existence. Based on these reports was the recommendation made by Secretary Gresham to the President, that the treaty of annexation left over from President Harrison's administration be not submitted to the Senate," and on December 18, 1893, the President sent a message to Congress reviewing the whole matter, and promising his co-operation in any plan "consistent with American honor, integrity, and morality." On the same day, Mr. Willis, who had succeeded Mr. Blount as Minister to Hawaii, demanded that the Provisional Government at Honolulu turn over its power to the deposed Queen Liliuokalani. The demand was refused by Mr. Dole, the Hawaiian Prime Minister, who declined to recognize the right of the United States to interfere in the domestic affairs of Hawaii. Finally, in June, 1894, a convention was held under the auspices of the Provisional Government, and a constitution adopted, which was proclaimed to be in force on July 4, with Sanford B. Dole as President. Formal recognition of the Republic of Hawaii was given by President Cleveland on August 7, In an official letter to President Dole.

But this was not the only quarter in which President Cleveland's policy created dissatisfaction. The insurrection raging in the Island of Cuba appeared to our citizens as the struggle of liberty-loving colonists against the tyranny of the mother-country, Spain, and many appeals were made to the President to acknowledge the Cubans as belligerents. The Senate passed a resolution by 64 votes to 6, declaring that "the United States should accord belligerent rights to the Cuban Government," and that the President should offer his friendly offices to the Spanish Government for the recognition of the independence of Cuba. But no steps in this direction were taken by the Government, which, in spite of all clamor and all reports of Spanish outrages on American citizens and ships, adhered to its international duty of strict neutrality. In both the Hawaiian and Cuban questions, President Cleveland deserved high praise for his consistency and firmness in observing the obligations of international law, but in the popular view his conduct was considered to lack courage, and not to support American principles," to the extent required by true patriots. To show that he did not lack courage, and that he was a good American, to reinstate himself with many of his own party, and to divert attention from the state of the treasury were, perhaps, Mr.

Cleveland's motives in his Venezuela message. It at once aroused what is called a "jingo" feeling in the country, and for a few days the President rose in favor. But he was not allowed to enjoy for long the monopoly of patriotic sentiments, the Senate and the House of Representatives surprised both the President and his Secretary, Mr. Olney, in the force of their declarations, and at once appropriated \$100,000 for the expenses of the Commission recommended in the message. The following were appointed members of the Commission on January 1, 1896: David J. Brewer, Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States Richard H. Alvey, Chief-Justice of the Court of Appeals of the District of Columbia; Andrew D. White, Frederic R. Coudert and Daniel C. Gilman. The commission organized with Justice Brewer as chairman, and pursued its work diligently during the greater part of the year.

But over all these transactions hung the cloud of the coming Presidential election, and this, it was universally recognized, would turn not on a strong foreign policy, but on questions of finance and tariff. And of these two domestic questions it soon became apparent that the former would be the real battle-ground of the contending parties, and the issue was sharply drawn on the free coinage of silver. The issue was no new one. As far back as 1884, Secretary McCulloch, in a report to President Arthur, said:

"I have been forced to the conclusion that unless both the coinage of silver dollars and the issue of silver certificates are suspended, there is danger that silver, and not gold, may become our metallic standard. This danger may not be imminent, but it is of so serious a character that there ought not to be delay in providing against it. Not only would the national credit be seriously impaired if the government should be under the necessity of using silver dollars or certificates in payment of gold obligations, but business of all kinds would be greatly disturbed; not only so, but gold would at once cease to be circulating medium and severe contraction would be the result." And since then, as for years before, political economists, financiers and statesmen had struggled with the difficulties of the situation. As has been already mentioned the silver purchase clause in the act of 1890 was repealed in the Fifty-third Congress, and this had embittered the advocates of free silver coinage still more. Such advocates were to be found in both of the great political parties, but in neither did they form the majority. Taking a local view, we may say that the Eastern States were for Sound Money," that is, opposed to free silver, while in the West and South there was division in the ranks. This division had been apparent in the Fifty-second Congress, when Mr. Bland, the originator of the Silver Coinage Act of 1878, reported a bill for the free coinage of silver, and time had indeed not closed the breach on this important monetary question. The Populist party, which in its programme in 1892 had demanded public ownership of all means of transportation, direct issue of currency by the government, and the suppression of trusts, syndicates and all monopolies, was in favor of silver or at least of bimetallism. In March, 1895, the Bimetallist League issued an address for the formation of a new party to advocate the unrestricted coinage of gold and silver on a parity. In May a convention held at Salt Lake City came out for silver, and in June, a bimetallic conference at Memphis demanded unlimited silver coinage. In the same city, in May, Mr. Carlisle, Secretary of the Treasury, had addressed a sound money convention, in behalf of the parity of all American money, and some months afterwards had declared his opinion that the government ought to retire all the greenbacks and get out of the

banking business. In December, 1895, the President's message echoed his opinion and recommended the retirement of greenbacks and treasury notes by long-term bonds at low interest, but it is difficult to convince the ordinary citizen that such an issue, when the interest has to be paid from taxation that is directly felt by all tax-payers is a better way to put our finances on a sound basis than the continued issue of greenbacks. Then much was made of the "crime of 1873," meaning thereby the act of that year demonetizing silver, concerning which so high an authority as Jay Cooke wrote: The act has worked infinite harm and damage to all the debtor classes, which are as fifty to one in this country, compelling all who rely upon the products of their industry to discharge their indebtedness, to pay such debts contracted when silver and gold were both equal standards of value at a time now when gold alone is recognized as the unit of value, and the basis of all value among the civilized nations of the world."

On the other side, the sound money advocates alleged the fact that the whole commerce of the world is transacted on a gold basis, that the interest on our debt, specifically payable in coin, has always been understood by us and by foreign holders as being payable in gold, and that the honor of the country compelled us to live up to this understanding, unless we should confess ourselves bankrupt, ready to repudiate our obligations.

The first of the nominating conventions to be held was that of the Republican party, at St. Louis, June 16. The platform adopted for the coming campaign renewed the party's allegiance to the doctrine of protection as the foundation of prosperity, demanded a renewal of reciprocity arrangements with American States, protection for all our products and discriminating duties for the purpose of building up our mercantile service. The next clause created a break in the convention. It opposed the free coinage of silver, except by international agreement with the leading commercial nations of the world, and declared that until such agreement was effected the gold standard must be preserved. Twenty-one delegates left the hall when this was announced, among them being four Senators and two Representatives; the seceders were Hartmann (Montana), Cannon, Senator, Allen, Kearns, (Utah), Pettigrew, Senator, (South Dakota), Cleveland, Strother, (Nebraska), six delegates from Idaho, including Senator Dubois, and eight, including Senator Teller, from Colorado. It had been long before seen that William McKinley, of Ohio, would be the choice of the convention, and on the first ballot he received 661 votes, the next greatest number being given for T. B. Reed, of Maine, 84, while the votes cast for Governor Morton, of New York (58), for Senator Quay, of Pennsylvania (61), for Allison, of Iowa (35), were merely complimentary expressions of local feeling. In replying to the delegation that reported his nomination to Mr. McKinley, he stated, Protection and reciprocity, twin measures of true American policy, should again command the encouragement of the government. A policy compelling the government to borrow money in time of peace must be reversed. The money of the United States, whether paper, silver or gold, must be as good as the best in the world, and must be at par in every commercial center of the globe." The nomination for Vice-President was given to Garret A. Hobart, of New Jersey.

The scenes in the Democratic National Convention, at Chicago, July 11, were much more sensational than those at St. Louis. It was evident that a large proportion of delegates were in

favor of free silver, in spite of all the efforts of the Gold Democrats of the Eastern States. The platform relegated the tariff question to the background, and in its opening clauses denounced the so-called crime of 1873 and demanded the free and unlimited coinage of gold and silver at the present legal ratio of 16 to 1, without waiting for aid or consent of any other nation." The adoption of the platform was moved by William Jennings Bryan, of Nebraska. He had been returned to Congress in 1890, and had been a member of the Committee of Ways and Means, and held that position in the Fifty-first and Fifty-second Congress. He was defeated, however, in 1894, and devoted his whole time to the advocacy of free silver. In his speech he declared that the money question is the paramount issue of the hour," that the interests of the farmer as well as of other citizens required protection from the inroads of organized wealth, that, instead of the government going out of the banking business the banks must go out of the government business, and that when we have restored the money of the Constitution all other reforms will be possible. His speech was delivered with great fervor in a popular style of eloquence, and ended with words that became the battle cry of the Silverites: "Having behind us the producing masses of this nation and the world; having behind us the commercial interests, and the laboring interests, and all the toiling masses, we shall answer their demands for a gold standard by saying to them: "You shall not press down upon the brow of labor this crown of thorns. You shall not crucify mankind upon a cross of gold."

The effect of the speech was decisive. At the first ballot the old champion of silver, Mr. Bland was in the lead, but in the final and fifth ballot, Mr. Bryan received more than the 572 votes necessary for a choice. Strangely enough, a Gold Democrat, Arthur Sewall of Maine, was put on the ticket for Vice-President. One hundred and sixty-two delegates refrained from voting. Mr. Bryan's nomination was indorsed by the People's Party Convention, meeting at St. Louis, July 25, but the nomination for Vice-President was given to William T. S. Watson, of Georgia, in place of Mr. Sewall.

The important secession of Democratic delegates from the Chicago convention, and the dissatisfaction of a powerful element of the party with the platform there adopted, led to the summoning of a Sound Money Democratic Convention, at Indianapolis, in September, which was attended by delegates from all the States except Idaho, Nevada, Utah and Wyoming. It denounced the Chicago platform as undemocratic, and condemned its financial doctrines as well as the tariff proposals of the Republicans. It favored tariff for revenue only, the single gold standard, a bank currency under governmental supervision arbitration for the settlement of international disputes and the maintenance intact of the independence and authority of the Supreme Court. It also strongly indorsed the Cleveland Administration. With practical unanimity it nominated Senator John M Palmer, of Illinois, for President, and General S. B. Buckner, of Kentucky, for Vice-President.

The currency campaign was highly exciting and was remarkable for the unwearied efforts of Mr. Bryan on behalf of his party. He made a tour of the country in all directions and addressed with his usual brilliancy numerous audiences. Mr. McKinley remained quietly at his house at Canton, Ohio, where he received numerous delegations, to whom he returned terse and forcible

replies. The election took place November 3, and the popular vote was, McKinley, 7,104,779; Bryan, 6,502,923 Palmer, 133,148, while the electoral vote gave McKinley, 271, Bryan, 176.

On December 7, the Fifty-fourth Congress met for its second session. In the House, the Republicans numbered 248, the Democrats 104, Populists 7, and in the Senate, Republicans 45, Democrats 38, Populists and Silverites 7, and to bodies thus hostile to his administration, President Cleveland addressed his last message in which, after announcing the settlement of the Venezuela boundary question, he stated that negotiations for a treaty of general arbitration for all differences between the United States and Great Britain were far advanced.

From the commencement of our history as a nation, this country has so constantly lent the weight of its influence and example to the substitution of reason for force in the adjustment of disputes among nations that international arbitration may be said to be a prominent feature in its policy, and on two occasions we opened the door for arbitration treaties with all the nations of the world. In April, 1890, the Sherman concurrent resolution was passed by both Houses of Congress for this express purpose, and in October of the same year, when Mr. Blaine was Secretary of State, there was sent by our State Department, the Pan-American form of treaty, with an invitation to all civilized nations to join us in such a treaty. The Sherman resolution declared, That the President is hereby requested to invite from time to time, as fit occasions may arise, negotiations with any government with which the United States has or may have diplomatic relations, to the end that any differences or disputes arising between the two governments which cannot be adjusted by diplomatic agency may be referred to arbitration, and be peaceably adjusted by such means." On June 16, 1893, the British House of Commons adopted the following resolution.

"This house has learnt with satisfaction that both Houses of the United States Congress have, by resolution, requested the President to invite, etc." (here the words of the Sherman resolution are quoted) and that this House cordially sympathizing with the purpose in view, expresses the hope that Her Majesty's Government will lend their ready cooperation to the Government of the United States upon the basis of the foregoing resolutions." In accordance with these expressed opinions of our own Congress and the British Parliament, a treaty was drawn up, and signed on January 11, 1897 by Secretary Olney and Sir Julian Pauncefote, Ambassador for Great Britain, and at once transmitted to the Senate. Its chief provisions were as follows: The parties agree to arbitrate all questions in difference which fail of adjustment by diplomacy. All pecuniary claims which in the aggregate do not exceed 100,000 pounds, and do not involve the determination of territorial claims, shall be dealt with by an arbitration tribunal. Each party shall nominate one arbitrator, who shall be a jurist of repute, and these two shall select an umpire. In default of this the umpire shall be appointed by agreement between the members of the Supreme Court of the United States and the members of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council of Great Britain. In case they fail to agree, the umpire shall be selected by the King of Norway and Sweden. Controversies involving the determination of territorial claims are to be determined by a tribunal composed of jurists of both countries.

In the Senate, after a debate in which great hostility was displayed by Senators of both parties, the treaty was referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs, who returned it January 30, with sundry amendments. One of the amendments provided that no question which affects the foreign or domestic policy of either of the parties, or the relations of either with any other State or Power by treaty or otherwise, shall be subject to arbitration under the treaty, except by special agreement. Another struck out all reference to the selection of an umpire by King Oscar. Another provided that if at any time before the close of a hearing on any matter, except territorial claims, either party declares that the decision of a disputed question, excluded except by special agreement, is involved, the jurisdiction of the tribunal shall cease. The treaty was discussed at considerable length, but there seemed to be a general desire to put off action till after the inauguration of the new president. Mr. McKinley (to anticipate matters and thus conclude the incident) in his inaugural address, after reminding Congress that the treaty was clearly the result of our initiative, added : I respectfully urge the early action of the Senate thereon, not merely as a matter of policy, but as a duty to mankind. The importance and moral influence of the ratification of such a treaty can hardly be overestimated in the cause of advancing civilization. It may well engage the best thought of the statesmen and people of every country, and I cannot but consider it fortunate that it was reserved to the United States to have the leadership in so grand a work." But in spite of this strong recommendation by the Republican President of his Democratic predecessor's work, the Senate rejected the proposed treaty by a large majority.

President William McKinley and Vice-President G. A. Hobart, were duly inaugurated on March 4. The weather was perfect, the ceremonies more than ordinarily impressive, and larger crowds were present than had witnessed the installation of any other president. In his address, the President said that the currency should be under the supervision of the Government, but that changes could be made in our fiscal laws until an adequate revenue had been secured. He spoke in favor of a currency commission, promised early attention to international bimetallism, and insisted on the necessity of more revenue and the restoration of protective legislation, and the reciprocity principle of the law of 1890. He repeated the declaration of the party, of opposition to all combinations of capital organized as trusts, called attention to the state of our mercantile marine, and as action on these matters would not be postponed, concluded by expressing his purpose to call together Congress in extraordinary session on March 15, to consider especially the state of the treasury.

The President sent to the Senate his nominations for the members of his Cabinet Secretary of State, John Sherman, Ohio; Secretary of the Treasury, Lyman J. Gage, of Illinois; Secretary of War, Russell A. Alger, of Michigan; Secretary of the Navy, John D. Long, of Massachusetts; Secretary of the Interior, Cornelius N. Bliss, of New York Postmaster-General, James A. Gary, of Maryland; Attorney-General, Joseph McKenna, of California; Secretary of Agriculture, James Wilson, of Iowa, all of which were immediately approved.

Of these officers, Russell A. Alger, Secretary of War, was born in Michigan in 1835 and engaged in the lumber business. During the Civil War he served with the Michigan Cavalry, and was several times wounded. He left the service with the brevet rank of Major-General. In 1884

he was elected Governor of his native state by the largest majority ever given to a Republican. He held no office until named to the Secretaryship of War.

John Davis Long, Secretary of the Navy, was born in 1838, and rose to an eminent position at the bar in Boston. In 1879, he was elected Governor of Massachusetts, and reelected for two successive terms. Subsequently he sat for three successive terms in Congress, but was an unsuccessful candidate for a seat in the Senate of the United States.

Mr. Gage of New York, Secretary of the Treasury, was an eminent banker in Chicago, was prominent in organizing the Columbian Exposition, and well known for his views on sound money and banking reform. The Secretary of the Interior, Cornelius N. Bliss, a prominent merchant of New York, was long a leader in local politics, but held no previous public office. The Postmaster-General, James A. Gary, of Maryland, had been a delegate to every national political convention from 1872, but had been defeated in his aspirations to Congress. Mr. Joseph McKenna, of California, the Attorney-General, an eminent lawyer, served four terms in Congress, and was appointed a Judge of the United States Court of California in 1892. He was a political friend and associate of Mr. McKinley in Congress, and assisted him in framing the McKinley Tariff bill. Later in the year Mr. McKenna resigned and was succeeded by John W. Griggs, Governor of New Jersey. The Secretary for Agriculture, James Wilson, a native of Scotland, sat for six years in the Legislature of Iowa, and for three terms in the Congress of the United States.

On March 6, the President called an extra session of Congress to meet March 15, at which Thomas B. Reed was elected Speaker of the House of Representatives by a vote of 200 to 114. In his message to Congress, the President stated that an extraordinary session was indispensable because of the condition of the revenue. The current expenses were greater than the receipts, and had been so for three years. Congress should promptly correct this condition, and in raising the required revenue duties should be so levied on foreign products as to preserve the home market, so far as possible, to our own producers, to revive and increase manufactures, to encourage agriculture, to increase our commerce, and to render to labor its adequate rewards. The enactment of such a measure, he concluded by saying, was the imperative demand of the hour and ought to be passed before any other business was attended to.

On the same day Mr. Dingley, of Maine, introduced a tariff bill, and on March 19 a measure was reported from the Committee on Ways and Means. March 23 was set for the opening debate, and it was ordered that on March 31 the measure was to be put on its passage. In opening the discussion, Mr. Dingley stated that in the four fiscal years beginning July 1, 1893, the total deficiency was nearly two hundred and four millions of dollars, and that this deficiency arose from the falling off in receipts from duties on imports, caused by the financial policy of the late administration. To remedy this the new tariff bill was introduced. The chief opponent of the proposed legislation was Mr. Wheeler of Alabama, but on March 31 the Dingley bill passed the House by 205 votes against 122. In the Senate the discussion was protracted, and no fewer than 872 amendments were incorporated in the House bill, the vote being 38 against 28. The House non-concurred, and a conference committee was appointed, which reported in favor of many of

the Senate amendments. The report was agreed to and on July 24 the President approved the bill.

The Bering Sea Fishery question was raised again by Mr. Sherman, who in a very undiplomatic dispatch accused Great Britain of trying to evade the regulations of the Court of Arbitration respecting pelagic sealing, but the British government declined to re-open the matter, and refused to take part in a conference at which representatives of Japan and China were to be present. Finally a conference of experts, at which representatives of the United States, Canada and Great Britain were to take part, was arranged.

The conference was long drawn out, subject to many adjournments and delays, and terminated its meetings in February, 1899, with nothing accomplished. The seals were left wholly unprotected. The United States forbade pelagic sealing to its citizens, while England did not, and all the profits of the rapidly perishing industry were being reaped by foreigners. The Canadian sealing fleet of 1,899 included 26 vessels, that of 1900 numbered 33, with a catch of more than 35,000 seals each year, and more than half of these females. The same conditions have prevailed ever since. The North American Company has been increasing its efforts in order to obtain its full share while the seals last, and in the Congressional session of 1901-2 it was seriously proposed to kill off the entire Arctic herd at once and thus end the whole question by putting an end to the seals. This radical step, however, has not been taken.

Chapter CXLVII

The Island of Cuba - American Interest in it Since 1854 - Cuba's Insurrections - General Weyler as Spanish Governor - Sufferings of the Cubans - General Lee as American Consul - General at Havana Indiscretion of the Spanish Minister De Lom - Destruction of the U. S. warship Maine in the harbor of Havana - Fighting Loss of Life - Excitement Caused by the News - Dignified Attitude of the Nation - The Court of Inquiry - President's Message on the Disaster - Preparations for War - Liberal Appropriations for Ships - Senator Proctor's Report on the State of Cuba - England's Approval of American Policy - Attempt of Pope Leo XIII to Mediate - President's Message to Congress to Authorize him to Terminate Hostilities in Cuba - "The War in Cuba Must Stop" - Resolution of Congress - Our Minister Leaves Madrid - Declaration of War, April 21 - Resignations of Postmaster-General Gary and Secretary of State Sherman - Sherman's Career - Orders to the Army and Navy - Blockade of Havana - Call for 125,000 Volunteers - Issue of Bonds - First Shot Fired April 22 - The Bombardment of Matanzas - Dewey's Great Victory at Manila on May 1 - Total Destruction of the Spanish Fleet.

THE position of Cuba has always made the island an object of deep interest to the United States, and we have always felt keenly the evils of the system of government which Spain has pursued. Readers of the earlier part of OUR COUNTRY will recall the fact that in 1848 President Polk offered to purchase it for the sum of one hundred millions of dollars, and after that offer was curtly declined refused to join with France and England in guaranteeing its possession to Spain. Again, in 1854, the American ministers at Paris, London, and Madrid drew-up a manifesto on the subject of Cuba, arguing that Spain had better sell it than try to keep it, and ever since we have expressed sympathy for any attempt that the Cubans have made to throw off the yoke of the mother country. In October, 1866, a formidable insurrection broke out, and a provisional government was organized under General Cespedes, which sought recognition from us. Although we then refused to acknowledge the Cuban republic, the Cuban war continued for nearly twelve years, and only terminated in 1878, when the last of the insurgents surrendered. At its close Spain confessed that she had sent to the island 170,000 soldiers and had spent seven hundred millions of dollars.

Promises made to the insurgents were never fulfilled, and the island was left loaded with debt, her industries and commerce impaired, and every office of trust or profit in the hands of Spaniards from the peninsula. A paid force, the "Volunteers," said to be 50,000 strong, was raised and maintained at the expense of the island. Meanwhile Spain and Spaniards had an absolute monopoly of the import trade, everything Cuban was placed at a disadvantage, discontent that had never been allayed, revived again, and nothing but the absence of a leader was needed to start another struggle for liberty. In 1895 this discontent led to local outbreaks, funds were raised by Cubans - and Cuban sympathizers resident in the United States, and a soldier of the old war, General Gomez, took command of the insurgents. The Captain-General of Cuba, General Campos, carried on war honorably but uselessly, and was succeeded by General Weyler. The new Captain-General began his tenure of office by an attempt to confine the insurgents to one end of the island by drawing a fortified line, the trocha, across it, a plan which failed utterly, and then he

ordered all non-combatants to be concentrated into the cities. These inhabitants of the rural districts, when thus gathered together, and removed from their homesteads and all their usual means of living, suffered severely, and then began to die of hunger by thousands. Accounts of their cruel sufferings aroused not only the sympathy but the condemnation of our people, and on representations from our President, General Weyler was recalled.

His successor, General Blanco, thought to restore peace to the distracted country by granting a system of local government. This plan of autonomy came too late; the insurgents refused to discuss the proposition; the Spanish elements, represented by the Havana Volunteers, were opposed to it, and the sincere autonomist who hoped to see Cuba standing to Spain in the independent position which Canada holds towards England, were in a hopeless minority. No charges of cruelty have been brought against General Blanco, who canceled Weyler's order for concentration, but substantially the whole number of the reconcentrados, over two hundred thousand, were saved from starvation by charity, chiefly American. The Spanish government also consented to the distribution of the sum of \$50,000 voted by our Congress for the relief of American citizens reduced to distress by the civil war. These supplies were distributed by Consul-General Lee, who likewise procured the liberation of many American citizens wrongfully confined. About the middle of January, 1898, there were many riots in Havana, the leaders being the Volunteers. Mobs went about the streets shouting "Down with Autonomy!" "Hurrah for Weyler!" and wrecked some autonomist newspaper offices, but at no time threatened American citizens. The fact, however, that such a demonstration, headed by military men, was possible, was another proof of the failure of the Spanish government to save the island from anarchy. In view, however, of all possible contingencies our government authorized General Lee to summon a warship to Havana from Key West if such a course of action should be necessary to protect the persons or property of Americans. Several of our vessels of war had sailed southward in pursuance of a plan of winter cruising, and the presence of a naval force near Cuba was in no sense a threat, but merely an act of prudence. On the 24th of January, the battleship, the *Maine*, was ordered to go to Havana. The Spanish minister at Washington said respecting this step. "It is perfectly in accord with usage for warships of two friendly powers to enter and leave each other's ports. The warships of Spain have visited American ports three times in as many years, and if there has not been an American warship in Havana in the same length of time it is merely because the United States government has not seen fit to order one there." Still it was daily becoming more evident that the time was approaching to which both President McKinley and President Cleveland referred in their messages when the United States could no longer maintain a position of inaction and indifference.

The next incident to be recorded was a strange act of indiscretion on the part of the Spanish ambassador at Washington, Senor de Lome. He had filled his very difficult position with great ability, but at last lost his usefulness by the act of a spy and a thief. He had written a personal letter to a friend in Spain in which he spoke in terms of some contempt respecting the President and the good faith of the United States in its negotiations with Spain. This letter was stolen in transmission and sent to the Cuban committee in this country, which body, the Cuban Junta, published it on February 9th. The government at once instituted inquiries as to its genuineness and

in a personal interview with the Assistant Secretary of State the ambassador acknowledged its authorship. At once, an intimation in courteous terms was sent to Madrid that Senor de Lome's recall was expected by the United States. De Lome, however, had anticipated this action, and cabled his resignation to the Spanish government, which accepted it immediately, and on February 10th he left Washington. This closed the incident, but it undoubtedly tended to aggravate the hostile feeling that was now growing rapidly, and which found expression in the Cuban debate in Congress during the same week, when Senator Mason said: "If we are to have war, let it be a war in defense of humanity. Let it be a war in defense of the weak against the strong." This, in the House of Representatives, led to the unanimous adoption of a resolution calling on the Secretary of State for full information respecting the state of Cuba.

The De Lome incident was comparatively harmless in its effects on the public sentiment compared to the appalling disaster which it is now, unfortunately, necessary to narrate, the destruction of our battleship, the *Maine*, in the harbor of Havana.

On the night of February 15, the carnival season had opened, and on the opening day, the streets of Havana were filling with crowds of masqueraders, and presented an animated appearance. The night was dark; in the bay the forms of the men-of-war and merchant ships were barely distinguishable. On the warships the buglers had sounded "taps," the boatswains' mates had "piped down" for the night, the men not on duty were in their berths, and the only life visible was the forms of the officers and sentries pacing to and fro on their stations. It was a little before ten o'clock, the inspection of the magazines had been completed, and, the keys had been handed to the captain, and the captain himself was writing letters in his cabin. Then suddenly a terrible explosion shook the city, windows were broken, doors shaken from their bolts, and the sky towards the bay was lit up by an intense light, above which rose innumerable colored lights resembling rockets. An explosion had destroyed the *Maine*. Captain Sigsbee, her commander, said: "I find it impossible to describe the sound or shock, but the impression remains of something awe-inspiring, terrorizing; of noise, rending, vibrating, all-pervading. There is nothing in the experience of anyone on board to measure the explosion by." The destruction of life was appalling; of 354 men and officers on board only 101 escaped death. The ship sank very soon, bow first; many of the crew were drowned in their quarters, and the few survivors succeeded in launching only three boats. Immediately after the explosion a Spanish warship lowered her boats and did all that could be done to rescue the poor fellows clinging to the wreckage. Great masses of twisted and bent iron plates and beams were thrown up in confusion amidships, the smoke-stack and foremast had fallen, a fire was raging amidships and occasionally an exploding shell sent its fragments through the air. "This is the work of a torpedo," an American spectator exclaimed; "it marks the beginning of the end." The funeral of the victims of the accident was the most imposing manifestation of mourning ever seen in Havana. The people of Havana, the officials, the citizens, and even the street crowds joined in offering reverent sympathy in the funeral ceremonies.

The "receipt of the intelligence of this frightful disaster to one of our ships created a profound sensation in all classes of our citizens. The provocation to excitement was great, but the country

at large bore the news with a calmness which indicated the inherent strength of the nation. The only exception was the rabid utterances of some sensational writers in irresponsible journals, which suggested that the tragedy was the deliberate work of the Spanish government authorities in Havana, and that revenge should be taken on the Spanish vessel of war, the Vizcaya, which was paying to New York a friendly cruising visit, such as the Maine had made at Havana. But the nation at large, as has been said, met the news with steadiness and dignity. Great credit is due to Captain Sigsbee who, in a quiet, dignified self-restrained dispatch stated that any judgment upon the cause of the disaster must be postponed till after due investigation had been made. A resolution was passed in Congress assigning a large sum of money to raise, if possible, the wreck, and to ascertain the cause of the explosion. Divers were sent down to examine the wreck, and a court of inquiry began to take evidence, and before its conclusions had been published Secretary Long declared "that the element of official Spanish responsibility for the explosion had been practically eliminated." On March 28, the President sent to Congress the full text of the court of inquiry. With it he sent a brief message recapitulating the well-known facts about the visit of the Maine to Havana, the story of the disaster as it reached Washington, the organization of the Court of Inquiry, and its proceedings. The President also included in his message a succinct statement of the findings of the Court of Inquiry, which we quote in full:

When the Maine arrived at Havana, she was conducted by the regular government pilot to buoy No. 4, to which she was moored in from five to six fathoms of water.

The state of discipline on board, and the condition of her magazines, boilers, coal-bunkers, and storage compartments are passed in review, with the conclusion that excellent order prevailed and that no indication of any cause for an internal explosion existed in any quarter.

At 8 o'clock on the evening of February 15 everything had been reported secure and all was quiet. At 9:40 o'clock the vessel was suddenly destroyed.

There were two distinct explosions, with a brief interval between them. The first lifted the forward part of the ship very perceptively; the second, which was more open, prolonged, and of greater volume, is attributed by the court to the partial explosion of two or more of the forward magazines.

The evidence of the divers establishes that the after part of the ship was practically intact, and sank in that condition a very few minutes after the explosion. The forward part was completely demolished.

The conclusions of the court are:

That the loss of the Maine was not in any respect due to fault or negligence on the part of any of the officers or members of her crew.

That the ship was destroyed by the explosion of a submarine mine, which caused the partial

explosion of two or more of her forward magazines; and

That no evidence has been obtainable fixing the responsibility for the destruction of the Maine upon any person or persons.

A noteworthy passage in the message is that in which the President says: "The appalling calamity fell upon the people of our country with crushing force, and for a brief time an intense excitement prevailed, which in a community less just and self-controlled than ours might have led to hasty acts of blind resentment. This spirit, however, soon gave way to the calmer processes of reason and to the resolve to investigate the facts and await material proof before forming a judgment as to the cause, the responsibility, and, if the facts warranted, the remedy due. This course necessarily recommended itself from the outset to the Executive, for only in the light of a dispassionately ascertained certainty could he determine the nature and measure of his full duty in the matter." Both branches of Congress immediately referred the message to the Committees on Foreign Affairs without debate.

The President refrained from making any immediate demand for indemnity, desiring to hear first what Spain had to say. It was understood that the Spanish Court of Inquiry reported that the destruction of the Maine arose from an internal accident, and there were indications that Spain would propose arbitration on all questions involved in the disaster. Even yet the question of war was doubtful. Senor Castelar, the Spanish statesman, declared that he did not believe war was possible, and our President earnestly deprecated any hasty resort to war on this account. But the real issue in the Cuban question, the disturbed state of the island, still demanded attention and preparation to meet all eventualities. Congress had on March 8th voted without debate a defense fund of fifty million dollars; and a naval appropriation bill of thirty-six millions authorized the construction of three new battleships, six torpedo boats and six torpedo boat destroyers; at the same time liberal appropriations were made for docks, yards and ordnance, purchases were made of warships from foreign powers, and in every direction the war and navy departments were to the utmost active. A statement laid before the Senate by Senator Proctor, of Vermont, at the end of March, had what may be called a decisive influence on public opinion and on the government. It was based on his recent personal experience and observations in Cuba, and gave a calm, unimpassioned view of facts, and a comprehensive survey of the state of Cuban affairs involved. He found that two of the six Cuban provinces (the eastern ones) were practically in the hands of the insurgents, and spoken of generally as "Cuba Libre;" that outside of Havana "it is not peace, nor is it war; it is desolation and distress, misery and starvation;" that every town and village is surrounded by a trocha (trench), a sort of rifle-pit guarded by a wire fence and by loopholed block-houses; that these form what were virtually prison yards into which the people had been driven, to subsist as they can; that outside the fortified places and the equally fortified railway stations there was in the four western provinces hardly any human life or habitation - no crops, no pastures, no animals; that, in other words, in these provinces "the Spaniards hold just what their army sits on;" a few and only a few sugar-mills were running, protected by the Spanish government, and also, it is said, paying tribute to the insurgents. As to the "reconcentrados," about 400,000 people were driven into the towns by Weyler's army, and Blanco's-much-talked-of

modification of the order had done little good. These wretched people in many cases saw their homes burned before their eyes; "now they live - those who still live at all - in palm-leaf huts, under abominable sanitary conditions herded together with foul earth, foul air, foul water, foul food or none. The little children suffer the most, and were dying daily. It is believed that over half of these 400,000 people had already perished. If the Spanish authorities, who brought this infamy about, had done anything to help these people, systematically and efficiently, it did not appear to have come to Senator Proctor's knowledge. Relief to some extent was then coming through American contributions, administered through the Central Relief Committee and Miss Clara Barton, of the Red Cross. Senator Proctor saw in one Havana hospital (since improved by Miss Barton's agents) "four hundred women and children lying on the stone floors in an indescribable state of emaciation and disease." And he added that in other cities the conditions are worse. No possible rhetorical passion could add to the horror excited by this simple fact.

Turning to the military and political situation, Senator Proctor observed "that out of 200,000 Spanish soldiers sent to Cuba there are now about 60,000 fit for duty; the rest have died of disease, are in hospital, have been sent home, or have been killed in fighting - the last class being comparatively small. The soldiers are small, young, light in weight. They have no artillery, no tents or field equipment, do not drill, have no adequate idea of military tactics. Cavalry raiding comprises most of the fighting. The Cubans have about 30,000 men in the field, mostly in the eastern provinces, but including always some bands in Havana province itself. Ruiz and Aranguren were both killed within less than twenty miles of Havana. About a third of the insurgents are negroes. Of the total population of Cuba (1,600,000) one-eighth are Spaniards." The political situation is thus summed up:

"The dividing lines between parties are the most straight and clear cut that have ever come to my knowledge. The division in our war was by no means so clearly defined: It is Cuban against Spaniard. It is practically the entire Cuban population on one side and the Spanish army and Spanish citizens on the other. I do not count the autonomists in this division, as they are so far too inconsiderable in numbers to be worth counting. General Blanco filled the civil offices with men who had been autonomists and were still classed as such. But the march of events has satisfied most of them that the chance for autonomy came too late. It falls as talk of the compromise would have fallen the last year or two of our war. If it succeeds, it can only be by armed force, by the triumph of the Spanish arms." And such a triumph he held to be impossible.

Our government meanwhile had been sounding the European states with regard to their attitude in case of a war with Spain, and their inquiry - evoked a significant expression of sentiment from England. Never before had they been such outspoken approval of American policy, and there were not wanting indications that she would lend more than her moral support if any European power formed an alliance with Spain. Nor was Spain idle. She gathered a formidable fleet at Cadiz, and dispatched a flotilla of torpedo boats to the cape de Verde islands, there to fit up and await the fleet from Cadiz. She made appeals to various European powers, notably to Austria (the Queen Regent was an Austrian Archduchess), and at her request the Pope promised to mediate between Spain and the insurgents if an armistice could be arranged. General

Blanco in consequence announced an armistice, but it was scornfully rejected by the Cubans, and the good offices of His Holiness were not demanded. President Cleveland in one of his messages had said that the time might come when intervention in Cuba would be a national duty and President McKinley repeated the sentiment in his first message. The time had now come, and after some delays the long expected message was sent to Congress on April 11th. Its tenor had been indicated a week before in an interview granted by the President to the diplomatic representatives of Germany, Austria-Hungary, France, Great Britain, Italy and Russia in which they expressed a hope that peace would be maintained and order restored in Cuba, and the delay in sending it gave time for the withdrawal of Americans from Havana. Consul-General Lee, the other American officials, most of the Americans remaining in Cuba and many Cuban refugees landed safely at Key West.

The paragraphs in which the President calls for action by Congress are as follows:

"I the Congress to authorize and empower the President to take measures to secure a full and final termination of hostilities between the Government of Spain and the people of Cuba, and to secure in the island the establishment of a stable government capable of maintaining order and observing its international obligations, insuring peace and tranquillity and the security of its citizens as well as our own, and to use the military and naval forces of the United States as may be necessary for these purposes.

"And in the interest of humanity and to aid in preserving the lives of the starving people of the island I recommend that the distribution of food and supplies be continued, and that an appropriation be made out of the public treasury to supplement the charity of our citizens.

"The issue is now with the Congress. It is a solemn responsibility. I have exhausted every effort to relieve the intolerable condition of affairs which is at our doors. Prepared to execute every obligation imposed upon me by the Constitution and the law, I await your action."

These recommendations are followed by a reference to the suspension of hostilities in Cuba by Spain, with the comment, "If this measure attains a successful result, then our aspirations as a Christian, peace-loving people will be realized. If it fails, it will be only another justification for our contemplated action."

After a long review of the entire subject, and with especial reference to Weyler's policy of devastation and concentration, he adds: "It was not civilized warfare. It was extermination, that of the wilderness and the grave." The only peace it could beget was He then proceeds to enumerate the attempts of his administration to improve the condition of affairs in Cuba, the peaceful overtures made to the Spanish ministry that succeeded Canovas; the successful demand for the release of the American citizens imprisoned in Cuba; the appointment of a Cuban Relief Committee; the appeal to the American people for contributions, and the action of the Red Cross Society; finally, the recent obtaining of the revocation of the reconcentrado order, and Spain's action in appropriating money for the relief of the sufferers. Still, it is said, the situation remained

unendurable, and on March 27 this Government made a proposition, through Minister Woodford, looking to an armistice until October 1. To this Spain replied, offering to intrust the effort to make peace to the Cuban so-called autonomous parliament. This was quite unsatisfactory, as the parliament did not meet until May 4, and its powers were vague. What action should our Government take? Forcible annexation, the President said, would be "criminal aggression;" recognizing belligerency would "accomplish nothing toward the one end for which we labor - the instant pacification of Cuba and the cessation of the misery - the afflicts the island;" recognizing the independence of Cuba has no historical precedent clearly applicable to the present situation, and, the President added, "from the standpoint of expedience I do not think it would be wise or prudent for this Government to recognize at the present time the independence of the so-called Cuban Republic." As to intervention, the President held that there were four grounds for such action - first, in the cause of humanity; second, for the protection of our citizens in Cuba: third, from the injury to our commerce and the devastation of the island: fourth: from the constant menace to our peace in many and unexpected ways arising out of such a war at our doors. The last reason is illustrated and enforced by reference to the destruction of the battleship Maine. Of this the President says:

"The destruction of the noble vessel has filled the national heart with inexpressible horror. Two hundred and fifty-eight brave sailors and marines and two officers of our navy, reposing in the fancied security of a friendly harbor, have been hurled to death, grief and want brought to their homes, - and sorrow to the nation. . . The destruction of the Maine, by whatever exterior cause, is a patent and impressive proof of a state of things in Cuba that is intolerable. That condition is thus shown to be such that the Spanish Government cannot assure safety to a vessel of the American navy in the harbor of Havana on a mission of peace, and rightfully there."

In view of all these facts he adds, "The war in Cuba must stop," and then demands from Congress the powers mentioned in the paragraph already quoted.

The action of Congress was delayed by a three days debate in the Senate, and a difference with the House of Representatives as to the wording of the resolutions in reply to the message. Finally both houses accepted the following compromise:

"First. That the people of the island of Cuba are, and of right ought to be, free and independent.

Second. That it is the duty of the United States to demand, and the Government of the United States does hereby demand, that the Government of Spain at once relinquish its authority and government in the island of Cuba, and withdraw its land and naval forces from Cuba and Cuban waters.

Third. That the President of the United States be, and he hereby is, directed and empowered to use the entire land and naval forces of the United States, and to call into the actual service of the United States the militia of the several States, to such an extent as may be necessary to carry

these resolutions into effect.

Fourth. That the United States hereby disclaims any disposition or intention "to exercise sovereignty, jurisdiction, or control over said island, except for the pacification thereof; and asserts its determination, when that is accomplished, to leave the government and control of the island to its people."

These resolutions were at once signed by President McKinley and directions sent to our Minister at Madrid, General Woodford, to present a note to the Spanish Cabinet demanding the withdrawal of the Spanish forces from Cuba. The only notice of the action of Congress by Spain was the sending to General Woodford, before he could present the ultimatum, his letters of safe conduct. He reminded the Spanish Ministry that this was equivalent to a declaration war and at once withdrew to Paris. At the same time the Spanish Ambassador, Senor Barnabe, who had succeeded Senor de Lome, demanded his passports and left Washington for Canada. From this date, April 21, 1898, a state of war existed between Spain and the United States, and a bill was passed by both houses unanimously declaring such a state of war.

such a declaration had been surmised from the beginning as to the action to be taken by the President with regard to Cuban affairs, but the Cabinet at Washington was not unanimous. On the day when the proclamation of war was issued, Postmaster-General Gary resigned his office and was succeeded by Charles Emory Smith, of Pennsylvania. Mr. C. Emory Smith had long been an important figure in the organization of the Republican party; he had been editor of the Albany Journal and the Philadelphia Press, and had practical experience of diplomatic business as our Minister at the Court of Russia during the administration of Mr. Harrison. His wide experience in home and foreign politics rendered him a valuable acquisition to the President in this period of trial. Another member of the Cabinet also retired into private life, the veteran statesman and Secretary of State, John Sherman. A younger brother of our great General, William Tecumseh Sherman, John Sherman, was born at Lancaster, Ohio, in the year 1823. He was admitted to the bar in 1844, and was elected a member of Congress in 1854, in 1856 and 1858. In 1860 and 1861 he was Chairman of the important Committee of Ways and Means, and served with distinction in that capacity till he was elected by the Legislature of his native State to the Senate of the United States for six years. This period embraced the whole of our Civil War, and after the final collapse of the Southern Confederacy, Senator Sherman was the father of the bill for the reconstruction of the seceded States. He was elected to the Senate again in 1867 and 1873, and was nominated by President Hayes to the office of Secretary of the Treasury. He was again elected to the Senate in 1881, 1887 and 1893, when he left that body to join the Cabinet of Mr. McKinley. In Congress he was admired for his steady opposition to slavery, and on the outbreak of the war raised a brigade in Ohio, chiefly at his own expense. He helped the Union cause by his financial achievements in the Senate as much as his brother did by arms in the field, laboring unweariedly in strengthening public credit and providing funds for the armies in the field. To him is due the bill providing for the resumption of specie payments on January 1, 1878, and in preparation for that event he raised such a redemption fund in gold as raised the legal-tender note to its par value, so that when January 1st arrived there was no demand for its redemption. He served also in the

Senate as Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations, a post for which perhaps neither his temper nor his training fitted him. It was with reluctance on his part, and with regret on the part of his friends and admirers, that he accepted the portfolio of State under President McKinley. In his ambition to attain the highest honor that the American people can bestow he failed. In 1880, 1884, and again in 1888, he was a candidate for the Republican nomination as President, but, popular as such a nomination - would have been, he was unsuccessful. With his departure from the Senate and office a memorable link connecting the present generation with those illustrious citizens who served the Republic so well during a cruel crisis in her career was removed from public life. He was succeeded by Judge Day.

Immediately after the passage of resolutions by Congress orders were issued to every military department to dispatch all troops that could be spared to rendezvous near the Gulf of Mexico, and within a few hours 16,000 men were on their way southward towards the temporary camps at Chickamauga Park, Tampa, Mobile, and New Orleans. At the same time the squadron which had been assembled at Key West was ordered to sail and "maintain a blockade of the north coast of Cuba, between Cardenas and Bahia Honda and the port of Cienfuegos on the south coast." According to first arrangements the fleet destined to blockade Havana consisted of the New York, Iowa, Wilmington, Helena, Dolphin, Mayflower, Vesuvius, Ericsson and Porter. Off Mariel were the Nashville, Castine and some auxiliary cruisers; off Matanzas, the Amphitrite, Cincinnati, Dupont and Winslow, off Cardenas the Newport, Machias, Foote and Cusling. A special squadron was formed of the Indiana, Marblehead, Detroit and Mangrove. All these ships were under the command of Admiral Sampson. Orders were also sent to Admiral Dewey, commanding the Pacific squadron, to leave Hong Kong and proceed to the Spanish colony in the East, the Philippine Islands.

The President issued a proclamation calling for 125,000 volunteers to serve for two years; the Congress made provision for the issue of five hundred millions of three percent bonds, and to meet these and other expenses "prescribe" a system of internal taxation which was expected to yield about a hundred millions a year.

The first shot in the war was fired on Friday, April 22, by the gunboat Nashville across the bows of a 1,700-ton Spanish ship, the Buena Ventura, bound from Pascagoula to Rotterdam. A prize crew was put on board her and she was sent to Key West. On the same day the New York captured the Spanish liner Pedro off Matanzas, and the Ericsson a coasting schooner. Other vessels were picked up by other ships of our fleet, the most valuable being the Catalina, valued at half a million dollars. Other captures were the Panama, and the Argonauta with General de Corlejo and his staff on board, that was trying to run the blockade at Cienfuegos. While the enemy thus was made to experience some of the misfortunes of war, our transatlantic liner arrived safely from England with the largest supply of gunpowder ever brought to New York.

The first warlike operation that took place was the bombardment of Matanzas by Admiral Sampson on April 27 with the New York, Cincinnati and Puritan. The object was to prevent the erection of new earthworks by the Spaniards, and a cannonade of twenty minutes duration

sufficed to destroy their new batteries. The bombardment was a very valuable and practical proof of the training of our sailors in marksmanship. The three ships fired very rapidly and every one of the three hundred shots struck disagreeably near the enemy's lines, a final 12-inch shell from the Puritan hitting the very center of the enemy's works. The Spaniards replied bravely, but without any effect, only one of their shots coming more than half way to our ships. No loss was suffered by us in accomplishing the task.

On May 1, the first naval victory was won by Commodore Dewey's fleet at Manila, the capital of the Philippine Islands. This group of islands, numbering nearly 2,000, varying from rocks and reefs to the great lands of Luzon and Mindanao are estimated to contain from seven to eight millions of inhabitants, of whom 400,000 are pagans, 300,000 Mohammedans, and the rest nominally Christians. These natives are mostly of the Malay race, the Spanish settlers being very few in number. As in Cuba, the rule of the Spanish had become intolerable, a series of revolts had taken place in the last few years, and a strong body of insurgents were in the field and in communication with the fleet of the United States. Manila, the seat of the Captain-General, lies on the east side of a wide bay on the southwest coast of Luzon; a sleepy old town, surrounded by crumbling walls. The whole Spanish population of the city is about 5,000. Two miles to the southwest of Manila lies the naval station and arsenal of Cavite.

The vessels that composed Commodore Dewey's fleet were the Olympia, flagship, Captain C. V. Gridley commanding; Boston, Captain Frank Wildes; Concord, Commander Asa Walker; Petrel Commander E. P. Wood; the Raleigh, Captain J. B. Coughlan commanding, and just before the battle the Baltimore, commanded by Captain N. M. Dyer, was detached from the Pacific station and given to Commodore Dewey. These vessels were all cruisers - not as many people have erroneously supposed, "ironclads," or armored battleships. Except the armor four inches thick around the turret guns of the Olympia there was no armor in the squadron.

Leaving the China coast the United States squadron sighted Luzon on April 30, and, after exploring Subic Bay in search of Spanish warships, Dewey solved to enter Manila Bay during the night. The entrance to the bay is narrow, and was defended by forts and submarine mines. It was moonlight, a night in which no squadron should have been able to run through the channel without meeting stout resistance. All the lights on board our ships were put out and they steamed unnoticed past the batteries at the mouth of the channel, and had passed Corregidor island in the bay before they were discovered. Not until most of the squadron had passed the - narrowest part of the channel was a shot fired by the Spaniards. The Raleigh, the third in the line, replied with one of her four-inch guns; soon the Boston followed her example, and the Concord placed her six-inch shell so exactly over the spot from which the enemy had fired, that the battery was silenced. Without wasting any powder and shot on these shore defenses our ships proceeded slowly onward, timing their speed so as to be off Manila not earlier than daybreak. Much of the success of this bold entry into Manila Bay by night was due to the skill of the Olympia's navigator, who continued his patient and harassing labors all through the battle with never-failing accuracy and success. It should be remembered that navigating a harbor that is well lighted and buoyed is not always the easiest thing in the world, and in this case Lieutenant Calkins had no lights or

buoys to guide him. The dawn began at half-past four o'clock. Our cruisers were now in close battle order, the flagship leading, followed by the Baltimore, the Raleigh, the Petrel, the Concord and the Boston. They had passed to the northward of Manila and were holding to the south when they sighted the Spanish squadron in the little bay of Cavite. The officer in command of the arsenal, Rear Admiral Patricio Montojo y Pasaron, was also the commander in chief of the squadron, the second in rank being Commandante General Enrique Sostoa y Ordennez, a Captain in the navy. Under Montojo's command were the Reina Christina, flagship, Castilla, Isla de Cuba, Don Antonio de Ulloa, General Lezo and Marques de Duero, with four torpedo boats. The Velasco was undergoing repairs and her guns had been landed. At exactly nineteen minutes before six, Commodore Dewey quietly gave the order to fire: "You may fire, when ready, Mr. Gridley," he said to the captain of the Olympia. One of the Olympia's 8-inch guns threw a 250-pound shell at the Cavite fort, distant 5,500 yards. The Baltimore and Boston next followed, and soon a heavy fire was being given and received. The difference between the skill of the gunners and the range of the guns was soon apparent. Shells fell all about our ships, even close to them; a few struck the ships; the Olympia was very slightly injured; here and there rigging was cut. The Olympia drew a thousand yards nearer the enemy, took a course parallel to the Spanish line, brought all her guns to bear, and was followed into this closer action by the Baltimore and Boston, the former had a shot pass clean through her, but no one was killed and no serious damage done. Still nearer to the enemy went our ships, and the results of their fire became evident. Three of the Spanish ships were in a blaze, and their fire slackened. At just this point, says the Herald writer, "Commodore Dewey decided to give the men breakfast, as they had been at the guns two hours with only one cup of coffee to sustain them. Action ceased temporarily at twenty-five minutes of eight o'clock, the other ships passing the flagship and the men cheering lustily." After breakfast the battle was renewed; the signal for close action went up, and one by one the Spanish ships were burned and sunk. At half-past twelve a white flag appeared on the Arsenal in place of the Spanish flag. In the afternoon the Petrel was ordered to destroy the Spanish ships in the inner harbor, and a boat crew soon accomplished the work. As night drew near, our ships anchored off Manila, and word was sent by Commodore Dewey that if another shot was fired he would lay Manila in ashes. Admiral Montojo lost his flagship early in the fight, a single discharge from the Olympia killing, it is said, sixty of her crew, including her captain and other officers.

On May 1, Commodore Dewey cabled to Washington, "Manila, May 1. Squadron arrived at Manila at daybreak this morning. Immediately engaged the enemy, and destroyed the following Spanish vessels: Reina Christina, Castilla, Don Antonis de Ulloa, Isla de Luzon, Isla de Cuba, General Lezo, Marques de Duero, Cano, Velasco, Isla de Mindanao, a transport, and water battery at Cavite. The squadron is uninjured, and only a few men are slightly wounded. Only means of telegraphing is to American Consul at Hong Kong. I shall communicate with him. Dewey."

A few days afterwards another despatch announced the final result: "Cavite, May 4. - I have taken possession of the naval station at Cavite, on Philippine Islands. Have destroyed the fortifications at bay entrance, paroling the garrison. I control bay completely and can take city at

any time. The squadron is in excellent health and spirits. Spanish loss not fully known, but very heavy. One hundred and fifty killed, including captain of Reina Christina. I am assisting in protecting Spanish sick and wounded; two hundred and fifty sick and wounded in hospital within our lines. Much excitement at Manila. Will protect foreign residents. Dewey"

The most remarkable feature of this daring exploit is that we did not lose a single man. The Spanish shots were absolutely without effect. As our ships drew up for the attack in line two powerful submarine mines were exploded by the Spaniards from the shore, but fortunately ahead of our ships instead of under them. From the Cavite batteries came a heavy but ill-directed fire.

The heat was intense. Men stripped off all clothing except their trousers. As the Olympia drew nearer all was as silent on board as if the ship had been empty, except for the whirr of blowers and the throb of the engines. Suddenly a shell burst directly over her. From the boatswain's mate at the after 5-inch gun came a hoarse cry. "Remember the Maine!" arose from the throats of five hundred men at the guns.

A letter from an engineer on board the flagship gives a graphic account of what such a naval action seems to one actively engaged in it. He writes as follows: "I happened to get permission just then to run on deck to see the fight for a few minutes. It was something dreadful, the hail of fire that struck and was striking the Reina Christina. The Olympia's 8-inch guns shot away the bridge, with the Admiral and staff and several young officers. In a few minutes she turned tail, and as she did we sent another 8-inch through her stern. I understand it killed a great many, as it went right through the ship. About half-past eight the Spaniards were demoralized, so that the Olympia pulled out of the fight, but the rest of the fleet made another evolution before coming out to us.

"The Spaniards fought bravely, and died to a man with their colors flying and their ships burning about them. About half-past eight the whole fleet took a rest and something to eat. At twenty minutes to eleven we went for them again to finish them up. The Baltimore led this time, with the Olympia following. The Olympia made only one circle, and fired about five or six rounds for each gun. We then drew out and allowed the rest of the fleet to do them up. The flag of truce was hoisted ashore at half-past three P. M. I must say there was no flag of truce hoisted on any of the ships. They died with their colors flying like brave men, brave to the last. Yes, foolishly brave, as at no stage of the game were they in it. The Olympia was struck only ten times. Strange, after all she went through. They fired either too high or too low, luckily for us. Practically the fight was ours after one hour and forty minutes, as we had destroyed four ships and three torpedo boats. One torpedo boat got within four hundred yards before we did her up. I tell you there was some quick shooting then. She was Completely riddled."

The Spanish Admiral acknowledged the loss of four hundred men killed and wounded, including the Captain of the Reina Christina, killed, and Admiral Montojo wounded. It is pleasing to record the interchange of mutual respect between the victors and the vanquished. Admiral Montojo took great satisfaction in the words of praise given to him and his men by the American

commander. He said:

"The Captain of the Boston said to my chief of staff, Capt. Boado. 'You have combatted with us with four very bad ships, not warships. There was never seen braver fighting under such unequal conditions. It is a great pity you exposed your lives in vessels not fit for fighting.' Commodore Dewey also sent me a message by the English Consul yesterday saying that, peace or war, he would have great pleasure in clasping me by the hand and congratulating me on the gallant manner in which we fought."

The President at once raised Commodore Dewey to the rank of Rear Admiral, and Congress passed unanimously a vote of thanks and commendation.

Chapter CXLVIII

Admiral Cervera's Fleet - It Arrives at Santiago - Fight at Cardenas - Bombardment of San Juan, Porto Rico - The Oregon Arrives from San Francisco - Bombardment of Santiago by Admiral Schley - Troops under General Shafter Embark at Tampa - The Volunteers - The "Rough Riders" - Cervera's Fleet Bottled Up - Hobson's Gallant Deed in Wrecking the Merrimac - The Texas at Socapa - The Marines at Guantanamo - Camp McCalla - Second Attack on Santiago - Arrival at Santiago of Transports with Troops - Landing at Baiquiri Bay - The Rough Riders in Action - Battle of La Guasina - Fight at El Caney and San Juan - Cervera Attempts to Escape Total Destruction of His Ships - 1,300 Prisoners and Cervera Captured - General Shafter Summons City to Surrender - Attack on the City - Negotiations for Surrender - The Spanish Commander Toral Capitulates - American Flag Hoisted over Santiago - Campaign in Porto Rico - General Miles Lands at Ponco - The Army Welcomed by the Porto Ricans - Skirmishes - Commodore Watson's Fleet - Annexation of Hawaii - Capture of the Ladrone Islands - The Philippine Insurgents - Aginaldo Proclaims Himself Dictator - General Merritt at Manila - German Interference - Correspondence with Dewey - General Greene's Advance - The City Invested - Dewey Demands Surrender - Attack by Sea and Land - Manila Surrenders - General Augustin Taken Away by a German Cruiser - General Merritt is Military Governor - Fighting Stopped by News of Peace - Peace Negotiations - President McKinley's Proclamation.

IT was known that a powerful fleet of warships had been prepared for sea at Cadiz and had rendezvoused at the Cape de Verde islands, and an interesting problem in strategy exercised the minds of our naval authorities. It was, What was the destination of these vessels under command of Admiral Cervera? With a view to intercept this addition to the enemy's force, a squadron of fighting ships was detached from the fleet in front of Havana and sailed under Admiral Sampson towards Porto Rico, while the fighting squadron under Commodore Schley left Hampton Roads, May 13, in quest of Cervera, wherever he might appear. But on May 15 the Spaniard was reported as having been seen off Martinique, and on the 17th he called at Curacao, a Dutch island off the coast of Venezuela. On May 19 he reached the harbor of Santiago de Cuba.

Our fleet meanwhile was not idle. The gunboat Wilmington, the torpedo boat Winslow and an auxiliary gunboat, the Hudson, while blockading Cardenas, were attacked by Spanish gunboats. The Winslow was disabled, and Ensign Worth Bagley and four sailors were killed and three others of her crew wounded. In the face of a most galling fire from the enemy's guns the Hudson, commanded by First Lieut. Frank H. Newcomb, rescued the disabled Winslow, her wounded commander and remaining crew. The commander of the Hudson kept his vessel in the very hottest fire of the action, although in constant danger of going ashore on account of the shallow water, until he finally got a line made fast to the Winslow and towed that vessel out of range of the enemy's guns, a deed of special gallantry. A fight also occurred at Cienfuegos, when men from the Nashville and Marblehead engaged in cutting the submarine cable in small open boats were attacked by the Spaniards, and one marine killed and five others wounded.

Admiral Sampson, on May 12, arrived at the city of San Juan in the island of Porto Rico and

attacked the fortifications. The following account of Admiral Sampson's cruise is by an officer of his flagship, the York, and may be considered to give the official report of his doings:

After making preparations to leave Key West on the afternoon of May 3 the fleet was held, apparently by orders from Washington, and did not sail until midnight, while the flagship started early on the morning of May 4. Going direct to the blockading squadron off Havana, the Admiral was joined there by the Iowa, Capt. Evans, and the Indiana, Capt. Taylor, and proceeded eastward, arriving off Cardenas at dark. Here the other ships to accompany the expedition were found, and in order to save the coal of the Amphitrite she was taken in tow by the Iowa and for the same reason the Terror was taken in tow by the New York next morning.

Leaving Cardenas, the squadron was composed of the New York, Iowa, Indiana, Amphitrite, Terror, Montgomery, Detroit, Porter, tug Wampatiscck, and collier Niagara. During the afternoon of May 5 a Spanish bark from South America for Havana, with a cargo of dried beef, was captured and sent to Key West with a prize crew from the Montgomery.

The squadron stopped off the north coast of Hayti on May 7 and remained practically in the same place until the afternoon of May 9, when it proceeded eastward.

On the afternoon of May 11 the squadron was about sixty miles from San Juan. The Admiral and his personal staff transferred his flag to the Iowa and then proceeded, adjusting the speed so as to arrive off the city at daylight. It was generally supposed that the object of the expedition from the first was to engage the enemy's fleet and capture or destroy it, making the waters of the Atlantic free for American ships and shipping, as Admiral Dewey, by his victory at Manila, made those of the Pacific.

Unfortunately for all concerned, except the Spanish fleet, Sampson was unable to find them. The reconnaissance may be summed up in one man killed and two wounded on the New York, and three wounded on the Iowa.

Each of the ships was struck by one shell from the batteries, but no other ship was injured in the least, although all were exposed to a heavy fire for three hours from batteries which proved to be much heavier and composed of better guns than was generally believed.

The squadron approached San Juan during the night from the north- northwest, and all hands were called at 3 o'clock and breakfast served. At 4 o'clock it was still dark, and nothing of the shore could be seen, but with the first rays of the dawn the hills of the island began to appear, and then a call to quarters sounded. A few moments before 5 o'clock the shore was in plain view. The town was quite near, appearing, as it sits on a hill, as a mass of yellow walls with tile roofs. The whole place seemed at rest, and, judging from the weakness of the enemy's fire at the beginning, they must have been enjoying a peaceful rest, to be rudely awakened by the roar of the guns.

The squadron was now abreast of the entrance to the harbor, passing at a speed of about six knots from west to east in the following order: Iowa (flagship) Indiana, New York, Amphitrite and Terror, the tug Wompatuck about 500 yards inside the Iowa, for the purpose of anchoring a small boat which was to serve as buoy to mark the end of our run and the point at which to turn about after each passage of the harbor. The Detroit and Montgomery took stations previously assigned them right under the guns of the fort of Morro Castle. The first shots were fired by the Iowa, to which Sampson had transferred his flag, and the Indiana. The ships followed one another and poured broadsides into the forts as they wheeled in circles in front of the batteries. The firing went on for three hours, while over all the roaring of the fight could be heard the big 13-inch cannon of the Indiana. The marksmanship of the Spaniards was as wretched as it had been at Manila. Not one American vessel was fairly hit. One shell exploded near the New York, wrecking one of her boats, killing the only man lost in the fight, and wounding five others.

Great anxiety had been felt for weeks before these events as to the safety of the Oregon. This magnificent ship of war was ordered to proceed from San Francisco to Key West. It was known that she had passed Rio de Janeiro on April 30, and there were fears expressed that the Spaniards might intercept her. On May 18 Secretary Long announced that she was safe.

The report that Cervera with the fleet from the Cape de Verde Islands had entered the harbor of Santiago was followed by another that he had succeeded in leaving it, but on May 25, Commodore Schley sent to the naval authorities definite information that the Cape de Verde squadron was still in the inner harbor, where it had taken refuge, and a few days later he sighted it, or a part of it. Schley at once made preparations to attack the place, and on May 31 he began the bombardment of the forts, the evident intention being to reduce them in order to get at Admiral Cervera's squadron at anchor in Santiago Bay.

The American fleet comprised fourteen vessels, including the Brooklyn, the flagship of the squadron; Massachusetts, Texas, Iowa, Marblehead, Nashville, Scorpion, and two torpedo boats and tenders.

Owing to the height of the hill on which the Morro Castle is situated at the entrance to the harbor, it was impossible for the Americans to run inshore and elevate their guns to a sufficient height to do any damage to the old fortifications. Consequently the big ships with the heavy rifles stood some distance off shore, from where they could pour in a more effective fire, while the smaller vessels, nearer the shore, devoted themselves to attacking the sand and mortar batteries on the shore beneath the Morro. The firing was apparently directed principally against the Morro, the Fort of La Socapa, on the opposite side of the entrance, and Punta Gorda, some distance from the entrance, but which could be reached by an almost straight fire from the sea.

The first shot was fired by the Massachusetts at 1:50 P. M., and the last by the New Orleans at 2:25 P. M. The object of this bombardment, which was really a mere reconnaissance, was to ascertain the position of the enemy's batteries, and their exact strength, before the arrival of Admiral Sampson's fleet from Porto Rico. No American ship was touched, and no American

injured.

On the day before this examination of the harbor of Santiago took place, orders had been sent from Washington to embark 15,000 or more troops from Tampa under General Shafter. It was evident that an army of Invasion would be landed in Cuba to cooperate with the fleet. The news was received with enthusiasm by our soldiers, both regular and volunteer. The President's appeal to the nation for 150,000 volunteers had been responded to with alacrity by all sections of the country; East and West, North and South were animated by the same Spirit of patriotism; soldiers who fought under Grant and Sherman, and soldiers who had fought under Lee and Jackson stood side by side at the summons of a united nation.

State camps were formed in every state for the enlisting of volunteers, and the men as soon as mustered in were sent to the large camps established by the Federal Government at Chickamauga, Tampa, Mobile and New Orleans, where the regiments were enrolled and drilled. Two bodies especially deserve notice the "Rough Riders," a troop of horsemen raised by Mr. Theodore Roosevelt, late Assistant Secretary of the Navy, who resigned his position at Washington to serve his country in the field, and the Mountain battery raised and equipped by J. J. Astor. Rich and poor, the sons of toil and the children of luxury were all animated by the same spirit.

With the certainty of the support of a gallant army, Admiral Sampson resolved to prevent the escape of the Spanish navy by blocking up the mouth of the harbor of Santiago. Admiral Cervera was to be bottled up. An eye witness of this historic event gives a detailed account of the incident and the attending circumstances.

On Wednesday, June 1, Assistant Naval Constructor R. P. Hobson came aboard the Merrimac and announced that the Admiral had decided to run her into the entrance of the channel and sink her there. At once preparations were begun for putting into execution Hobson's plans.

While 200 men stripped the Merrimac of her arms, stores and portable effects on Wednesday afternoon, men on every ship were asked if they wished to go on the expedition, which, it was explained to them, would probably cost them their lives. Enthusiastic responses met the call on every ship. Hobson, on the New York, urged that he be allowed to command the Merrimac. His coolness at San Juan, where, watch in hand, he stood at the New York's range finder during the bombardment, timing shells, and his brave and able record carried the day for him. In making up his crew he had the choice of all the best men in the fleet. Sailors, machinists, firemen, engineers, petty officers, junior officers begged to be allowed to go.

By midnight the work had got so far that Admiral Sampson went aboard the Merrimac and inspected the arrangements, which he said were excellent in every way. By daybreak the ship was prepared. It was intended to sink her that morning (Thursday), but Admiral Sampson deemed it inadvisable. He sent word to Hobson not to go ahead. Hobson felt sure that he could make the effort successfully. In answer to the Admiral's order he sent this word:

"Mr. Hobson's compliments to the Admiral, and he requests that be allowed to make the attempt now, feeling certain that he can succeed."

A positive order to wait until next morning was sent to him, and the project rested over the day.

The plan was for the Merrimac to go in at 2:30 o'clock in the morning. At nightfall the fleet withdrew to a distance of about six miles from Santiago, ranging itself in a semicircle. The night was clear. The moon lighted the peaks and mountain sides about the city, shadows covering the harbor entrance. The sea was smooth and all but motionless. At the hour appointed the Merrimac steamed up toward the harbor mouth, and the New York's launch ran in toward the shore to the west of the channel, directly under the Morro. A pilot was on the Merrimac's bridge beside Lieut. Hobson. The ship was but a speck on the water, and could scarcely be seen from the fleet. The pilot ran her toward the harbor. His range was faulty, and she passed beyond the channel. She steamed back to a position where she could make the entrance. Then the pilot ran her to point about four miles off the shore. There she was stopped and the forty men who had assisted in taking her that far dropped silently over her side into small boats and rowed back to the fleet. Almost before they had cast loose from the Merrimac they heard the sound of the jingle bell in her engine room, and she shot away in toward the harbor. Soon she was lost to view.

Then the men on the fleet fell to listening for her torpedoes. They expected to see a burst of flame from the forts. For twenty-five minutes they waited under an intense strain. Suddenly the hills on each side of the channel burst into volcanoes. It was apparent that the Merrimac had got to within a few hundred yards of the fortifications before she was discovered. When the Spaniards saw her they trained on her every gun from the Morro Castle and the Socapa battery that would bear, and began a cannonading that must have churned the water all about her. But she passed the forts, crossed the mine field uninjured, got fifty yards inside the bar, then she dropped her anchor and swung around. Hobson and his men waited patiently until they could drop another anchor, this one from the stern, so that it would hold her directly across the passage. She was 338 feet long, and so there were only thirty-one feet of the channel on each side that she did not occupy. Away went the last anchor at the proper moment. Still Hobson and his men stayed aboard until the vessel swung to the limit of the anchor chain and stopped. They were sure then that she would stay where she was and they launched the life raft and dropped down on board, taking with them the wires with which the torpedoes were to be exploded. The thunder of the shore batteries and the rattle and clash of musketry continued. The water was foaming with the commotion made by the shells and bullets. Hobson and his men floated down stream 150 yards, dragging the wires out after them. This was the distance for the contact to be made and it was done. The water about the Merrimac was lifted up by the explosion, and when it had settled again the ship was at the bottom of the passage, only her spars sticking out of the water.

Hobson and his crew of seven rowed ashore and surrendered to the Spaniards. The first news of their safety was supplied by Admiral Cervera, who sent a flag of truce offering to exchange prisoners, and giving expression of his high admiration of the gallantry of the exploit. "Daring like

this," he wrote, "makes a bitterest enemy proud that his fellow-men can be such heroes." But Cervera's authority, it appeared, did not extend so far, and negotiations had to be opened with Captain-General Blanco. He referred the matter to Madrid, and on June 20 informed Commodore Watson that the government refused to exchange prisoners. It was not, indeed, till July 6 that the brave Hobson was exchanged. The President, in a message to Congress recommending Hobson for promotion, said: "In considering the question of suitably rewarding Assistant Naval Constructor Hobson for his gallant conduct on the occasion referred to, I have deemed it proper to address this message to you, with the recommendation that he receive the thanks of Congress, and, further, that he be transferred to the line of the navy and promoted to such position therein as the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, may determine."

The silencing of the Socapa battery, opposite the Morro Castle, was effectually done by the Texas. At the same time the gunners at Socapa have the distinction of being the first Spaniards who have succeeded in hitting an American warship since the first arrival off Santiago. Their shot killed Apprentice Blakeley of the Texas, who was buried at sea. Four of his eight shipmates were wounded by the shell that killed him.

The shot which struck the Texas was about the last fired by the Spaniards when abandoning the battery under the heavy accurate fire of the Texas. It entered twenty feet abaft the stem on the port side, about three feet below the main deck line, cut a jagged round hole, the measurement of which indicates that it was a 6 1/2-inch projectile. Oddly enough, after striking the first obstruction the shell failed to explode. It passed through the hawser reel, then cut into a heavy iron stanchion at the centre line of the berth deck, leaving the upper and lower parts intact. Here the explosion occurred. Standing around at quarters, but not in action, were the crews of the two 6-pounders located at the forward compartment of the berth deck. Blakeley, who stood about two feet from the scene of the explosion was torn to pieces.

At other points of the coast skirmishes or reconnaissances took place. The important of these occurred at Guantanamo bay, where on June 10, a force of marines, under Colonel Huntington, from the Panther, were landed under protection of the Marblehead.

On landing the marines, 620 all told, pitched their camp on the brow of a hill overlooking the outer bay and the entrance to Guantanamo harbor. The position selected was exposed on three sides, and, occupied even by a larger body of troops, backed up by warships on the bay, would be a dangerous place. At about 5:30 o'clock on Saturday afternoon a weather-beaten old insurgent came tearing into the camp from the road leading from the valley over to the tall hills three miles distant. He came to report the advance of the Spanish skirmish line. He was not a moment too soon, for a bullet from a Mauser was hot on his trail. Fifteen seconds later the sharp "ping" of rifles was heard, and the Spaniards were making a fierce attack on the outposts.

For nearly three-quarters of an hour shots were exchanged, now brisk, then a scattering fire across the lagoon or out of the thickets. It was nearly dark when the outermost sentries came in, hot, wearied and panting. Among the killed were Dr. J. Blair Gibbs and three others.

At least a dozen attacks were made by the enemy between dusk and dawn, the heaviest firing and the best organized attack being made about 1 o'clock in the morning. Then the Spaniards had apparently surrounded the camp. From the table land extending from the lower end of the camp to the sea, from the valley immediately eastward and from the winding road leading to the range of tall hills fronting the sea, the enemy poured in volley after volley, but the marines, though hemmed in, kept their faces to the foe.

When driven back from the outposts the sentries retreated slowly and gave shot for shot. Not one of the 600 faltered, and most of the firing was done by the Americans.

Col. Huntington had ordered the field pieces to be hauled up the hill from the landing place, and they were made ready for use. During the night, however, the howitzers were silent. It was impossible to tell the location of the enemy so as to shell the thickets and swamps without danger to the marines themselves. At no time was it possible for the skirmishers to see objects twenty yards away, and it was only by the flash of the enemy's guns that the whereabouts of the attacking party could be learned. As the camp of the marines, named Camp McCalla, after the commander of the Marblehead was menaced by a fort, the Admiral decided to destroy it, and the Texas was detached from the fleet at Santiago for that purpose. The Spanish forces were driven away, and telegraphic communication with the French cable to Hayti restored.

On June 5, Admiral Sampson determined to make another attack on the fortifications of Santiago by a general bombardment, and prevent the Spaniards from increasing or strengthening their works, or repairing the damages inflicted by Commodore Schley. At 6 A.M. on Monday the ships slowly formed into two lines, 800 yards apart, on each side of the entrance to the harbor. To the east were the New York, Admiral Sampson's flagship; Iowa, Oregon, Yankee and Dolphin, while to the west were the Brooklyn, with Commodore Schley on board; Massachusetts, Texas, Vixen and Sawanee.

The lines were formed six miles off shore. When the ships had got into their assigned positions they steamed slowly in toward the mouth of the harbor until they were about 4,000 yards from the shore.

It was nearly 8 o'clock when the engagement was opened by a thundering roar from the flagship New York, and a shell from one of her 8-inch rifles went hustling through the air toward the Morro, the ancient fort which the Spaniards believed to be impregnable.

As the firing opened the two lines began to manoeuvre, presenting a beautiful and imposing sight. Admiral Sampson's squadron turned to the east and Commodore Schley's to the west. At the same time the lighter ships, in obedience to a signal, steamed out of the range of the heaviest shore batteries for the purpose of attacking the light field batteries that had been erected near the beach. The battleships, remaining a considerable distance apart, steamed, slowly delivering a devastating fire on the strong shore defenses that were grouped at the mouth of the harbor.

The Spanish batteries were armed with Krupp and Armstrong guns, which were taken to Santiago by the Spanish steamer Montserrat. These were manned by German and French artillery experts. The marksmanship of the American sailors was, as usual, excellent, particularly in the cases of the New York and Texas.

For an hour a perfect storm of shot and shell landed in the batteries and forts, doing frightful execution. The Spaniards stood it as long as they could, and then their fire began to slacken. Shells from the fleet could be seen landing and exploding on the crest of the hill on which the Morro stands and at the bottom of which were some of the strongest batteries. As shells landed in these batteries there would be a roaring that could be heard above the din of battle, and then above the cloud of dust and masses of flying masonry could be seen guns and men blown high in the air.

The Yankee, manned by the naval militia, made a fine showing. She kept close inshore, fighting the batteries near the beach. The naval militia fought like old bluejackets and poured a savage fire into the enemy.

The cannonading was kept up until 10:20 o'clock, when the New York signaled "Cease firing," and our Admiral reported that he had silenced the fortifications without injury to American ships.

On June 16 another bombardment took place, with results as on the previous occasions, and on the 19th the last shot before the arrival of the land forces was fired from the dynamite gun of the Vesuvius.

On June 13 the Army of Occupation sailed from Key West. Following is the official statement of troops which left Tampa:

Infantry regiments - 6th, 16th, 71st New York Volunteers: 10th, 21st, 2d, 13th, 9th, 24th, 8th, 22d, 2d Massachusetts Volunteers; 4th, 1st, 25th, 12th, 7th, 17th, 3d, 20th. Total infantry, 561 officers, 10,709 enlisted men.

Cavalry - Two dismounted squadrons of four troops each, from the 3d, 6th, 9th, 1st and 10th Cavalry regiments, and two dismounted squadrons of four troops each from the 1st United States Volunteer Cavalry, Col. Wood's regiment. Total dismounted cavalry, 159 officers and 2,875 enlisted men. One squadron, 2d Cavalry, mounted, 9 officers, 280 enlisted men.

Artillery - Light batteries E and K, 1st Artillery, A and F, 2d Artillery, 14 officers, 323 enlisted men; Batteries G and H, 4th Artillery, 4 officers, 132 enlisted men.

Engineers - Companies C and E of Engineers, 9 officers, 200 enlisted men.

Signal Corps - Signal detachments, 2 officers and 45 enlisted men; corps staff, 15 officers.

On June 20 the fleet of transports was saluted by Admiral Sampson's flagship off the Morro Castle of Santiago. They stretched out over eight miles of the Caribbean Sea, gently moving with the ground swell, as though courtesying to the grim warships which have been so long awaiting their coming. Their decks were thronged with soldiers, whose eyes were directed shoreward to the picturesque land in which they are soon to meet the foe of their country in the clash and din of battle.

As the fleet sailed up the New York saluted Gen. Shafter, and the transports and their convoys then wheeled into single file and paraded past the warships, each vessel dipping her flag to Admiral Sampson as she passed.

The battleship Indiana was in the lead. She was followed by the gunboats Bancroft, Castine, Machias, and Annapolis, in the order named. After them came a number of the troopships, which were in turn followed by a torpedo boat. Next in line were the rest of the transports, while the rear was brought up by the cruiser Detroit and the convoys Helena, Wasp, Eagle, Hornet, and several others.

The place chosen for the landing of the forces was Baiquiri, seventeen miles east of Santiago. There was a Spanish blockhouse on a high cliff to the right of the place selected for the landing, and also a fort and earth-works on a hill to the rear. Some little time before the boats started for the shore the fleet began to prepare the way for the landing by bombarding the Spanish defenses. While some of the vessels attended to the fortifications at Baiquiri, others attacked Aguadores, Cabafias, Seboney, and Juragua, fortified places to the east and west of Santiago, it being necessary to reduce them before the troops could advance on Santiago.

Simultaneously with the bombardment a thousand Cubans ashore, under command of Gen. Demetrio Castillo, covered the disembarkation of the troops on the land side. These Cubans were transferred by the navy from Aserradero to Sigua, four miles east of Baiquiri, where they were joined by 500 others.

The fire from the ships and our Cuban allies was very heavy. From their positions the Cubans commanded the Spanish defenses, and they poured into them a constant hail of bullets. The ships also made things so lively for the Spaniards that they had very little time to devote to preventing the landing of the troops.

The preparations for landing the men began at daybreak. Admiral Sampson gave orders for the Brooklyn, Indiana and Texas to engage the batteries to the west of Santiago, while the Helena, Annapolis and the Ericsson battered the railroad shops, in which there were a number of Spanish troops, at Los Altares, two miles to the east of Santiago. Meanwhile the New Orleans and the Montgomery bombarded the town of Aguadores, and poured such a fire into the place that the Spaniards were unable to hold their positions, and fled to the hills in wild confusion.

There was one blockhouse situated on a hill from which the Spanish flag floated defiantly

throughout the engagement. When the troops had landed, however, it was found to be deserted and was at once occupied by the Americans.

It was just about midday when the signal came for the troops to leave the transports and start for the shore. The work of landing was pushed with great rapidity, and it is believed that such a number of men were never before landed from small boats in a hostile country in such a short time. The men were jubilant, and as they stepped ashore they cheered again and again. The first men of the expedition to touch foot on Cuban soil were Lieut. Simmons and Private McFarland, both New Yorkers and members of Roosevelt's Rough Riders.

The landing took place with few accidents. The army was soon on the march. It rested on Wednesday at Demojayobo, two miles from Baiquiri, and then advanced to Juragua, about eight miles from the landing place. Then the Spanish appeared in force, a skirmish took place and the enemy fell back six miles to Seville. General Young, commanding the advance, on hearing of the location of the Spaniards from Cuban scouts, got together a strong brigade and marched to beat the foe. The "Rough Riders, Commander Colonel Wood and Lieut. Col. Roosevelt, were ordered to make a detour inland. The route taken by General Young's men presented few difficulties. That of the "Rough Riders" was very different.

The first part of the journey was over steep hills several hundred feet high. The men carried 200 rounds of ammunition and heavy camp equipment. Although this was done easily in the early morning, the weather became intensely hot and the sun beat down upon the cowboys and Eastern athletes as they toiled up the grade with their heavy packs. Frequent rests were necessary. The trail was so narrow that for the greater part of the way the men had to proceed single file. Prickly cactus bushes lined both sides of the trail, and the underbush was so thick that it was impossible to see ten feet on either side. All the conditions were favorable for a murderous ambush, but the troopers kept a close watch and made as little noise as possible. The Rough Riders entered into the spirit of the occasion with the greatest enthusiasm. It was their first opportunity for a fight and every man was eager for it. The weather grew swelteringly hot, and one by one the men threw away blankets and tent rolls and emptied their canteens. The first intimation had by Colonel Wood's command that there were Spaniards in the vicinity was when they reached a point three or four miles back from the coast, when the low cuckoo calls of the Spanish soldiers were heard in the bush. It was difficult to locate the exact point from which these sounds came. The men were ordered to speak in whispers, and frequent halts were made. Finally a place was reached about 8 o'clock where the trail opened into a space covered with high grass on the right hand side of the trail and the thickest kind of underbush on the other. A barbed-wire fence also ran along the left side. The body of a Cuban was found on the side of the road, and at the same time Captain Capron's troops covered the outpost, the heads of several Spaniards being seen in the bushes for a moment. It was not until then that the men were permitted. When the order to load was given they acted on it with a will and displayed the greatest eagerness to make an attack. At this time the sound of firing was heard a mile or two to the right, apparently coming from the hills beyond the thicket. It was the regulars replying to the Spaniards who had opened on them from the thicket. In addition to rapid rifle fire the boom of Hotchkiss guns could be heard. Hardly two

minutes elapsed before Mauser rifles commenced to crack in the thicket and a hundred bullets whistled over the heads of the Rough Riders, cutting the leaves from the trees and sending chips flying from the fence posts by the side of the men. The Spaniards had opened and they poured in a heavy fire, which soon had a most disastrous effect. The troops stood their ground, with the bullets singing all around them. Private Colby caught sight of the Spaniards and fired the opening shot at them. Sergeant Hamilton Fish, Jr., was the first man to fall. He was shot through the heart and died instantly. The Spaniards were not more than 200 yards off, but only occasional glimpses of them could be seen. The men continued to pour volley after volley into the brush in the direction of the sound of the Spanish shots, but the latter became more frequent and seemed to be getting nearer. Colonel Wood walked along his lines, displaying the utmost coolness. He ordered troops to deploy into the thicket, and sent another detachment into the open space on the left of the trail. Lieutenant Colonel Roosevelt led the former detachment and tore through the brush urging his men on. The shots came thick and fast, and the air seemed filled with bullets. The sharp reports from the Spanish rifles were easily distinguishable from the heavy roar of the American guns. Sometimes the steady shooting would burst into a wild volley and these fierce storms clearing, the regular fall of bullets would continue again like steady and unchanging rain. Captain Capron, clutching his revolver, stood behind his men shooting instantly, and with faultless aim, such Spaniards as exposed themselves to view. It was while engaged in this work that he fell, mortally wounded. For twenty minutes this terrible fighting continued amid the smoke-clouded air, the fearful din of muskets, and the shouts of gallant and wounded men. Then the welcome sound of reinforcements could be heard and the Americans took fresh courage. The Spaniards were seen to be giving ground and their volleying slackened. They kept up a desultory fire for a while longer, however, and then turning, fled to a block-house some distance away. Here they rallied, but the Americans were advancing rapidly upon them and they decided not to remain in their place of refuge. When the Americans had advanced to within four or five hundred yards of the house, the Spaniards hastily deserted it and it soon fell into possession of our troops. The lay of the land placed Roosevelt's men at a great disadvantage during their approach as a comparatively small body of the Spanish sharpshooters, concealed by the chaparral, could pour down a withering fire from both sides with slight danger of effectual return from our troops.

The official reports are as follows:

"Baiquiri, June 24, via Playa del Este, June 25.

"Adjutant-General, U. S. A., Washington:

"In pushing out to occupy good position near Sevilla, to wait and intrench until supplies and artillery could be landed, the Fourteenth and Tenth Cavalry and Wood's regiment had a skirmish. Enemy was driven from his position, and Gen. Wheeler reports he now occupies his ground. Wounded: Major Bell, Capt. Knox, Capt. Wainwright, Lieut. Byram, First Cavalry, and a number of men. Above names only given. Lighters, and steam-tugs asked for this morning should be sent at once. Shafter, commanding."

The second message from Shafter gives further news of the first battle of regular and volunteer troops on Cuban soil:

"Playa del Este, June 25.

"Further news from Wheeler places our loss in the morning's affair about ten killed and forty wounded. Capt. Capron, First United States Volunteer Cavalry, killed. Wounded: Major Brodie, Capt. McClintock and Lieut. Thomas, First Volunteer Cavalry; Major Bell, Capt. Knox and Lieut. Byram, First United States Cavalry, Capt. Knox, seriously.

"Capt. Wainwright, formerly reported wounded, is uninjured. The names of the others killed and wounded, not yet known. The Spaniards occupied a very strong intrenched position on a high hill. The firing lasted about an hour, and the enemy was driven from his position, which is now occupied by our troops, about a mile and a half from Sevilla. The enemy has retired toward Santiago de Cuba. Shafter"

On the following day a body of our troops cut the pipe line that conveys water into the city; and thus left it at our mercy, for the few cisterns within the walls were badly contaminated.

This engagement on June 24, known as the battle of Siboney or La Guiasima, attracted attention, as it was the first in which the army was engaged. The enemy continued to retreat towards Santiago, the country being very broken and offering decided advantages to a defender and preventing cooperation between the various attacking bodies.

The disposition of our troops was as follows: The army of invasion comprised the Fifth Army Corps under Major General W. R. Shafter, and was composed of two divisions of infantry, two brigades of cavalry, and two brigades of light and four batteries of heavy artillery. General Lawton commanded the Second Division, operating on the right, where the capture of El Caney was his principal task, and had the brigades of General Chaffee, the Seventh, Twelfth and Seventeenth Infantry; General Ludlow, Eighth and Twenty-second Infantry and Second Massachusetts Volunteers; and Colonel Miles, First, Fourth and Twenty-fifth Infantry. In the centre General Kent commanded the First Division, consisting of General Hawkins' brigade, the Sixth and Sixteenth Infantry and Seventy-first New York Volunteers; Colonel Pearson's brigade, the Second, Tenth and Twenty-first Infantry; and Colonel Wikoff's brigade, the Ninth, Thirteenth and Twenty-fourth Infantry. General Wheeler's cavalry division contained two brigades, Colonel Summer's, the Third, Sixth and Ninth Cavalry, and Colonel Young's, the First and Tenth Cavalry and First Volunteer Cavalry. The cavalry operated at both the two principal points of attack, but fought dismounted, no horses having been shipped. At the end of the first day's fighting General Kent was reinforced by General Bates with the Third and Twentieth Infantry, coming up from the coast. On the left General Duffield engaged Aguadores with the Thirty-third and part of the Thirty-fourth Michigan and a force of about 2,000 Cubans. Grimes' and Best's batteries of artillery were with the centre and Capron's and Parkhouse's were with General Lawton on the right. General Shafter, General Joseph Wheeler, our old antagonist in the Civil War, and General Young

were all too ill to be in the field, though General Wheeler did go out in an ambulance. Headquarters were at Sevilla.

The city of Santiago is overlooked by a range of heights, two of which, El Caney and San Juan, were necessary to the defense of the place. They were both strongly intrenched, and supported with artillery from Admiral Cervera's fleet. At 6 A.M. a light battery of four guns opened fire on El Caney, but did no damage to the works, and at 8 o'clock General Lawton's infantry was sent to attack and was met by a hot rifle fire from the Spanish intrenchments. Chaffee's Seventh, Seventeenth and Twelfth Infantry still had no artillery. On the extreme right our men spread out, getting the protection of the trees and bushes, and firing every time they saw a Spanish head. They were always advancing upon the outside line of trenches. The retreat of the Spaniards prevented a flank movement on our part.

Captain Capron's artillery now resumed its firing, its target being a stone fort in front of the town. Every shot went true, but the guns were not big enough to do the necessary damage. They, however, made it so hot for the enemy that they had to leave several times. They always got back, though, before our infantry reached the outside of the town. The force was then split, going in two directions at the same time. The fighting before they reached the town was nothing compared with their reception in the town. They were fired on from all sides by the enemy, who were concealed everywhere. The trenches in view were filled with men, whose hats were visible. The Americans shot the hats to pieces, but killed none of the Spaniards, who had resorted to the old trick of placing their hats on sticks for our men to shoot at. The breastworks in the northeast corner of the town did the most damage. This position was not discovered for a long time. It fired a hot, almost resistless, fire upon our men. The Americans lay down to avoid it. The Spaniards had the range, however, and killed and wounded many of our men as they lay. The officers suffered particularly.

General Chaffee dashed here and there, giving orders and calling on his men to fight for their lives and to help their country to win a victory.

The battery was at last discovered, and that was the end of it. Every Spaniard who showed himself was picked off. The trenches ran with blood. Captain Capron at the same time silenced the fort again. Now was the time for the Americans to advance. With a yell they dashed in, led by their officers right up to the fort. The enemy fled, leaving one hundred and twenty-five prisoners in our hands.

In the centre, the battle of San Juan was opened by Grimes' battery, and the Spaniards replied with shrapnel. Little damage was done on either side, but the enemy's battery gradually ceased to fire. Then the Tenth and Third Regiments and the Rough Riders were ordered to take the hill. As they advanced up the hill from El Pozo they had to ford several streams, where they lost heavily, and deployed at the foot of the series of hills known as San Juan under a sharp fire from all sides, which was exceedingly annoying because the enemy could not be discerned, owing to the long range and smokeless powder. They were under fire for two hours before the charge could be

made and a position reached under the brow of the hill. It was not until nearly 4 o'clock that the neighboring hills were occupied by our troops and the final successful effort to crown the ridge could be made. The obstacles interposed by the Spaniards made these charges anything but the "rushes" which imaginative historians write about. The last "charge" lasted an hour, but at 4:15 P.M. the fire ceased.

The Spaniards made liberal use of barbed-wire fencing, which proved to be so effective as a stop to our advance that it is certain to take its place among approved defensive materials in future wars. It was used in two ways. Wires were stretched near the ground to trip up our men when on the run. Beyond them were fences in parallel lines, some being too high to be vaulted over. The wires were laid so close together that they had to be separated before an ordinary wirecutter could be forced between them. These defenses were laid in cultivated valleys and other open spaces which lay under the fire of the intrenchments, and the tree-tops around the clearings were alive with the enemy. Every fence compelled a momentary halt on the part of our men, and during those moments they were exposed to a pitiless fire from all sides. It is not only the strength of the wire and the sharp barbs that make this material so effective for entanglements and obstacles, but the fact that it offers no impediment to the flight of bullets. Short as the halt may be, the assaulting party is fully exposed to a rain of shot from quick-firing rifles at ranges that are known to the defenders.

The object of our attack was a blockhouse on the top of the hill of San Juan, guarded by trenches and the defenses spoken of, a mile and a half long. Our troops advanced steadily against a hot fire maintained by the enemy, who used their rifles with accuracy, but did not cling to their works stubbornly when we reached them. San Juan was carried in the afternoon. The attack on Aguadores was also successful, though it was not intended to be more than a feint to draw off men who might otherwise have increased our difficulties at San Juan. By nightfall General Shafter was able to telegraph that he had carried all the outworks and was within three-quarters of a mile of the city.

Though the enemy's lines were broken in the principal places, they yielded no more than was forced from them, and the battle was resumed on the 2d. The last day saw our left flank resting on the bay and our lines drawn around the city within easy gun-fire. Fears were entertained that the enemy would evacuate the place, and the right flank was pushed around to the north and eventually to the northwest of the city.

The Spanish loss was heavy and included General Vera del Rey, who commanded at El Caney, killed, and General Linares, disabled by a wound. By this the chief command of the Spanish forces fell to General Jose Toral.

On the morning of July 3, the lookout on the battleship Texas saw smoke arising between Morro Castle and Socapa fort. Then the form of a ship appeared, and at once the signal "Enemy is trying to escape" was made to all our ships. Admiral Cervera was making a desperate effort to escape. He chose the day-time for his attempt, as he dared not pass the mine-field and the

wrecked Merrimac in the night, and perhaps he expected that the American fleet would be less vigilant in broad daylight, when it was less probable that escape would be tried. The attempt was made under orders from the Captain-General of the Island, and Cervera knew that he was going to destruction. The ships under his command were the Vireoya, Almirante Oquendo, the Infanta Maria Teresa, and the Cristobal Colon, all ships of about 7,000 tons and of 20 knot speed. To oppose these we had the Brooklyn, Commodore Schley's flagship, to the extreme west; then the Texas, Capt. Philip; the Iowa, Capt. Evans, and the Oregon, Capt. Clark. After these steamed the Indiana. The first shot fired was from the Maria Teresa, directed at the Brooklyn, and one of the first shells from the Indiana fell on the Maria Teresa's deck. The Brooklyn had to bear the most of the firing from three of the Spanish ships. She avoided being rammed by the Maria Teresa, and poured such a destructive fire on that ship that it headed for the shore, flames bursting from the hatches. At the same time the Oquendo and Vizcaya engaged the Brooklyn, the former Spanish vessel seeming to be willing to sacrifice herself to give the Vizcaya and Colon a chance to escape; both of these ships, when the Oregon came up to aid the Brooklyn, turned shoreward and headed straight down the coast. The Oquendo was soon in flames and practically out of the fight, and our two ships that had assailed her gave chase to the two Spaniards. The Colon was the finest ship in the Spanish navy and was rated as a 20-knot cruiser, and the Vizcaya outclassed in speed both of her pursuers. The Brooklyn, keeping outside the two flying ships, raised her speed to 16 knots and began to gain on the enemy, and the Oregon, with flames pouring from her funnel, and piling the water about her bows in huge cascades, rushed onward, sending shells from her 13-inch guns around the Vizcaya, while the Brooklyn poured in a shower of projectiles from her rapid fire-guns. The Vizcaya could resist no longer and turned to the land. She ran ashore at Asserradero 17 miles west of Santiago, completely wrecked and on fire. One of the torpedoes on board exploded and wrecked her beyond repair. The Iowa followed up, and received the surrender of the ship and took off the survivors and a number of her crew who had swam ashore.

The same fate attended the Colon. At one time she reached the speed of 17 1/2 knots, but could not keep it up, and she too was forced ashore at a distance of 48 miles from Santiago. Then she fired a lee gun and hauled down her flag and surrendered unconditionally to Captain Cook of the Brooklyn. The Spanish loss was four fine ships, 400 men killed and 1,300 prisoners. The Americans lost one man killed and a few wounded. Of the Spaniards who were rescued by our men the most important was Admiral Cervera. He was attempting to escape on a raft, which his son, a lieutenant, was trying to push ashore. He was taken to the Iowa and there received with all the honors due to his rank. Some very touching stories are told of the chivalrous respect paid by our men to their brave opponents. When Cook set out to take possession of the Colon, he told his men, who tumbled into his boat just as they were, half-naked and blackened with smoke and powder, not to show any signs of triumph or exultation, and they rowed in silence to the captured ship. Some one shouted Bravo Americanos, and the men of the Brooklyn shouted back Bravo Spanoles. Captain Philip of the Texas, when his men began to cheer as the Vizcaya burst into flames, said, "Don't cheer, boys, the poor devils are dying." The same officer when the battle was over called his men aft to return thanks to God for His protection, and said: "I want to make public acknowledgment here that I believe in God, the Father Almighty, and I want all you, officers and men, to lift your hats and from your hearts offer silent thanks to the Almighty."

On the same Sunday, July 3, General Shafter, commanding the land forces, summoned the city to surrender, otherwise, he added, he would be obliged to shell the city. At the request of the foreign consuls, however, when General Toral refused to capitulate, the bombardment was deferred to the fifth, to allow women and children to be removed. On that day the demand for surrender was repeated and again rejected. But the truce was extended to enable Toral to communicate with his superiors at Madrid and Havana. The terms, however, proposed by the Spaniards were regarded as inadmissible, and President McKinley informed General Shafter that the United States would accept no terms but unconditional surrender. As a result, an attack on the city began at 5 P.M. on July 10, and was chiefly entrusted to artillery. The Brooklyn, Texas and Indiana, lying off Aguadores, threw shells over the cliffs in an effort to reach the city. On the next day the artillery in the American lines opened fire on the defenses of the city, and the fleet, having now found the range, threw in their shells at the distance of 8,500 yards which were very effective. At the same time General Lawton pushed forward and occupied the village of Caimanes, northwest of the city. The town was now surrounded and the besieged could no longer hope for reinforcements or assistance from the rest of the Spanish army. On the 12th once more a demand for surrender was made, and again rejected, but at an interview between the lines at which Generals Shafter and Wheeler and General Toral met, a further delay was granted to enable the latter again to submit our terms to his superiors.

At length, on July 15, the Spanish commander suggested a joint commission to arrange terms, and General Miles, who had arrived July 11, and General Shafter, rode out and met General Toral under the tree between the lines, where the previous conference had taken place, and a joint commission was appointed. The terms of surrender agreed on were: "All forces and war material lying east of a line from Aserradera to Sagua to be surrendered as well as the city; the United States to transport all Spanish troops in the district to Spain, officers to retain their side arms; Spanish forces to march out with all the honors of war." This surrender included 12,000 soldiers "against whom a shot had not been fired" and the number of troops to be returned to Spain was over 24,000 men.

On Sunday, July 17, General Shafter and General Toral, with their staffs and escorts, met at 9 A. M. between the lines. The Spaniard stated that Santiago de Cuba, city and province, had been delivered into the custody of the United States, and offered to give up his sword, but it was returned to him. The two generals then rode through the city, General Shafter taking formal possession. In his dispatch of the same date he said:

"I have the honor to announce that the American flag has been this instant, 12 noon, hoisted over the house of the civil government in the city of Santiago. An immense concourse of people was present, a squadron of cavalry and a regiment of infantry presenting arms and a band playing national airs. A light battery fired a salute of twenty-one guns.

"Perfect order is being maintained by the municipal government. The distress is very great, but there is little sickness in town and scarcely any yellow fever.

"A small gunboat and about 200 seamen left by Cervera have surrendered to me Obstructions are being removed from the mouth of the harbor.

"Upon coming into the city I discovered a perfect entanglement of defenses. Fighting as the Spaniards did the first day, it would have cost five thousand lives to have taken it.

"Battalions of Spanish troops have been depositing arms since daylight in the armory, over which I have a guard. General Toral formally surrendered the plaza and all stores at 9 A.M."

During the time occupied by this Cuban campaign, preparations were pushed on for an invasion of the island of Porto Rico, and the first troops, numbering 6,200 men, embarked from Tampa, July 19. It was officially announced that "Porto Rico will be kept by the United States. Our flag once ran up there will float over the island permanently." General Miles was in the chief command and about 35,000 men formed his army, and on July 26 the first troops landed at Ponce on the southern coast of the island, a well-protected harbor with water sufficiently deep for all transports. The Spanish retreat was precipitate and four-fifths of the people were overjoyed at the arrival of the American army. At Guayama similar scenes took place. When General Haines rode through the streets the people came out and rushed towards him shouting Vivan los Americanos! Some prostrated themselves in the road and grabbed the Americans around the knees, while others threw their arms around the necks of the soldiers and kissed them, all the time shouting "Long live the Americans!" The invasion of Porto Rico was little more than a military parade; there were indeed slight skirmishes at Coamo and Cape San Juan, but our losses were insignificant, only one of our men being fatally wounded. On the same day, August 9, Secretary Day announced that Spain and the United States agreed upon a protocol embodying terms for the negotiation of a treaty of peace, including the evacuation of Cuba and Porto Rico.

Before this proposed treaty of peace can be touched upon, it is necessary to refer to some events which have been passed over in order to avoid any interruption of the narrative respecting Cuban affairs.

As long as the whereabouts of the Cape de Verde fleet, under Admiral Cervera, was unknown, it was imperatively necessary to keep our ships of war near home. The Spanish fleet might either proceed to the aid of their fleets and armies in Cuba, or might make attacks on our seaboard cities.

To guard against the last submarine mines were laid in the harbors of New York, Boston and elsewhere. When Cervera was "bottled up" by Hobson's gallant exploit of sinking the Merrimac in the mouth of the harbor of Santiago, these fears were dissipated, and President McKinley resolved to carry the war into the enemy's country. Orders were given, therefore, to detach ships from Admiral Sampson's command, and to form a fleet under Commodore Watson to attack the Spanish possessions in Europe and Africa. The knowledge of this intended expedition led to a modification of the Spanish plans. A fleet under Admiral Camara had been dispatched from Cadiz to go to the relief of the Philippine islands then blockaded by Dewey. It reached the Suez canal,

but was recalled thence on the report of Watson's expedition, to defend the home coasts. The Philippine islands were thus left to their fate.

Five years before the outbreak of this war, a treaty for the annexation of Hawaii to the United States had been negotiated. Queen Liliuokalani had been deposed and a Republic declared, and in consequence every facility was afforded to our navy and our army transports on the road to Manila, to take on supplies. In fact, we made as much use of the islands as we did of Key West or the Tortugas. President McKinley was known as an advocate of annexation, and on July 7 he signed the resolution of the Senate in its favor. On August 12, the solemn act of annexation took place in the Executive Building, Honolulu. At noon President Dole and his cabinet entered, and they were followed by the United States Minister Sewall, Admiral Miller and his staff. Mr. Sewall rose, and addressed President Dole:

"Mr. President: I present you a certified copy of a joint resolution of the Congress of the United States, approved by the President July 7, 1898, entitled Joint resolution to provide for annexation of the Hawaiian Islands to the United States. This joint resolution accepts, ratifies and confirms on the part of the United States the cession formally consented to and approved by the Republic of Hawaii."

President Dole replied:

"A treaty of political union having been made, and cession formally consented to by the Republic of Hawaii, having been accepted by the United States of America, I now, in the interest of the Hawaiian body politic, and with full confidence in the honor, justice and friendship of the American people, yield up to you, as representative of the Government of the United States, the sovereignty and public property of the Hawaiian Islands."

Mr. Sewall's reply was:

"Mr. President: In the name of the United States I accept the transfer of the sovereignty and property of the Hawaiian Government. The Admiral commanding the United States naval forces in these waters will proceed to perform the duty entrusted to him."

Then the flag of Hawaii fluttered, while a band played the national air "Hawaii Ponor," which means "Our Very Own Hawaii," the guns of the Philadelphia fired a national salute of twenty-one guns, and then it sank to the ground. The natives sadly turned away their eyes, even those in the National Guard turned them to the ground, while the women burst into tears. Then the Philadelphia's band struck up the "Star Spangled Banner" and the flag of the United States was flung to the breeze. The sight was most impressive, not because of the size of the crowd, for it was not large; not for tumult, for there was little noise; not for length of ceremonial, for the exercises were as simple as they should be when one Republic absorbs another, but because one nationality was snuffed out like a spent candle, and another was set in its place. When it was over, women who wore the American emblem wiped their eyes, and men who had been strong for

annexation said, with a throb in the throat, "How sad it was."

Admiral Dewey's brilliant destruction of the Spanish fleet on May 1st, enabled him to blockade the harbor of Manila and take possession of Cavite, the arsenal of the city. As he had no land forces, he could do nothing but keep up the blockade till the expeditionary army arrived. The advance guard of 2,500 men under General Anderson sailed early in June under the convoy of the cruiser Charleston. A line from San Francisco to Manila passes the group of islands known as the Ladrões, and a line from Honolulu also passes through it. The Ladrões are 1,500 miles from Manila and 3,500 from Honolulu. To this remote group the Charleston, on her direct course, put in, took formal possession of the islands, and raised the American flag at Guam, the capital. So cut off from the world are the inhabitants that when the Charleston entered the harbor and saluted, the Spanish Governor hastened to apologize for not returning it as he had no powder. He had not heard of the war, and he and his garrison could do nothing but surrender as prisoners of war. They were taken on board the Charleston and a small American force left in their place to preserve order. A second expedition under General Greene left San Francisco June 25, and a third under General McArthur on the 27th. The chief command was held by General Merritt, who had under his orders 20,000 men.

For some years before war with the United States broke out, there had been many insurrections in the Philippine Islands, which the Spaniards could not suppress entirely. On Dewey's arrival on the scene the insurgents and their leader, Aguinaldo, entered into relations with him, and his campaigns in June and July inflicted great loss on the Spaniards. Aguinaldo, however, was the most competent of allies. He proclaimed himself President of the revolutionary republic on July 1, and on July 22, General Anderson reported that "Aguinaldo declares dictatorship and martial law over all the islands. The people expect independence." On June 30, General Merritt cabled that he had reached Manila, and required 50,000 men, while on the following day Admiral Dewey received information that the city would surrender when summoned to do so. The explanation of these seemingly discordant statements was caused by the attitude assumed by Aguinaldo. He made no secret of his intention to kill every Spaniard he could catch, and he openly opposed the Americans. He thus doubled the difficulties that our commanders had to encounter. A difficulty requiring consummate diplomatic skill arose from the conduct of the German ships of war, under Admiral Dietrich, in the harbor of Manila. It is customary for naval vessels of all nations to be dispatched to places where any of their citizens may be exposed to dangers of war and may want to be removed from the scene of action; thus at Manila there were two French and two English ships of war. But the German ships, four in number, amounted almost to a hostile demonstration. Their boats went about the harbor without regard to the regulations established by Admiral Dewey, and they interfered with the military operations of Aguinaldo, still our ally, troublesome, though he was, on the plea of acting in behalf of humanity. The insurgents had captured a steamer and sent her down with men to Subic bay to capture Isla Grande. The Germans compelled her to haul down her insurgent flag and raise a white one. On hearing of this Admiral Dewey dispatched the Raleigh and Concord at once. As they went in on one side of the island, the German boat Irene came out of the other. The American ships took possession of the island with 63 prisoners, and an immense quantity of arms

and ammunition. When the Irene was coming out, an American ship spoke her, but did not stop her. The German Admiral protested against such interference with his ships, to which protest Dewey replied in a message to the effect: "Is there peace or war between our countries? If there is war, I want to know it. If there is peace, I want you to change your course. The way to make war is to clear up ship and go at it."

The first engagement of importance between the Spaniards and Americans in front of Manila took place July 31, when General Greene advanced his outposts to enclose the city from Camino Real to the beach. The enemy delivered a sharp attack, but the artillery outposts held their position. It was necessary, however, for our General to call out the brigade in support. On the following day another attack of the Spaniards took place, but they were again driven back. Their loss was heavy; ours 13 killed and 47 wounded. Other skirmishes took place as our army extended its lines to invest the city, and finally, when that operation was completed, Admiral Dewey, on August 7th, sent by the hands of Captain Chichester, the senior officer of the British fleet at Manila bay, an ultimatum, demanding the surrender of the city, and although the army was not in a condition to attack, General Merritt joined in the demand. The Admiral notified the Spanish Captain-General, General Jaudenes, that the bombardment would begin in 48 hours if his terms were rejected. At the expiration of this period, another day's delay, to remove non-combatants and the sick and wounded, was granted. The neutral fleets in the harbor at once left their anchorage on the Admiral informing them that he wanted the stretch of water they occupied; the English warships and the Japanese cruiser came across the bay and anchored near our fleet, while the French and German vessels anchored together north of their old position. Our ships meanwhile stripped for fight, sending away their boats and all useless incumbrances, and were ready to clear for action. The army, however, was not ready and it was not till August 12 that the fleet got under way. At 9:30 A.M. the Olympia fired the first shot, and was followed by the Petrel and the Raleigh. Their fire was directed on the quarter of the city named Malate, and the Spanish intrenchments beyond. The firing continued without any reply from the enemy till to 10, when the Olympia hoisted the international signal, D. W. H. B., which means "Surrender." At noon the same signal was repeated, and still there was no reply. Then a launch bearing the Belgian flag aft and a white flag forward, left the Olympia, carrying the Belgian consul, M. Andre, Lieutenant Brumby, Dewey's flag Lieutenant, and Colonel Whitney to interview the Spaniards. A long delay took place. Then the launch returned to the flagship, and at 2:30 P. M. the Olympia hoisted the signal, "The enemy has surrendered." As soon as this was announced two battalions of the Second Oregon Regiment, who were on a steamer, were landed.

Meanwhile the army was busy on land. A fierce fight took place in the trenches. The Spaniards were driven back to their second line of defense. The ships had now suspended their fire, and our troops advanced along the beach under a hot fire from the enemy, and General Greene advanced on Malate. The suburb was soon occupied and the Spaniards driven into the walled town. Then a white flag was hoisted and the Spanish commander requested an interview with our General. General Merritt and his staff entered at 3 o'clock. The Spaniards formed in line in front of the Palace and laid down their arms.

Flag Lieutenant Brumby, with the Olympia's biggest flag, proceeded to haul down the Spanish emblem. He took with him two apprentice boys. When they reached the staff in front of the Cathedral a great crowd of Spaniards gathered around them. As the Spanish flag came down many men and women in the crowd wept. Then Old Glory climbed the staff, supplanting the yellow and red flag of Spain.

An army band that was coming up at the head of the troops marching from Camp Dewey happened to start playing "The Star-Spangled Banner" just at the time the flag was hoisted. This was merely a coincidence, for the band was around a corner and could not see the flag-raising. There was tremendous cheering by the Americans when the flag rose over the building, and it could be heard aboard the ships in the bay.

Perfect order was maintained by our troops as they marched into the city, and the insurgents were not allowed by General Merritt to take part in the attack or to enter the city.

The surrender was made by General Jaudenes, the successor of Captain General Augustin, who had been relieved of his command a few days before, and been taken by the German cruiser Kaiserin Auguste to Hong Kong, as the Germans assert, with the consent of General Merritt, a proceeding which others regard as nigh a flagrant breach of neutrality, and certainly an act of international discourtesy.

In the surrender of Manila about 6,500 Spanish soldiers and 12,000 stands of arms, together with an immense amount of ammunition, fell into the hands of the Americans. The honors of war were accorded to the Spaniards. General Merritt, as Military Governor, at once issued a proclamation in Spanish, stating that the United States Government has directed the General commanding to announce that the Americans had not come to wage war on the people, but would protect all in their personal and religious rights. There would be a military occupation of the island of Luzon, but until further notice all laws would continue in effect which relate to personal rights, local societies, and crime, unless they conflict with the necessary military laws as might be determined by the General commanding.

It has been already stated in the narrative of Cuban affairs, that on August 9, Spain and the United States had agreed upon a protocol embodying terms for the negotiation of a treaty of peace, and thus it will be seen that this victory at Manila took place when a state of war no longer existed between the two countries. The explanation, of course, is that as there was no direct telegraphic communication between Washington and Manila, neither Admiral Dewey nor General Merritt knew of the armistice. The protocol was signed by M. Cambon, Ambassador from France, acting on behalf of Spain, and Secretary Day, on August 12, at 4:30 P. M. About an hour before this time a portion of our fleet had begun to bombard Manzanillo on the southern coast of Cuba, but notification of the suspension of liabilities was received by our officers next morning.

Near Guayama, Puerto Rico, the news of peace stopped a battle, not a moment too soon. General Brooke had thrown out three strong columns to the left of Guayama, his plan being to

force his way to a junction with General Wilson at Cayey. Three miles out beyond the scene of Monday's fight the enemy was discovered, intrenched in a splendid defensive position on the top of a hill. Light battery B of Pennsylvania had been ordered into position to begin the engagement. The guns of the first section had been brought up and a gun had been unlimbered; a shell had been placed in the chamber; a Pennsylvanian stood ready to fire. Suddenly there was a loud shout from the rear. Two men on horseback dashed into view, frantically waving their arms. The men at the guns waited. A message from General Miles had been received by General Brooke, directing that all hostile military operations should be stopped. The Pennsylvanians, officers and men, howled with disgust, and (when ordered to return to camp) sullenly wheeled the guns about and went, grumbling, to the rear.

When war was declared and the Spanish Ambassador left Washington, the protection of the interests of Spanish citizens residing in our country was transferred to the Ambassadors of Austria and France. Through them when it became evident to even the proudest Spaniard that Spain was hopelessly overmatched in her struggle with the United States, various unofficial proposals were made by Spain to save what she could out of the wreck of her colonial empire. At length M. Cambon, the French Ambassador, received formal credentials from the government at Madrid to negotiate with the authorities at Washington with a view to arranging terms of peace. Finally, after some delays owing to the necessity of referring many points to Madrid, M. Cambon and Secretary Day, who succeeded Mr. Sherman as Secretary of State, agreed on a protocol embodying the terms on which we should be willing to negotiate for a settlement of the conflict.

The provisions of the demand are these: (1.) Spain will relinquish all claim of sovereignty over and title to Cuba. (2.) Puerto Rico and other Spanish islands in the West Indies, and an island in the Ladrões to be selected by the United States, shall be ceded to the latter. (3.) The United States will occupy and hold the city, bay and harbor of Manila, pending the conclusion of a treaty of peace which shall determine the control, disposition and government of the Philippines. (4.) Cuba, Puerto Rico and other Spanish islands in the West Indies shall be immediately evacuated, and commissioners, to be appointed within ten days, shall, within thirty days from the signing of the protocol, meet at Havana and San Juan, respectively, to arrange and execute the details of the evacuation. (5.) The United States and Spain will each appoint not more than five commissioners to negotiate and include a treaty of peace. The commissioners are to meet in Paris not later than the 1st of October. (6.) On the signing of the protocol, hostilities will be suspended, and notice to that effect will be given as soon as possible by each government to the commanders of its military and naval forces.

On August 12, M. Cambon received due authority to sign the protocol on behalf of Spain, at 1 o'clock in the afternoon, and at 4:33 of the same day his signature and that of Secretary Day were affixed to the document in the Cabinet Room of the White House. Immediately a proclamation by President McKinley was issued, which stated that the governments of the United States and Spain had formally agreed upon the terms on which negotiations for the establishment of peace between the two countries should be undertaken, and added: "Now, therefore, I, William McKinley, President of the United States, do, in accordance with the stipulations of the protocol, declare and

proclaim on the part of the United States a suspension of hostilities, and do hereby command that orders be immediately given through the proper channels to the commanders of the military and naval forces of the United States to abstain from all acts inconsistent with this proclamation."

The five commissioners nominated by the United States according to article 5 of the protocol were Secretary of State W. R. Day, Cushman K. Davis, William P. Frye, Whitelaw Reid, and Senator Gray. The place appointed for our commissioners to meet those of Spain was the city of Paris, and there, in the rooms of the French Foreign Office on the Quay d'Orsay, the negotiations were carried on.

The news of the President's declaration of a suspension of hostilities was at once sent by telegraph to all places where the United States army and navy were engaged. At Porto Rico the announcement reached General Brooke just as he was about to open fire. Manila, with which there was no direct cable communication, was later in receiving intelligence of the armistice, and thus it happened that, a day after the President's proclamation, an engagement took place at that city, when the army under General Merritt cooperated with the fleet in attacking the capital of the Philippine Islands. Under the date of Aug. 13, General Merritt reported that "the Spanish troops, European and native, capitulated, with the city and defenses." The loss on our side was only five killed, and thus the Philippines were added to our conquests.

As soon as possible after the cessation of hostilities, our victorious ships and troops were recalled. On August 20, New York was the scene of a great naval parade. Still in their dark war paint the recalled fleets entered New York bay. In long line, the New York, the Iowa, Indiana, Brooklyn, Massachusetts, Oregon and Texas passed amid salutes from forts and acclamations from the fleet of steamers that lined the way, up the Hudson river to the tomb of General Grant. A brilliant spectacle, a strange contrast to another parade, when the returning volunteers had to be conveyed in carriages along the route from the Battery to their armories. The army had suffered greater hardships than their brethren in the navy, and they came home, then, worn by fever and climate, yet still as brave as when they charged the heights of El Caney. All had been brave and done their duty with a devotion that no other soldiers could surpass. The regulars were, of course, in the thickest of every fight, and one of the most brilliant charges of the war was that of the 9th United States Cavalry (colored) at San Juan. "It is a feature of the campaign," said a prominent officer, "that our colored regulars took a prominent part in every general assault against the Spanish lines, and in no case did they hesitate at the order to advance or falter at the command to charge. The faith and confidence they displayed in their white officers were grand, and their devotion to us was something beautiful." But equally brave in action, equally patient in enduring the privations and hardships of the campaign, were all the volunteer forces from every State, and all shod what American citizens of every rank and every section were ready to do when their common country called upon them for their services.

In Paris the negotiations between the American and Spanish commissioners were protracted, the chief question in debate being the future of the Philippine Islands, for, as already stated, the American forces had not occupied the capital of the archipelago till after the peace protocol had

been signed, and a suspension of hostilities declared by President McKinley. Our commissioners, however, firmly insisted on the cession of these islands, as well as on Spain's abandonment of her sovereignty over Cuba and Porto Rico, and by the end of November our terms were accepted by the Spanish delegates as "imposed by superior force." On December 10th the treaty was duly signed by the two commissions, and in it the United States agreed to pay to Spain the sum of twenty millions of dollars, and Spain to renounce her sovereign rights in the above mentioned territories.

While these negotiations were being carried on in Paris, other commissions were organized by the authorities of the two powers for the purpose of effecting arrangements for the evacuation of Cuba and Porto Rico by the Spanish forces, and the formal transfer of the Philippines to the United States. On the 1st of January, 1899, the stars and stripes took the place of the crimson and gold flag of Spain. With this ceremony the Spanish rule of four centuries disappeared. From the signing of the protocol on August 12, measures had been taken to transport to Spain the one hundred and thirty thousand Spanish soldiers who occupied Cuba when hostilities ended, but it was not till February 5th that the last Spanish troops under General Castellanos sailed from Cienfuegos for their native land. The change of flag gave rise to no conflicts or ill feeling, and the embarkation of the troops was accomplished in good order and with extraordinary dispatch.

On January 4, 1899, the President transmitted the treaty of peace as signed at Paris to the Senate, and it was at once referred to the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, and reported favorably on January 11. On the 12th a debate began in executive session, and Senator Hoar of Massachusetts introduced (Jan. 14) a resolution declaring that the people of the Philippine Islands ought of right to be free and independent. He was supported by several senators of undoubted patriotism, who regarded our acquisition of territory outside our natural geographical limits as fraught with peril to the republic, and tending to lead the country into a policy of imperialism, which might result in annoying complications with European powers, and in those entangling alliances against which Washington, in his Farewell Address, warned his countrymen. On the other hand, senators equally patriotic pointed to the accomplished facts. Our victories had destroyed in Cuba, Porto Rico and the Philippines a long established government, and consequently we could not leave the regions, lately colonies of Spain, to become the prey of anarchy, but we must, in discharge of the duty which a great nation owes to the civilized world, to humanity, to the inhabitants of these regions, assume the responsibility of insuring order as well as freedom, and of training to self-government these populations that had never had any education in the methods of creating or maintaining a government "of the people, for the people and by the people." The debate ended by the Treaty of Peace being ratified by 57 votes to 27 votes, on the 6th of February, and this ratification by the Senate was at once communicated to the President.

Chapter CXLIX

The New Epoch in Our History - The Island of Cuba - Mr. Porter and General Gomez - Our Occupation - Organization of a Cuban Republic - The Constitutional Convention - Final Report - Porto Rico - The Civil Government - Guam - The Philippines - Emilio Aguinaldo in Revolt - Attack on Manila - The President's Proclamation - Successes of Our Generals - Reinforcements Sent - The Ports Opened - Treachery of the Insurgents - Decline of the Rebellion - The Schurman Commission Question of the Friars - Capture of Aguinaldo - He Takes the Oath of Allegiance - The LV Congress - Reorganization of the Army - Dewey's Return - Parades in His Honor in New York and Washington - The President's Message The Gold Bill Passed - The Venezuelan Arbitration Alaska and Canada - Government of Hawaii - Cession of Pago-Pago in the Samoan Islands - The Trans-Isthmian Canal - The Hay-Pauncefote Treaty - The Nicaraguan Canal Bill - Chinese Affairs - Troops Sent from Manila - China Appeals to the President - Our Policy Defined - The Presidential Election - The Republican and Democratic Platforms - McKinley and Roosevelt Elected - The Census of 1900 - The President's Tour in the West - The Pan-American Exposition at Buffalo - The President Assassinated - His Death - Universal Grief - The Murderer Tried and Condemned - Honors Paid to the Dead President at Buffalo and Washington - His Burial at Canton - Theodore Roosevelt Takes the Oath of Office as President - McKinley's Last Speech.

IN the 1st of January, 1899, when in Cuba, Porto Rico and the far Philippine Islands, the crimson and gold of the Spanish flag gave way to the Stars and Stripes of the United States, OUR COUNTRY entered into a new epoch, not only of its own marvelous history, but of the history of the world. At first a few trifling colonies thinly scattered on the shore of the ocean, inhabited by sparse bands of settlers who had to contend with hostile natives, conquer an inhospitable wilderness and organize, each for itself, a system of social life, they were held together only by the loose bond of a nominal allegiance to a European power separated from them by the breadth of the great ocean which their little ships could cross only with difficulty. When the Declaration of Independence was sided and the War for Independence began, an imperfect confederation held them together till, when success crowned the patriot arms, the Constitution of the United States formed them into a Union which has grown with their growth and strengthened with their strength, till the United States became one Nation, with sectional feuds outlived and forgotten, expanding from the ocean to the Alleghanies, and from the Alleghanies to the Pacific Ocean, and from the Saint Lawrence and the Great Lakes to the Rio Grande and the Gulf of Mexico. And with its growth in territory, its growth in wealth, in industry, in commerce, in enterprise and in arms, kept pace, till all the world acknowledges the Union as the supreme master of the western continent. Now no longer merely an American power, she takes her place as one of the great powers of the world, not encumbered by old traditions, not hampered with the accumulated burdens of centuries, but in all the vigor of youth, with youthful hopes and ideas, ready to proclaim the doctrine of true liberty in "a government of the people, by the people, and for the people." That she will perform her task nobly, no citizen will doubt; that she may perform it successfully, every citizen must pray.

By the treaty of peace, signed in Paris, Dec. 10, 1898, ratified by the Senate, Feb. 6, 1899, and

by the Queen Regent of Spain, March 17 of the same year, Cuba was in the military occupation of the United States. At that time the effects of the insurrection against Spanish rule and of the means taken to suppress it were everywhere visible; one-third of the population had perished, the towns were crowded with fugitives from the country districts in which the plantations had been destroyed, the crops burned, and the cattle killed, while in the towns commerce and industry had ceased. The first task of our government was to feed those in want till some crops had matured, and shiploads of provisions were sent to the distressed island. Many of the disbanded Cuban army found work in the cane fields, but some of their generals kept their commands together till the future political status of Cuba was determined. The Cubans were distrustful of the surrender of the island by the Spanish Captain-General Castellanos to our General Brooke, and General Maximo Gomez declared that he would keep his army on foot till a date for proclaiming Cuban independence was fixed. He demanded that the United States government advance sixty millions of dollars to be distributed among his men, to pay them for their services and compensate them for their losses. Mr. Robert Porter, the United States commissioner, replied that we were willing to advance three millions to the Cuban soldiers, to enable them to return home, on surrender of their arms. Finally this offer was accepted, the gold shipped from New York, and the Cuban Assembly convened, and after long and tedious discussions it was finally agreed that the money be distributed by American and Cuban commissioners, and the arms surrendered to Cuban officials in the presence of United States officers. This arrangement was finally carried out, and the arms were then shipped to Havana and Santiago and placed in United States armories, under the charge of armorers appointed by General Gomez.

Meanwhile, Governor-General Brooke did all in his power to conciliate the natives by calling to his councils civilian subordinates and late officers of the Cuban army; his example was followed by the governors of the various provinces, and under this administration the island became peaceful and the people returned to work on reviving the industries of the island. A few Cuban politicians agitated against the prolonged military occupation and threatened revolt, but the people were content to wait for the gradual development of the Cuban republic. Many, indeed, were reconciled to the idea of the perpetuation of American administration when they saw the improvement in the organization of the police, of public schools, of justice, in the sanitation of the cities which tended to check that fatal scourge, yellow fever, and ultimately to extirpate it. The military government was made as inconspicuous as possible, and, it may be said, a normal civil government was established when General Brooke retired, and General Leonard Wood succeeded as Governor-General. The latter, on November 6, opened a convention to frame a constitution for the Cuban republic. The delegates elected by the people were instructed to draft a constitution adequate to secure stable, orderly and free government, and to state formally what, in the opinion of the convention, ought to be the relations between the island and the United States. The convention, consisting of thirty-one delegates, elected as temporary chairman Senor Llorente, Justice of the Supreme Court, and took an oath to renounce all allegiance to or to form any compact with any state or nation, to uphold the sovereignty of a free, independent Cuba, and to respect the solution of the question by the convention and the government established by the constitution. Accordingly, Mendez Capote, Secretary of State under General Brooke, was elected chairman of the Cuban Constitutional Convention. In May, 1900, a committee of this body

proceeded to Washington, to discuss the delicate question of the relations between Cuba and the United States. The President received them without delay; the policy of this country was fully explained and the 7th of May they gave, on their return home, a report of their visit. The difficulty had arisen from the so called Platt Amendment, by which the withdrawal of our troops from Cuba is conditioned on the acceptance, as the basis of the relations between the two republics, first, that the government of Cuba shall never enter into any treaty with any foreign power that will impair the independence of Cuba, nor in any manner permit any foreign power, by colonization or otherwise, to obtain lodgement or control in any part of the island. Secondly. It shall not assume or contract any public debt, to pay the interest of which, after defraying the ordinary expenses of the government, the revenues of the island are inadequate. Thirdly. That the United States may intervene for the preservation of Cuban independence and for discharging the obligations imposed by the treaty of Paris on the United States. Fourthly. That the acts of the United States during the occupancy of the island be ratified. Fifthly. That plans be agreed upon mutually for the prevention of infections or epidemic diseases. Sixthly. That the Isle of Pines is not within the boundaries of Cuba. Seventhly. That Cuba shall sell or lease to the United States lands necessary for coaling or naval stations at such points as the President may select. The Cuban commission, on May 16, reported to the Constitutional Convention in favor of accepting these terms. Senor Palma seemed likely to be the choice of the people for the presidency of the Republic of Cuba.

Porto Rico, like the Philippine islands, became, by the treaty of Paris, a possession of the United States, and when our rule began was in a very distressed condition. The war had paralyzed trade, Spain closed her ports to Porto Rican products, and in 1899 a terrible hurricane destroyed the food supplies of the lower classes, and nine-tenths of the coffee crop. Our army had to perform a very different duty to that which fell to the lot of their comrades in the Philippines; its principal work was to distribute 30,000,000 rations of one pound each to starving natives during the greater part of a year, and organize relief work on the roads, for which purpose a million dollars was allotted by the Secretary of War. On April 12, 1900, an act of Congress provided for the civil government of the island, the provisions of the Dingley tariff were extended to it, and on May 1 Governor Allen assumed the direction of civil affairs. He appointed a cabinet, a council comprising six Americans and five natives was created as an Upper House, and on Nov. 6 a general election was held for members of the Legislature. Since our occupation there is little to record, except improvements. New roads have been built, school-houses have been erected, and more will be established till each precinct has one; a Normal School has been completed, the administration of justice has been purified, Porto Rico made a judicial district of the United States, and an insular police, organized by an American soldier, has freed the country from robber bands and preserves order. Porto Rico is very successfully Americanized.

The island of Guam, the largest of the Marianne or Ladrone Archipelago, was also ceded by Spain to the United States by Article 2 of the Treaty of Peace. It lies in a direct line from San Francisco to the southern part of the Philippines, and is 5,200 miles from San Francisco, and 900 miles from Manila. It is about thirty-two miles long and 100 miles in circumference, and has a population of about 8,661, of whom 5,249 are in Agana, the capital. The inhabitants are mostly immigrants or descendants of immigrants from the Philippines, the original race of the Ladrone

Islands being extinct. The prevailing language is Spanish. Nine-tenths of the islanders can read and write. The island is thickly wooded, well watered and fertile, and possesses an excellent harbor.

Commander Taussig, of the United States gunboat Bennington, took possession of the island and raised the United States flag over Fort Santa Cruz on February 1, 1899. The present governor, who was appointed by the President in 1900, is Lieutenant-Commander Seaton Schroeder, U. S. N.

The United States flag was hoisted over Wake Island in January, 1899, by Commander Taussig, of the Bennington, while proceeding to Guam. It is a small island in the direct route from Hawaii to Hong Kong, about 2,000 miles from the first and 3,000 miles from the second.

In the Philippine Islands the task of the Americans was more difficult than in Cuba. The expression covers over 3,140 islands, inhabited by thirty distinct races and languages, the bulk being of the Malay stock, with a large mixture of Chinese and Japanese blood; while some parts of the islands inhabited by semi-savage tribes have never been explored, and other tribes profess the Mohammedan faith, although the Catholic religion had been imported by the Spaniards, as far as possible, after the introduction of the monastic orders into the islands in 1565. On taking possession of this archipelago, a commission was sent out by our government, and their report says: "Rich in agricultural and forest products, as well as mineral wealth, commanding in geographical position, the Philippine Islands should soon become one of the great trade centers of the East. New steamship lines, established since our occupation, connect Manila, with its population of 220,000, to Australia, India and Japan. She will become the natural terminus of many other lines when a ship canal connects the Atlantic with the Pacific; and others will be attracted by the development of the Philippine coal deposits. Our control means to the inhabitants of the Philippines internal peace and order, a guarantee against foreign aggression and against the dismemberment of the country, and commercial and industrial prosperity.

Before Admiral Dewey sailed from Hong Kong to Manila, an insurrection had broken out in the island of Luzon, and Emilio Aguinaldo, who had been leader in the insurrection of 1896, was taken by an American ship to the port of Cavite, where he landed in May, 1898, in order to organize an army to weaken the Spanish power of defense; but at no time was any promise of independence made to him in any form. The forces under Aguinaldo soon became masters of all Luzon, except the town of Manila, into which city the Spanish force had retired.

On the arrival of American troops, he was requested to leave Cavite; but when he did so he promised independence to the Philippine people in the name of the United States government - an act entirely unauthorized. He had declared himself already president of the Philippine Republic, and continued to make every effort to be recognized as an ally and as the head of a republic.

When Manila was taken, he claimed the right to occupy the city and have a share in the spoils. Such demands were, of course, repudiated, and then the relations between the Americans and

Aguinaldo's forces became hostile. Assaults and robberies were committed by these insurgents on our troops; citizens and friendly natives were killed; clubs were organized to foster hatred of all things American; all males over the age of eighteen were ordered to serve in the insurgent army, and every blacksmith in Manila was kept busy forging arms. Yet an open rupture with the Americans was not desired, and many leading Filipinos asked Aguinaldo to write to President McKinley, praying him not to abandon the Filipinos; but this letter he never sent. A plan was then formed by Aguinaldo and his military chief, General Pio del Pilar, to drive out the American forces; the militia in Manila was to arise, and a general attack to be made on our small army. After a conference at which no conclusion was reached the insurgents began their attack. They advanced on the city on Feb. 4, and wounded our outposts, killing a sentinel; on Feb. 5 the Americans drove them back with great loss; on Feb. 27 an attempted rising in the city, in which all the whites were to be killed, was frustrated by General Hughes; but for weeks a reign of terror prevailed; the native population fled; the streets were deserted, and incendiary fires blazed every day. Then a vigorous campaign was begun, General MacArthur attacking Aguinaldo's main army and inflicting heavy losses, and General Otis was uniformly successful in his measures, although the enemy displayed the treachery they had employed against the Spaniards, hiding their arms and then attacking small - bodies men, and menacing the rear of the advancing army. The assurance of General Otis that the welfare of the Philippine people depended on the protection of the United States made no impression on the politicians of the Tagal provinces, among whom alone the anti-American feeling was strong; nor did the President's proclamation of April 4, warning all that the supremacy of the United States must be enforced, and promising reforms in all departments of government. Nothing was left for us but to prosecute the war, a guerilla war in which no brilliant victories could be won, but many deeds of courage performed. General Lawton drove the insurgents from Manila bay into the swamps and mountains, captured Malabon, and at the end of March, Malolos, where Aguinaldo's headquarters were, fell. The main Philippine army was then at Calumpit, in a strong position on the Rio Grande, which was attacked by General MacArthur on April 24, when the Nebraska and South Dakota regiments swam across the river; and two men of the Kansas regiment swam, under a galling fire, to fasten a rope by which two companies of infantry under Colonel Funston were brought across on a raft. Aguinaldo continued to make proposals to treat for peace, while still preparing for further fighting when the rainy season might paralyze the operations of our army. Still, when the Filipino congress met, on May 5, seven delegates were appointed to negotiate with General Otis; two of these Aguinaldo caught and beheaded. The delegates learned from our commissioners that the President proposed to appoint a governor-general, assisted by a cabinet of Americans and Filipinos, but that no armistice would be granted. So the war went on till the rainy season, during which additional troops, released from Cuba and Porto Rico, made the army strong enough for extensive field operations, and when further reinforcements arrived in December, most of the provinces were dominated by us, and the ports of the Philippines were opened to commerce. One great loss befell our army - General Lawton was killed Dec. 19, in a trifling skirmish at San Mateo; a soldier who in every battle had exposed himself to the hottest fire. The war then waged necessitated a dispersion of our troops, and on Nov. 1, 1899, we had on the islands no less than fifty-three military stations. The insurgents now discarded uniforms, so that we could no longer distinguish between friend and foe; disregarded all rules of civilized warfare, and their leaders in the towns, while outwardly

complying with all forms of loyalty, secretly assisted the insurgents, who deliberately murdered all their own countrymen that were friendly to the United States, and created a reign of terror in districts beyond our posts. But gradually American courage and perseverance began to prevail, and in the spring of 1900 many of the leading generals and politicians of the insurrection had been captured or surrendered, and on June 21, 1900, President directed a proclamation to be issued granting amnesty to all insurgents who made submission and gave up their arms. Numbers of the enemy accepted these terms, and soon many of their best generals cooperated with the Americans in advising submission. By August all northern Luzon except Bulacan was free from insurgents; but, misled by expressions of opinion by various American politicians during the electoral campaign, the insurgents redoubled their activity, and a Filipino representative came to this country and issued a proclamation to the effect that the war would last till Filipino independence was gained. With the close of the presidential election the rebel activity ceased, and nothing but a few marauding bands remained, and our troops were free to reestablish peace and order.

The Philippine Commission, of which J. G. Schurman was head, had reported early in the year, recommending the appointment of an American governor, of a council containing Filipinos as well as Americans, and of American provincial governors. A new commission, conveniently known as the Taft Commission, from the name of its president, was appointed, and formulated new tariff and tax laws, prepared a civil service law giving equal opportunities to natives and Americans, reformed the civil and criminal codes, and discussed the making a railroad into the rich mining districts of Luzon and the creation of public schools. The problem of the friars was one of the most troublesome questions to be considered. It had led to the first rebellion against Spain; the later insurgents expelled them from their places, and the majority of the Filipinos opposed their return. The friars had been the embodiment of all government, possessed 400,000 acres of cultivated land and large sums of money which they lent out. The United States, in the treaty with Spain, engaged to protect them in their possessions, and the commission proposed to solve the difficulty by purchasing these estates for public lands out of the island revenues.

The great event which ended the conflict in the Philippines was the capture of Aguinaldo, the inspirer and leader of the insurrection. In January, 1900, he again proclaimed himself dictator, and lived for seven months in a remote part of Luzon, till some intercepted letters betrayed his residence. General Funston, into whose hands they fell, resolved to capture him by stratagem, and laid his plans before General MacArthur at Manila. After this consultation Funston set out with four Americans, four former insurgents, three of whom were Tagal and one Spaniard, and seventy-eight Macabebes, a tribe which had been from the first on the side of the United States. All of these men spoke the Tagal language, and twenty of them wore insurgent uniforms. They left Manila on March 8, and landed near Casigauran six days after. The former insurgent officers, the three Tagals and the Spaniard were placed in apparent command; the five Americans professed to be an exploring party taken captive by the insurgents. They advanced under the pretext of an order to join Aguinaldo at headquarters. After eight days of difficult travel they reached Palaron, where he then was. The party passed themselves off as insurgent troops who had captured General Funston and others, and were taking them as prisoners to Aguinaldo. Aguinaldo furnished supplies and had his escort of forty men paraded to give them an honorable

reception. The three Tagals entered the house, and then the Spaniard exclaimed: "Now, Macabebes, go for them." They opened fire and killed three of Aguinaldo's men; and he, thinking the musketry fire was a salute, ordered his men to stop firing. Then one of the Tagals threw his arms round Aguinaldo, saying: "You are a prisoner of the Americans." After a fight of a few minutes the insurgents fled. The captive chief said: "I should never have been captured except by stratagem. I was completely deceived by Lacuna's forged signature." To explain this remark, it may be added that General Funston had some months previously captured Lacuna's camp, with many official papers, from which a letter was concocted informing Aguinaldo that Lacuna's best company was being sent to him as reinforcements.

After his capture Aguinaldo was taken to Manila and treated with all respect and courtesy, and after investigating conditions in the archipelago and consulting with his friends, he took the oath of allegiance to the United States, April 2, 1901, under the terms of the amnesty offered by General MacArthur. There were no charges against Aguinaldo for violating any of the laws of war, and all talk of his being brought to trial was at once silenced. However dangerous he might have been before his capture, now that he is a sworn upholder of our government, the restoration of order, the creation of civil institutions, and the industrial improvement of the islands will proceed rapidly. Colonel Funston was rewarded by being raised to the rank of brigadier-general.

When the third session of the LV Congress opened, in 1899, the state of political parties was as follows: In the Senate, forty-six Republicans, thirty-four Democrats, and ten Independents; in the House, 206 Republicans, 134 Democrats, and sixteen Independents. One of its most important acts was a bill for reorganizing the army, by which the permanent standing army was to be maintained at 65,000 enlisted men till July 1, 1901, by which time it was to be reduced to 30,000 enlisted men, and the volunteer force discharged. By the same bill a regiment of Porto Ricans was authorized, and a force of 12,000 recruited from the natives of the Philippine islands, to be commanded by officers of the regular army. Another act was also passed recreating the rank of Admiral of the Navy, to which the President at once appointed the victor of Manila, Admiral Dewey. That distinguished officer did not return till the month of September, when arrived on the 26th, at New York. Preparations to give him a fitting welcome by a naval parade on the 29th, and a land parade on the following day, had been made. Both these days had been declared by Governor Roosevelt to be legal holidays. On the 28th the North Atlantic squadron, under Admiral Sampson, had moved up from the lower bay, while at night the Jersey coast as far as Seabright, and the Staten Island and Long Island coasts, as far as Rockaway, were illuminated with colored fires. At noon on the 29th the parade began, Dewey's ship, the Olympia, leading the squadron of battle-ships, which, in its turn, was followed by a flotilla of yachts. As the procession reached a point in the North river opposite Grant's tomb, the Olympia came to anchor, and with colors half-masted, fired a President's salute of twenty-one guns. At night fireworks were displayed from various points, and lighters sailed down the Hudson and East rivers, sending off fireworks on their way to the Battery, where a pyrotechnic display of both lines of lighters and others in the bay continued, not the least interesting part being brilliant electric effects. On the following day Dewey was escorted to the City Hall, where he received the freedom of the city and a loving cup of admirable design, and thence proceeded to Riverside Drive, where the parade

began. It was formed by representatives of the navy, the army, the national guard of several States, and other uniformed bodies, and it was estimated 30,000 men were in line. At Twenty-third street Admiral Dewey left the procession and took his place on the reviewing stand, just above the stately memorial arch that spanned Fifth avenue. The arch, which stood between rows of columns, north and south, was, with the exception of the cost of the materials and the labor of workmen, the contribution of the American Sculpture Society. On the north the arch bore the inscription:

TO ADMIRAL GEORGE DEWEY, GREETING.
WELCOME. HONOR. FROM THE PEOPLE OF NEW YORK,
SEPT. XXX, MDCCCXCIX

And the south:

TO THE GLORY OF THE AMERICAN NAVY, IN GREETING
TO ITS ADMIRAL TO SIGNALIZE THEIR TRIUMPHS, A
GRATEFUL CITY PROTECTED BY THEIR VALOR.

The symbolical figures and medallions of our naval heroes were of unusual excellence, and the whole ought to have been perpetuated in some more enduring material than that of a merely temporary erection. But, more than all material or artistic testimonials to the hero, was the crowd of enthusiastic spectators who lined the shores as he sailed up the Hudson, and the streets of the city through which he passed. In the following month, Oct. 3, another brilliant demonstration in his honor took place in Washington, and a magnificent sword, awarded by Congress, was presented to the hero by the Secretary of the Navy, in the presence of the highest officers of the country. The President spoke in fitting terms in praise of his distinguished services, and the Admiral replied in a brief and modest speech of thanks.

The main question which had divided political parties for many years and which was the one decided by the defeat of William J. Bryan, the Democratic candidate for president, by William McKinley, in the last presidential election, was that of the currency, and when the LVI Congress met, on Dec. 2, the President in his message recommended legislation to maintain parity in the value of gold and silver coin and to maintain the gold standard. A bill embodying the President's recommendation was brought in, and passed in the House of Representatives by 190 votes to 150, eleven Democrats voting in the majority, and signed by him March 14, 1900.

The bill enacted that the dollar consisting of twenty-five and eight-tenths grains of gold, nine-tenths fine, shall be the standard of value, and all forms of money issued or coined shall be maintained at a parity of value with this gold standard. The United States notes and Treasury notes shall be redeemed in gold coin, and a redemption fund of \$150,000,000 of gold coin and bullion is set aside for that purpose only.

The National Bank law was amended to permit banks to be created with \$25,000 capital in

places whose population does not exceed 3,000. Provision was made for the refunding of outstanding bonds at a low rate of interest, and under it bonds bearing three, four, and five percent interest have been refunded for bonds bearing two per cent.

Another section provided for the issue of circulating notes to banks on deposit of bonds, and for additional deposits when there is a depreciation in the value of bonds. The total amount of notes issued by any National banking association may equal at any time, but shall not exceed the amount at any such time of its capital stock actually paid in.

Every National banking association shall pay a tax in January and July of one-fourth of one percent on the average amount of such of its notes in circulation as are based on its deposit of two percent bonds, and such taxes shall be in lieu of the taxes on its notes in circulation imposed by Section 5,214 of the Revised Statutes. Provision for international bimetallism is made in the final section of the act, which is as follows:

"Sec. 14. That the provisions of the act are not intended to preclude the accomplishment of international bimetallism whenever conditions shall make it expedient and practicable to secure the same by concurrent action of the leading commercial nations of the world and at a ratio which shall insure permanence of relative value between gold and silver."

It will be remembered that in 1896 President Cleveland appointed a commission to examine the claims of Great Britain to territory also claimed by Venezuela. The commission took evidence as to the boundary line, but made no report as Great Britain agreed to leave the question to arbitration. An arbitration tribunal composed of American and English judges, with the Russian jurist, Martens, presiding, sat in Paris, and on Oct. 3 gave a unanimous award authorizing the inclosure within British Guiana of most of the territory embraced by the Schomburgh line drawn by that explorer in 1841, and thud removed all cause of contention respecting an affair that at one period assumed an aspect threatening the friendly relations between the United States and the United Kingdom. A modus vivendi was agreed upon with Great Britain regarding the boundary line between Alaska and Canada, but no permanent arrangement will be made till arbitration is appealed to. The text of the document states that "the Anglo-American Joint High Commission to adjust all outstanding questions between the United States and the Dominion of Canada having been unable to reach a conclusion at the time of the adoption of this agreement, October 20, 1899: It is hereby agreed between the governments of the United States and of Great Britain that the boundary line between Canada and the Territory of Alaska, in the region about the head of Lynn Canal, shall be provisionally fixed without prejudice to the claims of either party in the permanent adjustment of the international boundary," and further that "the government of the United States will at once appoint an officer or officers, in conjunction with the officer or officers to be named by the government of Her Britannic Majesty, to mark the temporary line agreed upon by the erection of posts, stakes, or other appropriate temporary marks." During the same session a government for the territory of Hawaii was provided, by which a Senate and House of Representatives was created, the governor to be appointed by the President. By the Samoa treaty, ratified by the Senate January 15, the island of Tutuila was ceded to the United States; an

island valuable to us as containing our coaling station at Pago-pago, the best harbor in the Samoan group of islands.

The burning question of a trans-Isthmian canal, and the agitation of it, led to the drawing up of a new convention to take the place of the Clayton- Bulwer treaty, and on February 5 Mr. Hay, then Secretary of State, and Lord Pauncefote signed the document. In the old treaty it was stipulated that neither the United States nor Great Britain should maintain any exclusive control over a ship canal. By the new convention this stipulation is struck out; Great Britain concedes to us the right to build and maintain such a canal, the United States agreeing to maintain its neutrality and keep it perpetually open to the ships of all nations in peace and war. In its original form the treaty was not ratified by the Senate, which referred it to its Committee on Foreign Relations, and on Dec. 20 it accepted an amendment declaring the Clayton-Bulwer treated "superseded," cancelling a provision inviting the adherence of other powers to this convention, and adding that no conditions or stipulations in the treaty thus amended shall apply to measures that the United States may take for securing by its own forces the defense of the United States and the maintenance of public order. The President transmitted the document thus amended to the British government as a purely ministerial duty, but without any expectation that it would be accepted, as it really proposed to abrogate a treaty without consent of the other party thereto.

The Isthmian Canal Commission recommended in its report to Congress the Nicaraguan route in preference to the Panama route. Meanwhile, the Nicaraguan government declared that the concession to the Maritime Canal Company had elapsed, owing to nonfulfillment of conditions, and on May 2 the Nicaragua Canal Bill was reported from the Committee on Interoceanic Canals, by which it was enacted that the "President of the United States be, and is hereby: authorized to acquire from the States of Costa Rica and Nicaragua, for and in behalf of the United States, control of such portion of territory now belonging to Costa Rica and Nicaragua as may be desirable and necessary on which to excavate, construct, and protect a canal of such depth and capacity as will be sufficient for the movements of ships of the greatest tonnage and draught now in use, from a point near Greytown, on the Caribbean Sea, via Lake Nicaragua, to Breto, on the Pacific Ocean; and such sum as may be necessary to secure such control is hereby appropriated out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated. And that when the President has secured full control over the territory referred to, he shall direct the Secretary of War to excavate and construct a canal and waterway from a point on the shore of the Caribbean Sea near Greytown by way of Lake Nicaragua, to a point near Breto on the Pacific Ocean. Such canal shall be of sufficient capacity and depth as that it maybe used by vessels of the largest tonnage and greatest depth now in use, and shall be supplied with all necessary locks and other appliances to meet the necessities of vessels passing from Greytown to Breto; and the Secretary of War shall also construct such safe and commodious harbors at the termini of said canal, and such provisions for defense as may be necessary for the safety and protection of said canal and harbors."

The President's message to the second session of the LVI Congress devoted much space to Chinese affairs. Since the war between China and Japan various European powers had taken possession, under one pretext or another, of various portions of Chinese territory. These cessions

of territory created an intense anti-foreign sentiment in the country, which culminated in the so-called "Boxer movement," and the perpetration of massacres of missionaries and native Christians, and finally in attacks on the foreign legations in Peking. The Tsung-li-Yamen, which is the Chinese equivalent for a responsible government ministry, being itself permeated by sentiments hostile to the foreigners, could or would not take effective measures to protect the legations and allow them to depart from the country in safety. For several weeks the fate of the foreign ministers and their families and attaches, the legation guards, and the converted Chinese under their protection was in painful doubt, while reports of the most distressing character of wholesale massacres and outrages perpetrated upon the besieged, filled the world with horror.

The foreign powers, alarmed at the situation, hastily assembled their available fleets in Chinese waters and hurried troops to the ports nearest to the points of danger. An attempt to land marines at Taku was resisted by the Chinese, the forts were shelled by the foreign vessels, the American Admiral taking no part. Forces were landed by all the European powers, and some of our troops were dispatched from Manila, and attempts made to withdraw the foreign legations closely besieged by the Chinese in Peking. The Chinese, recognizing the disinterested policy of America, made appeals to the President for peace, but the reply was that free communication with the legations must first be established. In August our minister at Peking, Mr. Conger, succeeded in sending a cipher telegram, which read: "Still besieged. Situation more precarious. Chinese government insisting on our leaving Peking, which would be certain death. Rifle firing upon us daily by Imperial troops. Have abundant courage, but little ammunition or provisions. Two progressive Yamen ministers beheaded. All connected with legation of the United States well at the present moment." On the 14th of that month Peking was captured, the American troops being the first to enter the city. Our policy from first to last had been frank and open; we declared that we desired no acquisition of territory, but only that China should be free to the unrestricted commerce of the world. President McKinley, in his annual message to Congress, December 3, 1900, made the following statement of the principles which animated the government of the United States in dealing with the situation in China:

"The policy of the government of the United States is to seek a solution which may bring about permanent safety and peace to China, preserve Chinese territorial and administrative entity, protect all rights guaranteed to friendly powers by treaty and international law, and safeguard for the world the principle of equal and impartial trade with all parts of the Chinese Empire.

"Faithful to those professions which, as it proved, reflected the views and purposes of the other cooperating governments, all our efforts have been directed towards ending the anomalous situation in China by negotiations for a settlement at the earliest possible moment. As soon as the sacred duty of relieving our legation and its dependants was accomplished, we withdrew from active hostilities, leaving our legation under an adequate guard in Peking as a channel of negotiations and settlement - a course adopted by others of the interested powers."

The excitement preceding a presidential election once more agitated the country. Admiral Dewey in April announced his intention of becoming a candidate, but no serious attention was

paid to it. The Republican Convention met in Philadelphia on June 19, and nominated William McKinley, of Ohio, for President, and Theodore Roosevelt, of New York, for Vice-President. The Democratic Convention assembled at Kansas City, Missouri, July 4, and nominated William J. Bryan, of Nebraska, and Adlai S. Stevenson, for President and Vice-President. The Republican platform declared that the Republican party came into power four years ago charged by the people to restore prosperity by two legislative measures, a protective tariff and laws making gold the standard of value, and then continued:

"This commission has been executed, and the Republican promise is redeemed. Prosperity more general and more abundant than we have ever known has followed these enactments. There is no longer controversy as to the value of any government obligations. Every American dollar is a gold dollar, or its assured equivalent, and American credit stands higher than that of any nation. Capital is fully employed, and labor everywhere is profitably occupied. No single fact can more strikingly tell the story of what the Republican government means to the country than this - that while during the whole period of 107 years from 1790 to 1897 there was an excess of exports over imports of only \$383,028,497, there has been in the short three years of the present Republican administration an excess of exports over imports in the enormous sum of \$1,483,537,094.

We indorse the administration of William McKinley. Its acts have been established in wisdom and in patriotism, and at home and abroad it has distinctly elevated and extended the influence of the American nation. Walking untried paths and facing unforeseen responsibilities, President McKinley has been in every situation the true American patriot and the upright statesman, clear in vision, strong in judgment, firm in action, always inspiring and deserving the confidence of his countrymen.

"In asking the American people to indorse this Republican record and to renew their commission to the Republican party, we remind them of the fact that the menace to their prosperity has always resided in Democratic principles, and no less in the general incapacity of the Democratic party to conduct public affairs.

"We renew our allegiance to the principle of the gold standard, and declare our confidence in the wisdom of the legislation of the LVI Congress by which the parity of all our money and the stability of our currency upon a gold basis has been secured.

"We recognize that interest rates are potent factors in production and business activity, and for the purpose of further equalizing and of further lowering the rates of interest, we favor such monetary legislation as will enable the varying needs of the seasons and of all sections to be promptly met in order that trade may be evenly sustained, labor steadily employed, and commerce enlarged. The volume of money in circulation was never so great per capita as it is today."

The platform also favored the policy of protection, of reciprocity, and of aid to American shipping, and demanded a more effective restriction of immigration, the raising of the age limit for

child labor, and an effective system of labor insurance. With reference to the war, it said: "While the American people, sustained by this Republican legislation, have been achieving these splendid triumphs in their business and commerce, they have conducted and in victory concluded a war for liberty and human rights. No thought of national aggrandizement tarnished the high purpose with which American standards were unfurled.

It was a war unsought and patiently resisted, but when it came the American government was ready. Its fleets were cleared for action, its armies were in the field, and the quick and signal triumph of its forces on land and sea bore equal tribute to the courage of American soldiers and sailors and to the skill and foresight of Republican statesmanship. To ten millions of the human race there was given 'a new birth of freedom,' and to the American people a new and noble responsibility."

The Democratic platform denounced Imperialism, denounced the administration's policy in Porto Rico, Cuba and the Philippines, and declared that the Constitution followed the flag. With regard to expansion, its words are:

"We are not opposed to territorial expansion when it takes in desirable territory which can be erected into States in the Union, and whose people are willing and fit to become American citizen. We favor expansion by every peaceful and legitimate means. But we are unalterably opposed to the seizing or purchasing of distant islands, to be governed outside the Constitution, and whose people can never become citizens.

"We are in favor of extending the Republic's influence among the nations, but believe that influence should be extended not by force and violence, but through the persuasive power of a high and honorable example.

The importance of other questions now pending before the American people is in nowise diminished, and the Democratic party takes no backward step from its position on them, but the burning issue of imperialism growing out of the Spanish war involves the very existence of the Republic and the destruction of our free institutions. We regard it as "the paramount issue of the campaign."

It declared warfare against trusts:

"We pledge the Democratic party to an unceasing warfare in nation, State, and city against private monopoly in every form. Existing laws against trusts must be enforced and more stringent ones must be enacted, providing for publicity as to affairs of corporations engaged in interstate commerce and requiring all corporations to show, before doing business outside of the State of their origin, that they have no water in their stock, and that they have not attempted and are not attempting to monopolize any branch of business or the production of any articles of merchandise, and the whole constitutional power of Congress over interstate commerce, the mails, and all modes of interstate communication shall be exercised by the enactment of comprehensive laws

upon the subject of trusts. Tariff laws should be amended by putting the products of trusts upon the free list to prevent monopoly under the plea of protection.

"We condemn the Dingley Tariff law as a trust-breeding measure, skillfully devised to give the few favors which they do not deserve and to place upon the many burdens which they should not bear.

"We reaffirm and indorse the principles of the National Democratic platform adopted at Chicago in 1896, and we reiterate the demand of that platform for an American financial system made by the American people for themselves which shall restore and maintain a bimetallic price level, and as part of such system the immediate restoration of the free and unlimited coinage of silver and gold at the present legal ratio of 16 to 1, without waiting for the consent of any other nation."

The platforms of other parties, such as the Gold Democracy, the Silver Republican party, the Socialist Labor party, and of the People's party (Middle of the Road) need not be quoted. The campaign was waged chiefly on the gold standard question and expansion, and was a very animated one, the Democratic candidate displaying remarkable activity in his tours through the country. The final returns showed: Popular vote, McKinley over Bryan, 849,455; over all, 446,718. Electoral vote, McKinley over Bryan, 137, and a total popular vote of 13,969,770.

In 1900 the decennial census was taken, and by it the total population of the United States in 1900 was shown to be 76,304,799, of which 74,610,523 persons are contained in the forty-five States, representing the population to be used for apportionment purposes. The total population of the country includes 134,158 Indians not taxed, of whom 44,617 are found in certain of the States, and which are to be deducted from the population of such States for the purpose of determining the apportionment of Representatives.

The total population in 1860, with which the aggregate population at the present census should be compared, was 63,069,756, comprising 62,622,250 persons enumerated in the States and organized Territories at that census, 32,052 persons in Alaska, 180,182 Indians and other persons in the Indian Territory, 145,282 Indians and other persons on Indian reservations, etc., and 89,990 persons in Hawaii, this last named figure being derived from the census of the Hawaiian Islands taken as of December 28, 1890. Taking this population for 1890 as a basis, there has been a gain in population of 13,235,043 during the ten years from 1890 to 1900, representing an increase of very nearly twenty-one per cent. A census of Porto Rico, taken in 1899, showed a population of 953,243, but no enumeration has yet been made of the inhabitants of the Philippine group of islands.

The year 1900 opened auspiciously. The temporary flurry into which the country had been flung at the period of the presidential election had been succeeded by confidence, the Cuban question was settled, the Philippine troubles were drawing to a close; at home and abroad everything pointed to a new period of peace and prosperity. Our foreign relations were

satisfactory, and a striking proof of our good understanding with England was shown by the universal sympathy expressed on the death of Queen Victoria, on Jan. 22, and testified to by more than the official tokens of our government to a friendly power, by a general display of flags half-masted, and by commemorative services in many churches. The country was happy to see again, in its highest executive position, the man whose administration will always be identified with such a remarkable development as had taken place, and under whose term it would be brought to a satisfactory conclusion. Our territorial expansion will have results that as yet we cannot foresee, but the most striking phenomenon of McKinley's first term was the commercial revolution. Instead of being exporters of raw material and importers of manufactured goods, we had become exporters of all kinds of industrial products. Instead of being borrowers, we had become lenders; and students of our history and of the history of the world saw that some change in our system was imminent, and who could steer the ship of state so well through the seas it had to traverse as the pilot who had guided it through other seas in safety?

On the 4th of March, William McKinley and Theodore Roosevelt were inaugurated as President and Vice President of the United States, with the greatest military and civic pageant ever witnessed in Washington; and in his speech to the people the President justified his present policy, taking the line which more fully developed in his last speech, the day before his death at Buffalo.

On the 13th of March the death was announced of Benjamin Harrison, the twenty-third President of the United States, the only President excepting John Quincy Adams who could count a President among his ancestors. His death left Grover Cleveland the only living ex-President. Benjamin Harrison was the grandson of William Henry Harrison, the ninth President of the Republic, "old Tippecanoe," and great-grandson of Benjamin Harrison, of Virginia, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence. He was born in South Bend, Indiana, where his father was a farmer, in 1833; studied and practiced law till he entered the army, in 1862, and when the struggle was over returned to civil life and resumed the practice of his profession at Indianapolis. In 1880 he entered the Senate of the United States, and in 1888 was elected President, with Levi P. Morton as Vice-President, on the Republican ticket, by 233 electoral votes, against 168 cast for the late President, Grover Cleveland, and Allen G. Thurman. The first great function in which he appeared was the celebration of the centennial of Washington's inauguration, at New York, in 1889; another was the opening of the World's Fair at Chicago, 1892; but at the next election he was defeated by Grover Cleveland, who received 277 electoral votes over 145 for Harrison. On retiring from his exalted position he resumed his law practice, in which the only interruption was his appointment as a member of the International Court of Arbitration by President McKinley. He was in his sixty-seventh year when he died.

On April 29 the President and Mrs. McKinley left Washington for a trip to the Pacific coast. At every place where he stopped he was greeted by cheering crowds whom he addressed. The health of Mrs. McKinley had long been a cause of anxiety to her husband and her friends, and when the presidential train reached San Francisco her condition, weakened by the long journey and its attendant excitement, necessitated a return homeward, and on May 30 he again was in his

quiet home at Canton.

One of his earliest public utterances on his return was that under no circumstances would he consent to run for a third term. He had been urged to accept another nomination, but he preferred to adhere, in spite of strong solicitations from leading members of his party, to the unwritten clause in the Constitution which restricts the ambition of our Presidents to two terms of office.

In 1897 plans had been drawn up for a Pan-American exhibition at or near Niagara in 1901. The war interfered with the carrying out of the project, but when the war was over the idea was revived on a larger scale, and at the city of Buffalo. Large sums of money were subscribed for completing the scheme; the Federal Government appropriated half a million of dollars to the fund, and on June, 1899, invited all the governments of the Western Hemisphere to participate in the exhibition. A site comprising 350 acres near Buffalo was selected for the buildings, most of them in compliment to the Latin-American countries, being in the style of the Spanish renaissance, with a successful use of color. The great feature of the exposition, however, was the electrical display, and the marvelous resources of electricity were exhibited in more ways than were ever shown in one spot before. Thither the President and Mrs. McKinley, whose health was improved, journeyed, arriving Sept. 4. On Sept. 5 he delivered his last speech, defending his past policy and outlining his future course. A copy of this document we annex to this chapter.

On the following day, Sept. 6, the President again visited the exposition, and this time held a public reception in the Temple of Music. As is customary, a long line of some three thousand persons began to pass before the President about four o'clock. Policemen and detectives were near to him, and in the line, just behind a little girl whom he had kindly welcomed, came a young man, decently dressed, smooth-faced, by no means of a criminal cast of countenance, but evidently of foreign extraction. The only remarkable thing in his appearance was a white handkerchief wrapped round his right hand, as if it had been crushed. As the President leaned forward to shake hands with him (a custom more honored in the breach than in the observance), his gesture indicating that he intended to grasp the left hand, the assassin raised his right hand, dropped the bandage, and fired two shots in quick succession. One of them glanced off the breast and inflicted only a contusion; the second penetrated the stomach and loped in the muscles of the back. The President's first thought was for his wife, and he begged that she be not informed of the attack; the next was for his murderer, who was being badly treated by the bystanders. "Be easy with him, boys," he said, as he sank into a chair. He was at once taken to a room in the building; surgical aid was summoned; an operation to close the wounds of the stomach was performed, and the medical men declared that from a surgical point of view it was perfectly successful. The President was then taken to the home of Mr. Milburn, a director of the exposition, whom he was visiting, and was resting quietly when the night came. For some days after the shooting the bulletins issued by the surgeons spoke most hopefully, late ones even predicting that he would soon be in a condition to be removed to his home. But towards the end of the week hope was succeeded by anxiety, and then anxiety by despair, when on Friday morning a relapse took place and the President was lying a dying man. He calmly bade good-bye to those near and

dear to him; his last words were: "It is God's way; His will be done, not Ours," and he repeated some of the words of his favorite hymn, "Nearer, my God, to Thee." The cause of death was gangrene, as was shown by the Necropsy, and the theory that the bullet was poisoned was rejected. Fourteen medical men of eminence united in declaring that death was the direct result of the wound, and could not have been warded off by any human skill.

On Sunday, after simple funeral exercises in the presence of the family, the body was removed to the City Hall, where it lay in state, while 90,000 persons passed reverently before the remains. On Monday the transference to Washington began; at every station the train was met by silent crowds. On Tuesday the obsequies at Washington took place; there was an elaborate escort of honor, and religious services at the Capitol. The coffin was laid on a platform where Lincoln's remains once rested. On the right stood the members of the late President's family, on the left the new President, Theodore Roosevelt, with his family. Thursday may be described as the people's day of mourning, when the body was taken to his family tomb at Canton. Then, in every city or village of the Union, all flags were at half-mast, all public and many private buildings draped in black or black and purple, all business was suspended, all places of amusement closed, all churches crowded, and the moment of interment was marked throughout the country by the stopping for a few minutes of all traffic; every railroad train, every trolley car, every carriage, every kind of conveyance, heavy or light, paused in reverence and sympathy, as all that was mortal of William McKinley was laid in its grave.

After the assault the assassin was at once seized. He gave the name of Leon Czolgosz, and was a Pole by descent, although born in America. He avowed his belief in Anarchism, but denied that he was the agent of any society or conspiracy. He was twenty-eight years old, attended school at Detroit, and, although not very intelligent in appearance, was by no means repulsive. The police took all precautions against any attempts at lynching, and his trial began at Buffalo Sept. 23. The case was carried on with dignity and promptness. The prisoner had pleaded guilty, but this plea was not accepted, and counsel was assigned to him by the court. The jury was selected with little difficulty, the evidence was brief, and sentence of death was at once pronounced. He was executed in October at the prison at Auburn. Let him be forgotten.

The murder of President McKinley gave as great a shock to Europe as to America. Every State, when the news was flashed across, gave expression to its abhorrence of the assassin's deed, to sympathy with the victim's family, and to good wishes for his recovery. Telegrams from every sovereign and from the Republics of France and Switzerland, all agreed in the messages sent during the last days, and when the end came every country put on signs of mourning, and in England the newspapers appeared with black rules, and services were held in the churches. Never, perhaps, had such general grief been felt, so causeless was the crime. The victim was a man of blameless private character, who had not a personal enemy; the time chosen was when the party struggle was over, and the assassin seemingly had no possible motive to commit his crime.

The first of McKinley's forefathers born in this country served in the Revolutionary war, and, that ended, moved from Pennsylvania to Ohio. There, on Jan. 29, 1843, at a village called Niles,

the late President was born. After a common school education, a partial course at Allegany College, and a few months of teaching school he entered the army in the 23d Ohio Regiment, of which Rutherford B. Hayes was Major. Till the regiment was disbanded he was only once absent on a short furlough, and he left it with the rank of Major. He then studied law, took up his abode in Canton, and took an active share in political life. In 1875 he took the stump for his old commander, Hayes; in 1876 he was elected to Congress, where he soon became noted as an advocate of the protective system. As Chairman of the Ways and Means Committee he gave his name to the bill passed by the LI Congress, which is known as the McKinley Bill. Defeated for another term in Congress, he was elected Governor by 20,000 votes against the Democratic candidate. Reelected Governor by a majority of 80,000, his prominence in the National Convention of 1888, made him a prominent candidate for the Presidency, and his nomination in 1896 was a logical one. The events of the first administration have been already recorded in the pages of OUR COUNTRY, and of them may be here quoted the words of Senator Thurston:

"The achievements of this administration have not only made us a world- wide power, but a power in the whole wide world. The prestige gained for us as a people will be lasting and permanent, guaranteeing continued peace with all other nations, giving us equal advantages for trade and commerce in all other countries, and enabling us to project the mighty energy of all our business enterprises into every field of commercial opportunity and activity.

"In spite of anything said to the contrary, the President has stood by the Constitution of the fathers and has exercised no power or authority without warrant of law.

"In the recent Chinese complications the valor of the American soldiery has been once more exemplified, and the steadfast, conservative, humane position of William McKinley toward the people of the Orient has compelled the great military powers of Europe to modify their more barbarous and selfish plans to meet the requirements of the American conscience.

"Take it all in all, historians will say that the first administration of William McKinley, in peace, in war, at home, abroad, in domestic matters and in international complications, surpasses in importance and abiding results that of any other. It stands to-day indorsed by the American people and approved by the best judgment of the civilized world."

In an address four days before President McKinley's speech at Buffalo, Vice-President Roosevelt, at Minneapolis, gave an exposition of his favorite text, "a strenuous life." "The willfully idle man, like the willfully barren woman, has no place in a sane and vigorous community. We must use no words that we cannot back up with deeds," he said, and added that "the same spirit of strenuous endeavor must characterize the nation as well as the individual; that commercially we ask only for a fair field and no favor, and that we can best get justice by doing justice." Respecting Cuba, he said that we have given the island law and order, and ask in return only that at no time their independence shall be prostituted to the advantage of some foreign power so as to menace our well-being. As to the Philippines, he remarked: "Barbarism can have no place in a civilized world," and that Governor Taft was giving the islands "a peace and liberty

of which they never dreamed." Compared with the President's speech the day before he was attacked, this expressed the policy of the administration and the policy, now that he has succeeded to the supreme executive office, President Roosevelt will carry out.

As soon as the assault on President McKinley was known the Vice- President and the Cabinet were summoned to Buffalo. The physicians then were all hopeful of the President's recovery, and Mr. Roosevelt went to the Adirondacks to bring his family home. When death was seen to be inevitable another message was sent to recall him. He at once set out and reached Buffalo on Saturday afternoon. The oath of office as President was administered at once in the presence of five members of the Cabinet, and before taking it he made the declaration: "I wish to state that it shall be my aim to continue absolutely unbroken the policy of President McKinley for the peace, prosperity and honor of our beloved country." He announced that all the members of the Cabinet had been requested to retain office, and that no special session of Congress would be called. President Roosevelt's first official act was to issue a proclamation appointing Thursday, Sept. 19, the day of McKinley's funeral, as a day of mourning and prayer, and in it occurred the sentence: "President McKinley crowned a life of largest love for his fellow men, of most earnest endeavor for their welfare, by a death of Christian fortitude; and both the way in which he lived his life and the way in which, in the supreme hour of trial, he met his death will remain forever a precious heritage of our people."

Theodore Roosevelt, the twenty-fifth President of the United States, is the youngest man who ever filled the office of President. He is, too, we may say, one of the most romantic figures that have appeared in our annals. A scholar and a ranchman, an author and a soldier, a lawyer and a politician, he has in abundant measure the qualities that make men great when they are united with courage and integrity, and, to use his own words, strenuousness. Eight generations of his family have been prominent in the affairs of New York State, and Theodore, only a year after leaving college, entered the Assembly at Albany, in which he served three terms, becoming noticeable by his opposition to the "third term scheme." He was unsuccessful as Republican candidate for Mayor of New York against Abram S. Hewitt, but he did admirable work for his party when he acted as Police Commissioner under Mayor Strong in 1895. He was appointed, in 1897, Assistant Secretary of the Navy, and his work in preparing the navy for the war was warmly acknowledged by Secretary Long and the President. When the war broke out he, inspired by his own maxim, "We must use no words that we cannot back up by deeds," resigned his position at Washington, and with his Rough Riders proceeded to Cuba. The war over, he was elected Governor of New York, and in the late campaign accepted, with reluctance, the nomination for the Vice-Presidency. He undoubtedly, by the reputation he had already won and the energy he exhibited in the campaign, contributed to the success of the ticket.

President Mckinley's Last Speech.

President Milburn, Director-General Buchanan, Commissioners, Ladies and Gentlemen: I am glad to again be in the city of Buffalo and exchange greetings with her people, to whose generous hospitality I am not a stranger, and with whose good will I have been repeatedly and signally

honored. Today I have additional satisfaction in meeting and giving welcome to the foreign representatives assembled here, whose presence and participation in this Exposition have contributed in so marked a degree to its interest and success. To the Commissioners of the Dominion of Canada and the British Colonies, the French Colonies, the republics of Mexico and of Central and South America, and the Commissioners of Cuba and Porto Rico, who share with us in this undertaking, we give the hand of fellowship, and felicitate with them upon the triumphs of art, science, education and manufacture, which the old has bequeathed to the new century.

Expositions are the time-keepers of progress. They record the world's advancement. They stimulate the energy, enterprise and intellect of the people, and quicken human genius. They go into the home. They broaden and brighten the daily life of the people. They open mighty storehouses of information to the student. Every exposition, great or small, has helped to some onward step.

Comparison of ideas is always educational, and as such instructs the brain and hand of men. Friendly rivalry follows, which is the spur to industrial improvement, the inspiration to useful invention and to high endeavor in all departments of human activity. It exacts a study of the wants, comforts, and even the whims of the people, and recognizes the efficacy of high quality and low prices to win their favor. The quest for trade is an incentive to men of business to devise, invent, improve, and economize in the cost of production. Business life, whether among ourselves or with other peoples, is ever a sharp struggle for success. It will be none the less so in the future. Without competition we would be clinging to the clumsy and antiquated processes of farming and manufacture, and the methods of business of long ago, and the twentieth would be no further advanced than the eighteenth century. But though commercial competitors we are, commercial enemies we must not be.

The Pan-American Exposition has done its work thoroughly presenting in its exhibits evidences of the highest skill and illustrating the progress of the human family in the western hemisphere. This portion of the earth has no cause for humiliation for the part it has performed in the march of civilization. It has not accomplished everything; far from it. It has simply done its best, and without vanity or boastfulness, and recognizing the manifold achievements of others, it invites the friendly rivalry of all the Powers in the peaceful pursuits of trade and commerce, and will cooperate with all in advancing the highest and best interests of humanity. The wisdom and energy of all the nations are none too great for the world's work. The success of art, science, industry, and invention is an inter national asset, and a common glory.

After all, how near one to the other is every part of the world. Modern inventions have brought into close relation widely separated peoples and made them better acquainted. Geographic and political divisions will continue to exist, but distances have been effaced. Swift ships and fast trains are becoming cosmopolitan. They invade fields which a few years ago were impenetrable. The world's products are exchanged as never before, and with increasing transportation facilities come increasing knowledge and larger trade. Prices are fixed with mathematical precision by supply and demand. The world's selling prices are regulated by market

and crop reports. We travel greater distances in a shorter space of time and with more ease than was ever dreamed of by the fathers. Isolation is no longer possible or desirable. The same important news is read, though in different languages, the same day in all Christendom.

The telegraph keeps us advised of what is occurring everywhere, and the press foreshadows, with more or less accuracy, the plans and purposes of the nations. Market prices of products and of securities are hourly known in every commercial mart, and the investments of the people extend beyond their own national boundaries into the remotest parts of the earth. Vast transactions are conducted and international exchanges are made by the tick of the cable. Every event of interest is immediately bulletined. The quick gathering and transmission of news, like rapid transit, are of recent origin, and are only made possible by the genius of the inventor and the courage of the investor. It took a special messenger of the Government, with every facility known at the time for rapid travel, nineteen days to go from the city of Washington to New Orleans with a message to General Jackson that the war with England had ceased and a treaty of peace had been signed. How different now. We reached General Miles, in Porto Rico, and he was able through the military telegraph to stop his army on the firing line with the message that the United States and Spain had signed a protocol suspending hostilities. We knew almost instantly of the first shots fired at Santiago, and the subsequent surrender of the Spanish forces was known at Washington within less than an hour of its consummation. The first ship of Cervera's fleet had hardly emerged from that historic harbor when the fact was flashed to our Capitol, and the swift destruction that followed was announced immediately through the wonderful medium of telegraphy.

So accustomed are we to safe and easy communication with distant lands that its temporary interruption, even in ordinary times, results in loss and inconvenience. We shall never forget the days of anxious waiting and suspense when no information was permitted to be sent from Peking, and the diplomatic representatives of the nations in China, cut off from all communication, inside and outside of the walled capital, were surrounded by an angry and misguided mob that threatened their lives; nor the joy that thrilled the world when a single message from the Government of the United States brought through our Minister the first news of the safety of the besieged diplomats.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century there was not a mile of steam railroad on the globe; now there are enough miles to make its circuit in any times. Then there was not a line of electric telegraph; now we have a vast mileage traversing all lands and all seas. God and man have linked the nations together. No nation can longer be indifferent to any other. And as we are brought more and more in touch with each other, the less occasion is there for misunderstandings, and the stronger the disposition, when we have differences, to adjust them in the court of arbitration, which is the noblest forum for the settlement of international disputes.

My fellow citizens, trade statistics indicate that this country is in a state of unexampled prosperity. The figures are almost appalling. They show that we are utilizing our fields and forests and mines, and that we are furnishing profitable employment to the millions of

workingmen throughout the United States, bringing comfort and happiness to their homes, and making it possible to lay by savings for old age and disability. That all the people are participating in this great prosperity is seen in every American community and shown by the enormous and unprecedented deposits in our savings banks. Our duty in the care and security of these deposits and their safe investment demands the highest integrity and the best business capacity of those in charge of these depositories of the people's earnings.

We have a vast and intricate business, built up through years of toil and struggle, in which every part of the country has its stake, which will not permit of either neglect, or of undue selfishness. No narrow, sordid policy will subserve it. The greatest skill and wisdom on the part of manufacturers and producers will be required to hold and increase it. Our industrial enterprises, which have grown to such great proportions, affect the homes and occupations of the people and the welfare of the country. Our capacity to produce has developed so enormously and our products have so multiplied that the problem of more markets requires our urgent and immediate attention. Only a broad and enlightened policy will keep what we have. No other policy will get more. In these times of marvelous business energy and gain we ought to be looking to the future, strengthening the weak places in our industrial and commercial systems, that we may be ready for any storm or strain.

By sensible trade arrangements which will not interrupt our home production we shall extend the outlets for our increasing surplus. A system which provides a mutual exchange of commodities is manifestly essential to the continued and healthful growth of our export trade. We must not repose in fancied security that we can forever sell everything and buy little or nothing. If such a thing here possible it would not be best for us or for those with whom we deal. We should take from our customers such of their products as we can use without harm to our industries and labor. Reciprocity is the natural outgrowth of our wonderful industrial development under the domestic policy now firmly established.

What we produce beyond our domestic consumption must have a vent abroad. The excess must be relieved through a foreign outlet, and we should sell everywhere we can and buy wherever the buying will enlarge our sales and productions, and thereby make a greater demand for home labor.

The period of exclusiveness is past. The expansion of our trade and commerce is the pressing problem. Commercial wars are unprofitable. A policy of good will and friendly trade relations will prevent reprisals. Reciprocity treaties are in harmony with the spirit of the times; measures of retaliation are not. If, perchance, some of our tariffs are no longer needed for revenue or to encourage and protect our industries at home, why should they not be employed to extend and promote our markets abroad? Then, too, we have inadequate steamship service. New lines of steamships have already been put in commission between the Pacific coast ports of the United States and those on the western coasts of Mexico and Central and South America. These should be followed up with direct steamship lines between the western coast of the United States and South American ports. One of the needs of the times is direct commercial lines from our vast

fields of production to the fields of consumption that we have but barely touched. Next in advantage to having the thing to sell is to have the conveyance to carry it to the buyer. We must encourage our merchant marine. We must have more ships. They must be under the American flag, built and manned and owned by Americans. These will not only be profitable in a commercial sense; they will be messengers of peace and amity wherever they go.

We must build the Isthmian Canal, which will unite the two oceans and give a straight line of water communication with the western coasts of Central and South America and Mexico. The construction of a Pacific cable cannot be longer postponed. In the furtherance of these objects of national interest and concern you are performing an important part. This Exposition would have touched the heart of that American statesman whose mind was ever alert and thought ever constant for a larger commerce and a truer fraternity of the republics of the New World. His broad American spirit is felt and manifested here. He needs no identification to an assemblage of Americans anywhere, for the name of Blaine is inseparably associated with the Pan-American movement which finds here practical and substantial expression, and which we all hope will be firmly advanced by the Pan-American Congress that assembles this autumn in the capital of Mexico. The good work will go on. It cannot be stopped. These buildings will disappear; this creation of art and beauty and industry will perish from sight, but their influence will remain to "make it live beyond its too short living with praises and thanksgiving." Who can tell the new thoughts that have been awakened, the ambitions fired and the high achievements that will be wrought through this Exposition?

Let us ever remember that our interest is in concord, not conflict; and that our real eminence rests in the victories of peace, not those of war. We hope that all who are represented here may be moved to higher and nobler effort for their own and the world's good, and that out of this city may come not only greater commerce and trade for us all, but, more essential than these relations of mutual respect, confidence and friendship which will deepen and endure. Our earnest prayer is that God will graciously vouchsafe prosperity, happiness and peace to all our neighbors, and like blessings to all the peoples and powers of earth.

Chapter CL

The Roosevelt Regime: I - New Historical Era begun with War with Spain - Sound Statesmanship and Vigorous Administration of President Roosevelt - The London "Spectator" on his gifts and characteristics as a Typical Whig - Colonial Expansion of the Nation - Ameliorating effects of American Interference in Cuba - Autonomy in the Island Republic and withdrawal of the United States - Our Insular Possessions in Porto Rico, Hawaii, Guam, and the Philippines - Education in the Latter - Commercial Gains in our Dependencies qualify incipient dread of Imperialism - Change of Masters and its effects, near and prospective, in our, New Possessions.

THE new historical epoch which the previous chapter relates as having dawned upon the Nation is one of obvious and notable distinction. It dates from the period of our War with Spain, in 1898, and the eventful incidents which marked that conflict with the effete Old World Power whose dominance, before the regime of political janizaries brought it to impotence, was once great in the New World. We have since travelled a long way from that fateful period, and a still longer way from the era when these United States were first proclaimed a confederation or league, consecrated to liberty and devoted to the cause of human advancement and rational freedom. Coincident with the War with Spain, and a result of its triumphs by the military and naval forces of the Nation, has come the extra-continental expansion of the Republic and its assumption of dominion, imperial almost in its sway, in tile neighboring West Indies and the Far East. That our new departure as a Nation, which began with our righteous, interposition in Cuba, to save its people and a blighted colony from wanton misrule, tyrannous oppression, and a hated race-aggrandizement, and give them and it the advantages of independence and freedom from the plundering civil and military officials of an inept and atrophied Old World kingdom, has been without its drawbacks and a certain misgiving as to its far-reaching results, we do not say; but it would seem to have been providentially designed in the interest of advancing civilization, and as such welcome to numberless devout as well as humane hearts in the Nation, and at the same time gratifying to the patriotic ardor and high national instincts of the far-seeing, progressive portions of our people.

In taking this onward, progressive trend, the United States has had, at this momentous period of its career, the great advantage of having at the head of its administration a man of uncommon, indeed of rare, mould one who, while forceful and energetic, is at once sound and sane in all he says and does, and whose principles are those of a just yet fearless, righteous and God-fearing man. In succeeding to the Presidency on the lamentable death of William McKinley, President Roosevelt assumed his high administrative office at an eventful moment, the War with Spain, in which he took part, being over, and the Nation needing guidance in the peaceful settlement and political and social reorganization of its newly acquired, oversea possessions. What he has accomplished, aided by his Cabinet officers and the heads of the administrative departments in this delicate, crucial work is well known. Under his sane rule and virile, inspiring force, he has striven admirably to guide the ship of State in approved, unsensational directions, and in the foreign affairs of the Government has sought to hold high the head and front of the Nation. At the head of the national Executive, "he represents," as the London Spectator has recently remarked, "the

sanest and most honorable traditions of American public life, instilling into every branch of Government that high sense of public duty with which he is himself inspired." "Under his guidance," the able, critical journal we have quoted continues, "he neither fears the mob nor the plutocrat at home; nor does he allow the greatness of the United States abroad to dwindle or grow dim from 'craven fears of being great.'" As a typical Whig (using the term in its best and most worthy historical sense), the Spectator speaks of President Roosevelt "as a man who makes reason and moderation his guide in public affairs, and who at the same time is inspired by a lively faith in the principle of liberty and justice - who believes that in the last resource a man is his own star, and that it is the business of the State rather to preserve liberty of action for the individual than to attempt to play the part of a fostering Providence." The true Whig - the journal goes on to say - "hates the extremes of socialism and tyranny equally, and desires a sane man in a sane State rather than any impossible ideal of material equality. The Whig insists that no career in the State shall be closed to individual exertion, but does not wish to see a jealous or interfering Government. He can tolerate the rich man as well as the poor, provided that the rich man makes no oppressive use of his wealth, and owes nothing to the favoritism of the law or the Executive. This is the kind of Whig the Whig set forth in the writings of such men as Macaulay and Sydney Smith which we believe the President to be. This standard of reason and justice, moderation and common-sense, we expect to see President Roosevelt apply to the internal affairs of the United States as far as the Constitution will permit him. That he has now every right to apply it (with our experience of his first period in office) who can deny?"

"The people of the Union knew from the experience of three years what, kind of man he was, and what were his views; and he may fairly take his return to power by so enormous a majority as a mandate from the people to carry into action the policy which he has placed before them since he went to the White House. In home affairs we expect to see his influence used to prevent the vast accumulations of capital which are so marked a feature of modern American life being used oppressively or unjustly. The President will prove no enemy to capital where it has been fairly earned and justly maintained. He will, however, oblige it to respect the law, and where it is used either to defy the law or to oppress the individual, he will take means to regulate it. But his determination that the millionaires and the undertakings which they control shall not form an imperium in imperio - a privileged State within the State - will not prevent him from insisting also that Labor has its duties as well as its rights, and that no excuse can be allowed for any dereliction in respect to such duties. The State which gives Labor, considered apart from the rest of the community, a privileged position is as much to be condemned as the State where the rich man, because he is a rich man, is allowed to override the law."

Besides this deserved compliment to the President of Our Country and his high administrative gifts, the Spectator thoughtfully comments on other topics of national and international interest, and expresses its conviction that the United States, under Mr. Roosevelt's regime, will see the Panama Canal constructed; popular government in the Philippines continued in the true interests of their inhabitants; the navy strengthened; and the Monroe Doctrine modestly yet stoutly maintained, in the letter and spirit, as our American people desire, though without any undue assertion on dangerous grounds that might lead to unwise foreign entanglements. It also

expresses confidence in President Roosevelt's known wish and desire to deal justly with the negro question and that he will place the race, socially as well as politically, in no equivocal or inhumane position. The article concludes with an eulogium on the high personal character and sound common sense of President Roosevelt - "two qualities which are combined in every ruler whose schemes and policies come to fruition" - and affirms its belief "that his administration will leave indelible traces on the larger half of the English-speaking race, and that for the whole of that race it will be a lesson and an example in sound and sane government."

The significance of events following upon the War with Spain has not been sufficiently appreciated. The effect upon Spain herself, whose colonial possessions, chiefly in Africa, are now reduced to an area of 80,500 square miles, we need not stop to consider. To that nation, the loss of her old-time colonies in the New World and in the Pacific, humiliating as it has been to her ruler and people, may be a blessing in disguise, since it deprives her greedy officials of opportunities for indulging in wanton prodigality and oppression, while it relieves the kingdom of heavy expenditure in maintaining dependencies which it has been shown she has no aptitude for properly governing, either in those she was compelled to relinquish to this country, or in the islands in the Pacific she parted with, by treaty in 1899, to Germany. In her internal affairs, under her young King (Alfonso XIII.) she has enough profitably to occupy her, especially in the way of national reorganization, and hampered as the country is with a partially demoralized government, a jealous and obstructing opposition, a heavy debt and a draining taxation, and with parts of the Kingdom (Catalonia and the Basque Provinces, especially) affected by a chronic disposition to revolt. Her recuperative powers, if they are fortunate enough to have fair play, are however great, for her soil is very productive, her grain, sugar, orange, and wine trade is large, her cotton manufactures are prosperous, while parts of the Peninsula are rich in minerals. Liberalism, for a time, gave promise in Spain of accomplishing much in the way of reform, especially during the life-time of the gracious and humane as well as disinterested and patriotic queen-mother, Maria Christina; but the absolutism with which it had to contend, together with political incapacity and indifference and bureaucratic hostility to liberty and self-government, have choked its growth and retarded the efforts it might have made, in spite of the anarchy that prevailed within and without the Kingdom, in effecting reforms and modernizing the Government and the nation.

In Cuba, the ameliorating effects of American interference and invasion - after a long period of tolerance and forbearance - has been wholly good, and changed the dire aspect of affairs which prevailed when We were forced to interpose to quell disaffection and put an end to the brutal regime of General Weyler. Since our relinquishment of and withdrawal from the island and its assumption of the position of an independent State, under President Estrada Palma, Cuba has made much progress socially, politically, and economically. In the latter point of view, We may state, - that her exports have grown from a total of under 50 million dollars in value in 1899 to a total of 78 1/2 millions in 1905. The staple products of the island, which form the bulk of her exports, are sugar, tobacco, fruits, molasses, and rum, together With mahogany and other forest growths. The sugar exports, which are largely to Great Britain, have doubled in value since 1901; while the exports of tobacco, both of cigars and leaf tobacco, have also grown, as has the iron-ore shipped to the United States, aggregating 50,000 tons a month. The trade relations with this

country are, naturally, close as well as profitable to both countries, as are those with our other marine possessions once held by Spain - Porto Rico, Hawaii, and the Philippines: The bulk and reciprocal character of this trade, which since our occupancy of these island domain has been a steadily expanding one, may be seen from the following figures. In the case of Cuba, now an independent State, our exports from the island have grown in value from 53 3/4 million dollars in 1890 to 77 million dollars in 1904, while our imports to it, during the same period, have expanded from 13 to 27 million dollars in value. Equally remarkable have been the growth of trade and the interchange of commodities, within a like period, in the case of both Porto Rico and Hawaii - our exports to Porto Rico having increased from 2 to nearly 11 million dollars in fourteen years (seven of which it has been in our occupancy), and our imports to it have increased from 4 to 11 1/2 millions; while our exports to Hawaii have grown from 4 3/4 to 11 3/4 million dollars, and our imports from the island have grown from 12 to 25 millions!

The progress of the Hawaiian (or Sandwich) Islands, since their annexation in 1898 as a Territory of the United States, has been very striking. By the Census taken in 1900 the islands had a total population of 154,001, an increase in four years, chiefly of Americans, Japanese, and Chinese, of almost 45,000. The population of Honolulu, the capital, on the Island of Oahu, was 39,305, made up, in the way of creeds, of Protestants, Roman Catholics, and Buddhists, with a sprinkling of Mormons. Here, and throughout most of the islands, schools have been established. English being the chief language taught; while elementary education has been made free. Six lines of steamers connect the islands with the United States and Canada, Australia, China, and Japan; and besides various lines of tramway in the towns there are 130 miles of railway throughout the different islands, while all are connected by wireless telegraphy. Honolulu, moreover, is lighted by electricity, and is traversed by electric cars and rapidly extending lines of tramway. The islands, which are characteristically mountainous and volcanic, are exceedingly fertile, sugar and rice being extensively raised, besides the coffee bean, and the banana fruit. In 1903, the year's output of sugar exceeded 387,000 tons.

In Porto Rico, which became a possession of the United States in December, 1898, and was given representative government in 1901, the area is 3,606 square miles, and the population in 1899 was 953,243. The chief towns are San Juan, Ponce, and Mayaguez. In them an efficient school system was organized in 1899, the teachers being mainly from the United States. Besides elementary schools, the island has been given some degree of higher education, including the work of normal schools and an agricultural college. The products of the island embrace besides coffee (the chief export), sugar, tobacco, and fruit, including bananas, oranges, and pineapples. Mining is as yet in its infancy, though there is a large industry in the salt works, whose annual yield is 10 million pounds of salt. Porto Rico has an adequate railway service, 140 miles in extent, with 470 miles of telegraph lines.

Of the other insular possessions of the United States the most important of those ceded, in December, 1898, by Spain, following the effectual demolition of the Spanish fleet in Manila Bay by Admiral Dewey, and the suppression of Filipino insurgency under Aguinaldo, is the extensive Philippine group in the Southern Pacific. The area of the group, including the Sulu Islands,

together with the two main islands, Luzon and Mindanao, is about 127,853 square miles, with a population, estimated in 1903, of 7,635,426, of whom 647,740 are said to be uncivilized. The capital of the archipelago is Manila, now constituted as a province, with 219,928 inhabitants, chiefly of the Malayan race, including (in the islands as a whole) about 25,000 Americans and Europeans, 100,000 Chinese, and some Negrito tribes. The Philippines have a fine, though tropical, climate, while the soil is very fertile, but lacks labor for its proper cultivation. The chief article of commerce is hemp, of which \$21,800,000 worth was exported in 1904; the other principal exports are sugar, tobacco, oil-nuts, and copra. In 1902 Congress passed an Act giving the Philippine people civil government, following upon the cessation of disturbances in the islands and the termination of military rule. In that year, Wm. H. Taft was appointed Governor, and, in December, 1903, he was succeeded by Luke E. Wright. The Central Government is composed, besides the Governor, chief of the Executive, of seven Commissioners (four Americans and three Filipinos), who constitute the legislative body. There are four Executive departments, those of the Interior, Commerce and Police, - Finance and Justice, and Public Instruction, of which the American Commissioners are secretaries. The islands are subdivided into forty provinces, each having a local governor and other functionaries; while local municipal government has been instituted in over 900 towns. There has also been established a Philippines Constabulary and Municipal Police for the maintenance of public order. For the administration of justice there is a Supreme Court with seven judges, sixteen judicial districts, each with a court of first instance, a court of land registration with two judges, and a court of customs appeals with two judges.

Education is another of the advantages given to Filipinos by the United States on becoming Masters of this and other insular areas in the Pacific. English is taught in all the public schools of the islands, of which there are about 3,000 with 227,000 enrolled pupils (in March, 1904), besides night schools for adults, with 25,000 in attendance. The educational machinery is under the direction of the Secretary of Public Instruction, under whom, besides a general superintendent, there is a teaching staff of American teachers for all grades, Filipino teachers on Government pay, and Filipino instructors paid by the municipalities. The cost of maintaining this teaching staff, Americans and natives, is in the neighborhood of \$1,720,000 per annum. A school for training teachers is also part of the educational equipment. While industrial and trade schools have recently been established. At Manila, there is, moreover, the St. Thomas University, with several faculties, including one of Medicine.

Philippine commerce has not been slow to feel the impulse given to it by American ownership and occupancy, as the following statistics show. In 1900, the total exports of the islands amounted to \$27,990,000 whereas, in 1904, they had increased to \$37,033,185; while, in the same period, the imports had risen from \$24,864,000 to \$34,327,481. Within the past four years the exports to the United States alone, from the archipelago, have more than doubled in value, the figures in 1900 being \$5,971,208, while in 1904 they were \$12,066,934. The imports of the Philippines from the United States, for the same period, indicate a proportionate advance - the figures, in 1900, being \$2,640,449, against a value of \$4,831,860 in 1904. Gratifying as are these statistics representing the trade expansion of the Philippine Islands within the brief period of American possession of them, there are indications that the economic situation will be vastly

improved in the next few years. The justification for this surmise arises from the known wealth of the Islands, not only in valuable forest timber, gum, and dye woods, but in lignite coal of the best grade, iron ore, and other minerals, which, like agriculture, are hardly as yet developed. It is also justified by what is reported of the efforts being made by the local bureaus, agricultural and forestry, in establishing experimental farms and distributing for general cultivation improved quantities of plants, seeds, roots, etc.; while giving instruction in combating destructive insects, in raising the grade of live stock, and in suggesting more scientific methods of curing tobacco and producing a better quality of hemp. Forest rangers have also been appointed to protect and care for the valuable timber and dye woods, and to encourage the re-planting of the more important native trees. Prospectors have also been sent out to examine and report upon the mineral lands over a wide area, and to test the qualities of the ores.

The value to the United States of the islands of Guam and Tutuila is chiefly as naval and coaling stations for our war-vessels and commercial marine in the waters of the Pacific. Both have exceptionally fine roadsteads; while the islands, lying as they do in the path of vessels making for Manila, in the Philippines, or for Auckland, New Zealand, are advantageous as ports of refuge or call, since they are now connected by cable with San Francisco. Guam belongs to the Ladrone Archipelago, in the Pacific, while Tutuila, with its magnificent harbor of Pago-Pago, is one of the Samoan group. Both are luxuriantly wooded, well watered, and fertile, the former having an area of 200, and the latter an area of 54 square miles with a population respectively of 9,000 and 3,800. Copra is found largely in Tutuila, and has begun to be exported; while Guam's exports consist of sugar, rice, cacao, tobacco, and tropical fruits.

Such, in brief, is the story of United States gains as the result of our War with Spain, gains that, as yet, are only in an immature state; but which, ere long, must have a vastly increased influence, alike on the United States nation, and on the various peoples inhabiting our new possessions who have come within the national aegis and jurisdiction. The gains are such as materially to qualify, at home, the incipient dread of imperialism; while, abroad, it must make for the increased prestige and repute of the American Republic, as a nation keeping abreast of the great currents of national life and activity, and looking kindly on the advance of progressive ideas and world-wide political, commercial, and social influence. Nor is it the least gratifying feature in our now expanded nation to note with what justice and fair-dealing, as well as with what ability and vigor, we have won and occupied, as inalienable possessions, these extensions of our dominion, and how beneficent, to the colonies themselves, must be the results of bringing them within the range and influence of American civilization. In the change of masters, they have already recognized that the Nation now having authority over them is not a decrepit and extortionate Old World Power, steeped in corruption and superstition, and from the galling dominion of which they are glad to escape; but a strong, just, and helpful modern nation, whose greatness and restrained, disciplined force is their protection, and whose healthy training in political life is certain to be beneficial in its influence on rising communities beginning a new and more hopeful career, with every freedom to carve out a prosperous industrial and social future for themselves and politically and morally to rise in the scale of being.

Chapter CLI

The Roosevelt Regime: II - The Pacific Cable - Panama Isthmian - Canal - Settlement with Great Britain of the Alaskan Boundary Dispute - Entente between Britain and the United States - Presidential Elections of 1904 - Republican Victory and Re-installment of Mr. Roosevelt as President - His Administrative Qualities - The Federal Cabinet - Call for Sharp Executive Vigilance and Legislative Restraints on Trusts, etc., on Moral Grounds - Industrial Disturbances and Labor Controversies - The Conflict between Capital and Labor - Centennial Expositions and Industrial Exhibits, the other and brighter side of the Labor Problems - Centenary of the U. S. Military Academy at West Point, N. Y. - Healing of the Scars of the Civil War Conflict, and Fraternizing of the Veterans, North and South, under Union Auspices.

HAVING set forth the more obvious proprietary and economic gains which have accrued to the United States as the result of the War with Spain, and glanced at some of the benefits conferred by the American nation on our overseas Colonies, let us resume the narrative of events proper to this work, and particularly those that, since 1901, have marked the history of the two periods of the Roosevelt Administration. Before passing from our Island Possessions in the Pacific, it is interesting to note that, in the summer of 1903, President Roosevelt formally opened the line of Submarine Cable from San Francisco, via Hawaii, Midway Island, and Gnam, to Manila, in the Philippines, by despatching a congratulatory message from Oyster Bay (Mr. Roosevelt's summer residence on Long Island) to the Hon. William H. Taft, Governor of the Philippines (later on U. S. Secretary of War), conveying his greetings to the Governor and people of the Philippines on the completion of the undertaking. From Manila the cable proceeds to Hong Kong, thus connecting the United States with the Far East, and, through the agency of other Cable Companies, girdling the entire globe. Another vast enterprise of the new century which, when completed, will give readier and more speedy means of reaching, by steam and sailing vessel, the Pacific and the Far East, from the Old World and the Atlantic front of this Continent, is the revived project to complete the construction of the Panama Isthmian Canal - a project which, ere many years are over, we trust we may see achieved. Much discussion, the reader will be aware, has arisen of recent years over the route to be chosen for the construction of the canal, many engineering experts inclining, as did a number of U. S. Senators, to the Nicaragua route, as the better and less costly, though a longer, one. The objection to the latter route, however, lay in the fact that the region of the Nicaragua Republic is one much disturbed by volcanic upheaval, and on this account is an undesirable one for the construction of the water passageway to connect the two great Oceans, and, as it were, bring the two coasts of the United States together. Matters were greatly facilitated by an agreement come to with the Panama Republic, in November, 1903, and this country, whereby a region, five miles wide, known as the Canal Zone, was formally ceded by treaty for the construction of the enterprise. This Zone lies between the ports of Panama and Colon, a distance of 47 miles, and is the one in which a French financial and engineering company had long operated. The agreement was finally ratified in February, 1904, and in July of that year the provisional delimitations of the boundaries of the United States territory on the Isthmus were agreed to and signed. In return for the Zone-grant by Panama, and its agreed upon privileges, the United States paid \$10,000,000 on the ratification of the treaty, and is to pay \$250,000 yearly

after the lapse of nine years. The Canal Treaty, by an earlier arrangement and agreement with Great Britain, provides, by consent of the United States, for the neutralization of the inter-oceanic canal, by whatever route constructed, and for its use on equal terms by vessels of all nations.

Another important treaty between the United States and Great Britain was that which settled, in 1903, by joint arbitration, the long debated and vexed question of the international boundary line between Alaska and Canada. The U. S. Territory of Alaska, it will be remembered, was in 1867 acquired by purchase from Russia, at a cost of \$7,200,000; but its limitations on the Canadian side, adjoining the region of the Yukon, had never been precisely defined. This for many years had been a subject of thorny contention with Great Britain, acting on behalf of the Canadian Dominion as the ill-defined boundary of Alaska, and the United States' command on the coast line on the N. W. of the British Columbia Province, from the region of the Portland Canal northward, interposed a barrier to Canadians and British subjects in getting access to the gold-fields of the Canadian Klondike. A *modus vivendi*, in 1899, tided over the difficulty by provisional arrangement, whereby access to the Yukon Valley could be had by way of the head of Lynn Canal; but this was only a temporary make-shift until an arbitration decision on the points in dispute could be had. This finally came about, early in 1903, through the good offices of the late Hon. John Hay, U. S. Secretary of State, and the then British Ambassador at Washington, Sir Michael Herbert. The arbitration Commission, three from each side, met in London later in the year (1903), and their decision, which was in favor of the claims of the United States, was declared in October, and was ratified by the U. S. Senate and by Great Britain, respectively, in the months of February and March in the following year (1904). "The arbitration of the delicate question and the definitive award furnished," as President Roosevelt thoughtfully observed in his Annual Message on December 7, 1903, "signal proof of the fairness and good-will with which two friendly nations can approach and determine issues involving national sovereignty, and by their nature incapable of submission to a third power for adjudication."

This example of international good-feeling, and of the "etente" now abundantly manifest between the two great English-speaking nations, is, happily, in many other instances in the relations of the two peoples, exhibiting itself. It is seen especially in the exchange of visits at American and British ports of the navies of each country, and in the receptions and departures of the Ambassadors of both nations. We saw this but the other day on the occasion of the withdrawal of the Hon. Joseph H. Choate, our diplomatic representative in Britain, from the embassy in London, a withdrawal the English press spoke of universally with genuine regret. The happy relations which Mr. Choate for a number of years had had with the official and professional classes in England were fervently expressed by him at the farewell banquet tendered him by the English Bench and Bar Association, held in the hall of Lincoln's Inn, London, when he said with unfeigned enthusiasm and earnestness that his task as a diplomatist had been rendered absolutely easy by the fact that he had been received and met half-way by Lord Salisbury and Lord Lansdowne; by the resolute determination of Queen Victoria and King Edward, of Presidents McKinley and Roosevelt, that the two countries should be friends; and by the temper of the great mass of the two peoples." Mr. Choate also spoke felicitously of the substantial identity of English and American law," and gave some illustrations of the intimate and enduring relations between the

Bench and Bar of England and the United States."

In a previous chapter, record has been made, after the lamentable assassination of President McKinley, of the succession of the then Vice- President to the Presidency. The circumstances which called for the elevation of Mr. Roosevelt to the office of Chief Magistrate were deplorable and evoked universal regret. In assuming the helm of State, President Roosevelt, with his wonted tact, considerably approved the political policy of his lamented predecessor and retained in office the members of the McKinley Cabinet. The endorsement of his own policy and wise though forceful administration of affairs came three years later, at the returning period when nominations are made for the Presidential election. At the Republican National Convention, which met at Chicago June 21, 1904, Mr. Roosevelt was enthusiastically nominated as the sole candidate of the party for President; and, as his running mate, the Convention put forward Charles W. Fairbanks, U. S. Senator from Indiana, as its nominee for Vice-President. In the following month, the Democratic National Convention was convened at St. Louis, when the drift of Democratic favor inclined strongly towards Mr. Cleveland; but as that gentleman, who had twice before filled the Presidential chair, refused again to be a candidate, the nomination for the Presidency, after considerable discussion, fell to Judge Alton B. Parker, of New York, and the nomination for Vice-President to Senator Henry G. Davis, of New York. Mr. Justice Parker's nomination was to the Republican Party an embarrassing one, as he was looked upon as a strong candidate, and from his abilities and high character one likely to run a close race with Mr. Roosevelt for the honored post of President. The issue, after the usual activities of both parties, was finally assured to the Republican Candidate, Mr. Roosevelt, who, at the general elections, held in February, 1905, was returned as President by a popular vote of 2,523,750 over his chief opponent, Judge Parker - the electoral vote, which gave Mr. Roosevelt 336 and Justice Parker 140, or 196 of a majority in favor of the former - confirming the election to Mr. Roosevelt. Of the scattering votes cast, Mr. Debs, Socialist, received 386,955, Mr. Swallow, Prohibitionist, received 254,923, Mr. Watson, Populist, 117,257 and Mr. Corrigan, representing the Socialist-Labor party, received 29,222.

The popular choice of Mr. Roosevelt, by an overwhelming majority, and his re-installment in the Presidential office, was, it will be admitted, a notable tribute to a man of fine statesmanship and high calibre, worthy alike of the honor and the confidence of the great American people. It is true, he has opinions of his own and a will and purpose strong enough to enable him to carry through what he sees is not only just and right, but whatever is for the best interests of the nation. While he ever manifests absolute confidence in himself, as a man of high purpose and sound common-sense, he can, we know, be just and stern, no less than moderate and restrained; and in the foreign affairs of the State, as well as in matters pertaining to its defensive force, efficiency, and adequate equipment, his obvious desire and will is that the United States shall hold her own among the Great Powers of the world. In the internal affairs of the nation, he has exercised a wholesome conservative influence, and has acted righteously, so far as opportunity offered, in restraining overt wrong-doing and in curbing audacious rascality and oppression. Towards the flaunting aggressions of the Trusts he has indicated his fearless hostility, and has laudably counseled them that the time is near when no leniency will be shown to their defiance of legal restraints and harmful disregard of public interests. Equally wise, as well as watchful, has been

President Roosevelt's attitude towards strikes and discontents of Labor; yet, though he has frowned upon lawlessness and undue exaction, he has been sympathetic with the workingman and given him the benefit of weighty counsel, while emphasizing the wisdom of reasonable restraints and the policy of just concessions. Acting, as he has, in this spirit and temper, in relation to the political, industrial, and economic problems of the time, President Roosevelt has had the mass of the sober-minded people of the nation with him, supplemented by the support of the reputable Press; while he has had in his Cabinet men of thoughtful yet active mood, who are his loyal allies in seeking the good government of the United States, and are personally in sympathy with the President's methods in upholding the high character and unblemished record of the national Administration.

In the practical work of administration, President Roosevelt has had the hearty cooperation of a strong and able Cabinet, many of the members of which, as we have related, he continued in office on succeeding to the Presidency after the demise of Mr. McKinley, though since then there have been some changes. There are nine chief heads of departments in the Federal Cabinet, as follows Secretary of State Elihu Root, of New York (formerly Secretary of War), who succeeds the late Hon. John Hay; Secretary of the Treasury: Leslie M. Shaw, of Iowa successor to Lyman J. Gage; Secretary of War: William H. Taft, of Ohio (late Governor of the Philippines) Secretary of the Navy: Charles J. Bonaparte, of Maryland, who succeeds Paul Morton; Secretary of the Interior: E. A. Hitchcock, of Missouri (formerly Ambassador to Russia) Postmaster-General George B. Cortelyou (late Secretary of Commerce and Labor, and formerly private secretary to Presidents McKinley and Roosevelt) Attorney-General: W. H. Moody, of Massachusetts, who succeeds Senator Knox; Secretary of Agriculture James Wilson, of Iowa; Secretary of Commerce and Labor: Victor B. Metcalf, of California. The department of Commerce and Labor is a recent practical addition, dating from February, 1903, to the number of administrative bureaus, having a large variety of duties; while under the Federal Government all have responsible work assigned to them, as the delegated authorities in matters appertaining to Federal commerce and industry, taxation, foreign and inter-State trade, treaties and other relations with foreign powers, the postal service, coinage, weights and measures, the trial and punishment of crime against the United States, besides the important charge and control of the American army, navy, and (to a certain extent) the militia of the nation. In these various fields of official departmental work much is demanded in the way of supervision and management from the Secretaries; while, in these lax times morally, there is constant need of, and an urgent call for, the exercise of sharp executive vigilance, if the growing distrust of our questionable methods of government is not to be intensified and the nation brought by them to increased dishonor and shame. It is possible, we are aware, to be too pessimistic, and to see nothing good in the present industrial and commercial era but the basest corruption, alike in business and in politics. But with the widespread graft evil and the increasing examples that have come to light in connection with several of the so-called Trusts, and a number of the great Life Insurance Companies, not to speak of notorious instances of municipal malfeasance in many of our larger cities, and even in our high judicial Courts, one can hardly help lamenting that corruption, as it has been remarked, is widely rampant and that honesty is to an unhappy degree a lost virtue."

Other regrettable aspects of the time, which call for wise intervention and sane counsel, are those connected with industrial disturbances and labor controversies. The losses alike to employers and employees involved in the resulting strikes and lockouts, which are an unhappy feature of the era, are very great, while the discontents and passions they engender are factors in the case that urgently call for compulsory arbitration, in the interests of public peace and well-being, when wise mediation has failed or is no longer practicable or possible. The problem is, however, confessedly a difficult one to deal with, since the fair use of the power of combination should, in the interest of both employers and employed, be as little as possible prohibited or restrained; though whenever private privilege comes into collision with public rights and their due conservation, the latter, obviously, must be permitted to prevail. There is at the same time manifest danger no less in the menace of capitalism than in the socializing tendencies of industry, and legislation should be as careful to guard against the undue growth and action of the one as it should be watchful to check and restrain the perils and disturbing tendencies of the other. The industries of the United States are now so vast that the nation's commerce, no less than the weal of labor, are matters of such vital import that legislation is called upon to protect both, together with whatever can peacefully be effected by such representative organizations as the National Civic Federation, and its permanent board appointed to settle differences between employers and the labor unions. In the great manufacturing centres public indifference is usually so great, while municipal action in the way of restraint is often so inadequate or partisan, that strikes and other industrial disturbances have frequently great license; hence there is often little local force at call to check outbreaks or exercise any ameliorating or restraining influence. This we have abundantly seen, in the past two or three years, in such conflicts between Capital and Labor as have broken out among the coal miners in Hazleton and Wilkesbarre, Pa., among the mill hands at Fall River, Mass., and at Chicago, Cripple Creek, and in Colorado City, and other industrial centres, where lawlessness, including not only intimidation and coercion, but dynamite destruction and murderous outrage, were rife, and conciliation was effected, in most instances, only after the militia forces had been called out and martial law was declared. In but one notable instance, that of the anthracite coal-workers in Pennsylvania, was mediation strikingly effective, the chief credit of which was due to President Roosevelt's efforts to refer the miners' disputes and the clashing interests of the mine-owners to a commission of arbitrators.

There is happily another and brighter side to this record of Labortrouble convulsions, in the spectacle of Labor, with its multiform products and handiwork, decked out in its stately, peaceful array at Centennial Expositions and Industrial Exhibits. Since the Buffalo Exposition of 1901, chronicled in these pages, the most memorable of these gala exhibitions was the one held in 1904 at St. Louis, Mo., to mark the centenary of the purchase of Louisiana from France. The Exposition, which was open for 187 days, from April 30 to December 1, and had an attendance of 18,741,073 visitors, was a magnificent spectacle, the cost of the buildings and grounds and their maintenance being close upon \$44,500,000. The exhibit floor-space, on which were erected a score of elaborate buildings, exceeded 128 acres, an area then far greater than that of any previous home or World's Fair. Exceeding in area-space the St. Louis Exhibition (its area is over 400 acres in extent), and marking also an historic event, in the exploration and subsequent organization of the great Oregon country by the famous early overland travellers, Lewis and

Clark, was the Centennial International Exposition and Oriental Fair held in 1905 at Portland, Ore.

The great fair, which was a gratifying and brilliant success, had for its scene a grand array of buildings situate in the outskirts of Portland City, at the confluence of the Columbia and Willamette rivers, and availing itself of portions of Guild's Lake, a fine body of water, 220 acres in extent, which had been artistically utilized for the purposes of the National Exposition, with its numberless pavilions, grand palace enclosures, natural forest park, and elaborate landscape gardens. The handsome mass of National, State, Territorial and Foreign buildings embraced, besides the Administration group and the vast Auditorium, exhibition palaces for the display of Agricultural and Forestry products, and those assigned to the Fine Arts, the Liberal and Industrial Arts, Machinery, Electricity, and Transportation, Mines and Metallurgy, U. S. Fisheries, etc., etc. The uses of these mammoth Expositions as an education in the colossal march of New World civilization, and as a fine pictorial lesson in the wonderful advancement in the products and manufactures of the United States before and since she rose to the dignity of a great World Power, will be conceded by all, while they are gratifying alike to the eye and heart as well as to the honest pride of every American citizen and patriot.

While treating of Centenary Celebrations, we should not fail here to record one which, though of a militant rather than of a peaceful industrial type, it is pleasing to say something of, since the institution we are about to write of has entered much and closely into a large portion of the national life - that of its active defensive force. We refer to the U. S. Military Academy at West Point, N. Y., and the Centenary, which occurred in June, 1902, of the founding of this historic school of the nation's military training. Beginning in 1802 in an humble way, though the school was warmly advocated by Washington and Jefferson - the latter was its legal founder - the Academy in time grew, while thorough courses of study and military exercises were originated. To-day, as all know, it is a flourishing institution, with a large corps of efficient instructors, academic and military, under a Brigadier-General of the U. S. Army as its superintendent.

The number of cadets attending the Academy is close upon 500, who for practical instruction in drill and a knowledge of military tactics are formed into a battalion, which is divided into six companies, and those again into smaller units. The record of the institution's work is proudly pointed to in the high character borne by its thousands of graduates, as well as in the gallant bearing in the field of those who have seen active service. At the Centenary Celebration, one of the days was set apart as "alumni day," on which occasion there was a hearty fraternal union of the graduates, whose connection with the Academy extended back over a period of sixty years. These were addressed by veterans of the Mexican War, the Civil War, and the Spanish-American War. Some of those belonging to the Civil War period had served under the Union, and others under the Confederate, flag in the then life-struggle of the Nation; but in recounting their varied experiences each speaker was actuated by the kindest feeling towards all, while a most cordial and mellow influence was shed over the enthusiastic gathering. Here, as elsewhere in similar reunions, all the old-time enmity between sections of the nation, and particularly between representatives of the two one-time rival armies, appears to have utterly faded and the embers of the once deadly

racial and sectional strife are happily left to die out. This was significantly shown at the reunion at West Point, as it is also shown in like gatherings of a social as well as a military nature in the various sections of the country. In a similar way is the bond of a united nationality and an inter-blended patriotism making itself felt in all the relations of the once sectionally severed peoples, in much the same fashion as the spirit of brotherly regard and goodwill is revealing itself between the two great branches of the Anglo-Saxon race on either side of the Atlantic. A notable example of this came to light at a banquet of the American Society in London, in honor of Independence Day, when Lord Lansdowne and the Hon. Whitelaw Reid made excellent fraternal speeches, the former, in alluding to the attitude of the two nations, remarking that "the two peoples had managed to get rid of almost all points of difference between them, and to provide an amicable means of settling the rest" and adding "that just as the health of King Edward is drunk with enthusiasm in any American gathering, so the health of President Roosevelt is received by Englishmen with the special acclamation given only to those who have captured the national fancy." The same manifestation of reciprocal fine feeling is shown towards detachments of the navies of either Power on occasions of international visits it is shown also in appreciative estimates of the literary men of both nations, and in the honor and distinction paid them when abroad. Were there need of emphasizing this, we might point to the exceptionally high character of the tributes paid by the British Press to the memory of the late Hon. John Hay, both as an active, experienced statesman and a cultured man of letters, on his lamented death after a most useful and honorable career, when a leading London journal spoke of his country possessing, and now, alas! losing, in him "a great national asset." Hardly less significant of the existence of this entente between the two English-speaking peoples, is the fact that on the day Mr. Hay was buried in this country a memorial service for him was held in St. Paul's Cathedral, London, when the Archbishop of Canterbury officiated, and at which representatives of all that is best in English public life were present.

It is in the fitness of things that historic Ohio, the "Buckeye" State, should have a Centennial Celebration, at the old capital of Chillicothe, in November, 1902, and May, 1903, marking the hundredth year since the State adopted the Constitution and was organized as a State of the Union. The next decade of the early passing years of the new century will bring occasion for similar anniversary demonstrations in a number of other States, viz.: in those of Louisiana, Indiana, Mississippi, Illinois, and Alabama, with Maine in 1920, and Missouri in 1921. Ohio has had much reason to felicitate herself on the occasion we have referred to, as not only she stand fourth in the rank of States in the Union, by reason of her population, but also on account of her high status, historically and economically, in the proud roll of the Nation's federated State bodies. Comparatively small as is her area, of 41,060 square miles, her record of progress is a gratifying and honorable one, since Ohio was carved out of the North-west Territory, under Governor Arthur St. Clair, in 1803, and rose to autonomy as an independent State of the Union, under her recent State Governors, McKinley, Bushnell, Nash, and Herrick. In population, the State has grown from 45,000 in 1803, when she had but three incorporated villages - Marietta, Chillicothe, and Cincinnati, each with less than a thousand people - to over four and a half million today, with great, progressive cities like Cleveland and Cincinnati, having populations of close upon 400,000 each, besides Columbus, the present day capital, with nearly 150,000 inhabitants.

She has also greatly increased economically, especially in manufacturing and in mining, as well as in farming and in other paths of industry. In these, she has been helped as a State not only by the labor and enterprise of her stalwart sons, but by the discoveries of early years, in the application of steam to navigation, in the construction of the Erie Canal, and in the completion, in 1835, of the Miami and Ohio Canals, which with the coming of the railroads created a new and progressive era for the State. In times of war, to quote from one of Ohio's orators on the occasion of the Centennial celebration, "her people have shown their patriotism by their readiness to respond to the call to arms; and among her military heroes she is proud to number as sons such national idols as Grant, Sherman, Sheridan, and Custer. In times of peace she has contributed her full quota to the ranks of the Nation's statesmen, and the Nation has honored Ohio by elevating five of her sons to the Presidency, in Grant, Hayes, Harrison, Garfield, and McKinley." We quote also from Governor George K. Nash, in regard to the progress in material wealth of the State: "There were no mines developed in Ohio when she became a State. Now, 25,000 men were employed last year (1902) in coal mining; they produced over twenty million tons of coal, of the value, upon the cars at the mines ready for shipment, of more than \$23,000,000. Our railroads, too, have grown until all parts of the State are crossed by the 8,700 miles of roadway, their employees numbering more than 67,000. The wages paid to these employees amounted to over \$42,000,000; while the gross earnings of the railroads exceeded 100 millions, and their net earnings to nearly \$13,000,000. Then in agriculture we have grown and prospered, as well as in the other industries. The value of all the farm products of the State, in 1900, was over 200 millions; while in our manufacturing establishments in 1902 we employed an army of 345,000 men. Their wages for the year amounted to 123 million dollars, and the articles turned out were of a value exceeding \$800,000,000. This shows how our State has grown and prospered."

Chapter CXLII

President Cleveland's First Message - The Revision of the Tariff - The State of the National Treasury - The Dangerous Surplus - The State of the Navy - Secretary Whitney's Report - The New Cruisers, the "Dolphin," the "Chicago," "Atlanta," and "Boston" - Large Appropriations for the Navy - The President and the Senate - The Senate Demands Papers in Regard to Suspensions from Office The President's Message on the Subject - Attacks on the President's Scheme of Civil Service Reform by Democrats - The President's Marriage to Miss Folsom in the White House - The Extradition Treaty with Great Britain Rejected - The Cutting Affair and Negotiations with Mexico - Fluctuation of the Population - Growth of Large Cities - "Pools and Trusts" - Trades Unions - Knights of Labor - The Strikes in Chicago - The Chicago Riots - The Anarchists and the Police - Four of the Leaders Sentenced to Death - Henry George and the Single Tax - Interstate Commerce Act - Dangers of Great Corporations - Their Powers Unchecked by Law - Combination and Individual Freedom - Employers and Employed - Resignation and Death of Secretary Manning - Obituaries - General G. B. McClellan - S. I. Tilden - General Hancock - General J. A. Logan - The Charleston Earthquakes.

In addition to the suggestion for immediate action on the settlement of the Presidential succession, President Cleveland, in his first address to the First Session of the Forty-ninth Congress, while presenting to the Senate the reports of his various Secretaries of the Executive Departments, endorsed and enforced the views expressed by these officers. His recommendations were strictly on the line of the ideas he had promulgated in his inaugural address and in his letter of acceptance of the Presidential nomination. As a preliminary he pointed out what he deemed the constitutional functions of the Executive and the Legislature, and the line that was to be drawn between them. "The Constitution," he wrote, "which requires those chosen to legislate for the people to annually meet in the discharge of their solemn trusts, requires the President to give to Congress information of the state of the Union, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall deem necessary." And he proceeded: "The Executive may recommend such measures as he may deem expedient the responsibility for legislative action rests with those who are selected by the people to make their laws." Having thus defined his own position with respect to the Houses of Congress, he recommended the abolition of all custom duties on imported works of art, a measure involving only a trivial sacrifice of revenue. The next recommendation was of far wider import, for it was no less than one for the revision of the tariff. The platform on which the Democratic party had triumphantly appealed to the country had explicitly "denounced the abuses of the existing tariff and, subject to certain limitations, had demanded that Federal taxation shall be exclusively for public purposes, and shall not exceed the needs of the Government, economically administered." It was, then, in full accord with the principles on which he was elected, but with somewhat more of precision in detail, that the President said:

"The fact that our revenues are in excess of the actual needs of an economical administration of the Government, justifies a reduction in the amount exacted from the people for its support. Our Government is but the means established by the will of a free people, by which certain principles are applied which they have adopted for their benefit and protection; and it is never

better administered and its true spirit is never better observed than when the people's taxation for its support is scrupulously limited to the actual necessity of expenditure, and distributed according to a just and equitable plan.

"The proposition with which we have to deal is the reduction of the revenue received by the Government, and indirectly paid by the people from custom duties. The question of free trade is not involved, nor is there now any occasion for the general discussion of the wisdom or expediency of a protective system.

"Justice and fairness dictate that in any modification of our present laws relating to revenue, the industries and interests which have been encouraged by such laws, and in which our citizens have large investments, should not be ruthlessly injured or destroyed. We should also deal with the subject in such manner as to protect the interests of American labor, which is the capital of our workingmen its stability and proper remuneration furnish the most justifiable pretext for a protective policy.

"Within these limitations a certain reduction should be made in our customs revenue. The amount of such reduction having been determined, the inquiry follows, Where can it best be remitted, and what articles can best be released from duty, in the interest of our citizens?

"I think the reduction should be made in the revenue derived from a tax upon the imported necessaries of life. We thus directly lessen the cost of living in every family of the land, and release to the people in every humble home a larger measure of the rewards of frugal industry."

In such a statement no unprejudiced man can see any advocacy of the so-called Free Trade doctrines. The state of prosperity in which these United States have found themselves for a succession of years, a state unparalleled in the history of the world, has produced a condition of affairs in the Treasury, not only unexampled in modern times, but simply inconceivable to the nations of Europe. In the Old World the chief and most arduous duty of statesmen is - to use a good old phrase - to make both ends meet that is, to balance their receipts and expenditures. The usual method of so doing is by increasing taxation in every form to the farthest extent that the country can bear; new subjects to be taxed, new methods of levying taxes, and if possible, new rates of taxation, are the usual burden of addresses by kings and emperors, prime ministers and chancellors, to the legislative bodies, who hold the purse strings of a nation. For this, eloquence and ingenuity are often expended in vain, and then the baffled monarch revenges himself by an epigram about "ignorant impatience of taxation." Happy is OUR COUNTRY, where taxation can be borne without impatience. But in a plethora of revenue there lurks a danger which may lead to fatal results - the danger of the party in control of the revenue using it to debauch and corrupt the people. With an overflowing Treasury, and with statesmen at their wits' end to know what to do with the ever-augmenting surplus, there is the constant danger of abuse in its disbursements, especially when, like the United States, we are under no necessity of keeping up large armies. But, at the same time, our commerce is world-wide, and our enterprising citizens are in every land. They must be protected, and at the same time our coasts must be defended. Hence the

necessity of a navy adequate to these purposes and befitting one of the great nations of the world. Mr. Tilden, in a powerfully-reasoned letter, had shown how defenseless were our great cities on the seaboard, and urged the erection of fortifications, but preference was given to a scheme of strengthening the navy.

On the state of our navy, the President's language was as follows "We have not a single vessel of war that could keep the seas against a first- class vessel of any important power. Such a state of things ought no longer to continue. The nation that cannot resist aggression is always exposed to it. I especially direct the attention of Congress to the close of the report of the Secretary of the Navy, in which the humiliating weakness of the present organization of his department is exhibited, and the startling abuse and waste of the present methods are exposed. The conviction is forced upon us with the certainty of mathematical demonstration, that before we proceed further in the restoration of a navy we need a thoroughly reorganized Navy Department. The fact that, within seventeen years, more than seventy-five millions of dollars have been spent in the construction, repair, equipment, and armament of vessels, and the further fact that, instead of an effective and creditable fleet, we have only the discontent and apprehension of a nation undefended by war vessels, added to the disclosures now made, do not permit us to doubt that every attempt to revive our navy has thus far, for the most part, been misdirected, and all our efforts in that direction have been little better than blind gropings, and expensive, aimless follies.

"Unquestionably, if we are content with the maintenance of a Navy Department simply as a shabby ornament to the Government, a constant watchfulness may prevent some of the scandal and abuse which have found their way into our present organization, and its incurable waste may be reduced to the minimum. But if we desire to build ships for present usefulness instead of naval reminders of the days that are past, we must have a department organized for the work, supplied with all the talent and ingenuity our country affords, prepared to take advantage of the experience of other nations, systematized so that all effort shall unite and lead in one direction, and fully imbued with the conviction that war vessels, though new, are useless unless they combine all the latest improvements that experience and ingenuity can suggest."

The previous administration had already taken some steps to create a new navy, and four ships of war were then building. The first of these that was tendered to Mr. Whitney, the Secretary, was the Dolphin. The contract between the late Secretary and the builder, Mr. Roach, had been to the effect that this vessel was to be accepted by the Government, if passed by the Advisory Board of Naval Officers, unless it could be proved that her failure to perform what the specifications called for was due to bad construction. The Advisory Board recommended Secretary Whitney to accept the Dolphin, but he, having reason to be dissatisfied with the reports of her previous trial, ordered a new trial of her speed to be made. The result of this trial was that she did not attain the speed called for by the specification, and in many other respects showed herself defective. Mr. Whitney declined to accept her, and in reply to the remonstrances of the builder justified his action by the opinion of the Attorney-General, who, after reviewing the whole case at length, gave it as his opinion that, in view of all the premises, "no contract exists between Mr. Roach and the United States, and that the large sums of money which have been paid to Mr.

Roach have passed into his hands without authority of law, and may be recovered from him."

Mr. Roach was at the same time building three other vessels under a similar contract, the Chicago, Atlanta, and Boston, and the result of this decision so embarrassed him that he made an assignment, and the ships were taken over by the Government, and the remainder of the work that had to be done on them was carried on by it in Mr. Roach's yard and by Mr. Roach's men.

The transaction was made the source of violent assaults on Mr. Whitney, who was accused of using his official power to crush a man well known for his Republican principles, and to throw obloquy on his own predecessor in office. In his report to the President he asked for an appropriation of over thirty-five millions of dollars for the coming year, as against thirteen millions in the fiscal year expiring June 30. Public sentiment is undoubtedly on the side of a reconstruction of our navy, which was our earliest pride, and which so nobly sustained its own renown in the War of Secession at Mobile, New Orleans, Vicksburg, and elsewhere. But glorious as were the achievements of our old navy, the style of the fighting ships of those days is obsolete to-day. During the last thirty years everything about them has changed - model, material, machinery, armament, and equipment. The ram and torpedo have come into existence, and new forms of guns, with new explosives and new projectiles, have already rendered useless the ships that were deemed unassailable a few years ago. We start with the lessons to be learned by the experience of other nations, and our skill and inventive faculty will easily put us in possession of a fleet inferior to none.

The majority of the Senate was Republican, and was, therefore, not inclined to accept President Cleveland's nominations to offices requiring its approval in the unquestioning spirit which a Democratic body would have exhibited. It used its power not only to delay action on the nominations sent in to it for confirmation, but to raise a direct controversy with the President respecting the reasons for the removals he had made and the appointments that he recommended. In his inaugural address and his subsequent declarations immediately following his inauguration, President Cleveland had stated and restated that no removals would be made by him "except for cause," and however adroitly he might interpret this phrase so as to embrace offensive partisanship during tenure of office, the phrase itself remained open to the construction that the many displacements of office-holders that had taken place had been carried into effect for other reasons than merely because the tenant of an office differed in his political opinions from the Executive then in power. The President was thus caught on the horns of a dilemma. If he honestly confessed that he removed Republican officials solely because they were Republicans, in order to give the places thus rendered vacant to clamorous and hungry members of the Democratic party, he was exposed to the attacks of the party of Civil Service Reform - the party whose defection from the Republican ranks had, beyond question, contributed largely to his election to his high office. If on the other hand, his early declarations - that merely political differences in opinion ought not to be made the basis for removals of competent officials - were to be taken to express and define his course of action, it was a fair inference - fair enough and quite legitimate in political warfare - that these removals were rendered necessary for reasons that reflected more or less on the character of the displaced officer. This inference the Senate adopted,

and when a large batch of new nominations were sent into the Senate in March, 1886, they were not acted upon by that body, but a demand was made on the President to furnish the Senate, for its guidance during its executive sessions, all information on file in regard to suspensions from office. The real object was, of course, to compel an acknowledgment that these removals had been made for political reasons.

The immediate nomination which led to this outbreak of hostilities between the Executive and the Senate was, of course, one of little importance, relating merely to the dismissal of a District Attorney in one of the Southern States. To the demand of the Senate, the Attorney General replied that the President of the United States directed him not to transmit these papers. The Senate replied by resolutions, "condemning the refusal of the Attorney-General, under whatever influence, to send to the Senate" the papers called for, and declaring that it was the duty of the Senate to refuse its advice to removals of officers when the information on which such removal was supposed to be based was withheld. Then the President joined in the fray, and on March 1st sent a message to the Senate, in which he confirmed the statement that it was by his direction that the Attorney-General had acted, adding that the papers called for were purely unofficial and private, and referred to the performance of a duty exclusively the President's, and that he, therefore, denied the right of the Senate, as far as it is based on the claim that these papers are official, and that he unequivocally disputed the right of the Senate, "by the aid of any documents whatever, or by any way, except by impeachment," to review or reverse the acts of the Executive. Finally, he boldly declared "the pledges as to civil service reform were made to the people, and to them I am responsible. I am not responsible to the Senate."

In this message the President made use of a phrase which soon became widely current. He spoke of the whole of the tenure of office legislation having been left for the last twenty years in a state of "innocuous desuetude."

The dispute ended with both parties holding their original positions. The papers demanded were not furnished to the Senate, and the nominations of the President were held over or rejected by the Senate.

The President, indeed, during the whole of his term of office was placed in a most embarrassing position, for, in addition to open enemies in Congress, he had to contend against the lukewarm support or scarcely disguised hostility of the rank and file of the Democratic party. To them the principle of civil service reform, to which he had pledged himself, was in every respect distasteful. It was denounced as un-American, stigmatized as Chinese and British, and declared to be the first step towards creating a bureaucracy, the members of which, neither hoping for promotion nor fearing dismissal from the people, or the chosen representatives of the people, or the Chief of the State, would form an arrogant, exclusive, almost independent body, able, if not entirely to thwart, at least to embarrass the execution of the popular will. The principle of rotation in office was proclaimed as the true American and Democratic principle, and it was urged that, as all offices since the war, during all the successive Republican administrations, had been filled by Republicans, so now, when a President elected by the Democratic party occupied the

White House and administered public affairs through a Democratic Cabinet, all offices ought to be filled by Democrats.

"Turn the rascals out!" had been for years a rallying cry for the Democracy, and its fulfillment was demanded. Nor would the public service, it was argued, suffer by such changes in its personnel, for the offices in which they took place were such as any intelligent citizen could discharge satisfactorily while in the present state of affairs a substitution of Democratic for Republican officials was especially desirable, in order to give the party that had been so long excluded from every share in the administration some training in the official routine of public office. Above all, the managers of the Democratic party insisted on the doctrine that "to the victors belong the spoils," and that the only way by which the party could be held together, or those who had worked zealously for its triumphs be rewarded, was the bestowal of office, if only as an acknowledgment of services rendered and an encouragement of services to come. Great as was the pressure thus put on the President, and often as he was compelled to give way to it, on the whole he endeavored to the best of his ability to carry out the pledges on which he had appealed to the people when a candidate for their suffrages.

But whatever political troubles environed President Cleveland from open foes or doubtful friends, he had found time to win a wife and although the matrimonial alliances of our Presidents have no such political bearings as those of European potentates, the event deserves mention, for thereafter the President acquired a temporary and sentimental popularity.

The ceremony took place in his official residence, the Executive Mansion, and had this much of a public function about it, that it was attended by all the Cabinet officers, except the Attorney-General, and this much of royal tradition about it, that it involved an inversion of the customs of plain people, for the bride came to be married at the bridegroom's house, the bridegroom did not go to bring home his bride. The lady who was thus, on June 2d, united to Grover Cleveland, was the daughter of his old partner, Miss Frances Folsom, a lady of youth, beauty, and accomplishments, who presided thereafter most admirably over the social functions which even a Republican President has to discharge. There is no doubt, strange as it may seem, that this marriage, utterly unromantic as it was, gave to the President for the moment immense popularity, and certainly averted a renewal of the attacks on his private character, which had been so rife before his election.

The foreign relations of the United States were as uneventful as usual. A new extradition treaty between Great Britain and this country had been for some time under discussion. It was considerably wider in its terms than the existing one, but one of its clauses, stipulating for the surrender of persons who should have inflicted injury by the use of dynamite, gave rise to great opposition. It was maintained that the clause was inserted, if not avowedly, at least probably, to cover the cases of the dynamite explosions by the Fenians in London and elsewhere, and that, in actual effect, therefore, it could be easily turned by the foreign government into a means of procuring the extradition of political offenders. It was from no sympathy for the perpetrators of outrages of the class above named, that the treaty was held over in the Senate for a long time and

finally rejected, but from the fear that it might, under some circumstances, become an instrument for wreaking political vengeance.

On the Mexican frontier the usual condition of affairs continued. Lawless men from both countries crossed and recrossed the frontier, but without any acts involving any international question. In the month of August, 1886, however, a new and curious controversy arose between the Mexican and American governments. At the frontier town of El Paso, in Texas, there lived an American citizen, Cutting by name, who published a newspaper there. For some reason or other he moved from the American side to the Mexican side of the boundary line, and there, in pursuit of his calling, he began the publication of a paper in the Spanish language. With true American journalistic enterprise, he set out to make his paper popular by making it sensational, and he made it sensational by violent attacks on the local government. He was arrested for libel, but released on signing a retraction. On his release he at once crossed into Texas, had the original libel republished there in Spanish in an American newspaper, and taking copies of this paper with him, returned to Mexico and sold them. He was rearrested, tried, convicted, and sentenced to imprisonment. The American Government took up the position that the offense was committed within the jurisdiction of the United States and could not be punished in Mexico, and demanded peremptorily his immediate release. Mr. Bayard, Secretary of State, declared that "the safety of the citizens and of all others lawfully within our jurisdiction would be greatly impaired, if not wholly destroyed, by admitting the power of a foreign State to define offenses and apply penalties to acts committed within the jurisdiction of the United States." President Diaz, on the other hand, said that the Mexican Government was acting in good faith, being only desirous of having justice done; that he felt that the matter was one for calm consideration on the part of the two governments, uninfluenced by popular clamor. Senor Rubio, the Mexican Minister of the Interior, had defended the arrest, which was in proper legal form. Mr. Cutting had been treated with more consideration than Mexican criminals, and the Mexican Government considered that he had not only infringed the code of the State of Chihuahua, making offenses against its citizens committed in foreign territory punishable, but that, in evincing contempt of court, he had violated the national laws. The affair was temporarily adjusted by the Mexican Government making a proposition, through the United States Minister at Mexico, that the American Government should send a special envoy to confer with the Mexican attorney-general as to the proper interpretation of the law in the case. The proposition was acted upon, and Mr. Arthur G. Sedgwick was deputed to act in behalf of the United States, but without diplomatic powers or authority to effect a settlement. The upshot of the affair was that the Mexican court released Mr. Cutting on a technical plea.

For many years past the drift of population has been towards an urban life. Taking the town of 8,000 inhabitants as the lower limit of urban population, we find that 3.3 percent of the population was to be classed as urban in 1790, and that the percentage had risen to 22.5 in 1880. If towns of 4,000 inhabitants had been taken as the lower limit, the urban population in 1880 would have been 13,000,000, or more than 25 per cent. It may be thought that the policy of protection had something to do with this tendency, but it is noteworthy that the increase during the generally free-trade period of 1840, from 8.5 to 16.1, was the greatest of any twenty years, unless we take the period 1850-70, half free-trade and half protective, when the percentage rose from 12.5 to

20.9. Whatever may have been the cause, the tendency is indubitable, and its effects in increasing the facility of organization among the employees of corporations, whose fields of operation are generally urban, are as easily to be seen.

Some of these corporations are controlled by men who were believed, in some cases on the best of evidence, to have gained their control by the defects of American corporation law, particularly by the privilege of the majority of stockholders to use the whole stock almost at their discretion, even for the wrecking of the road and its repurchase on terms ruinous to the minority's interests. Disrespect for "property rights" thus acquired was apt to extend to other corporate property acquired legitimately in the railroad strikes of 1877 there were cases in which citizens usually law-abiding watched with hardly concealed satisfaction the destruction of such property as belonged to corporations. Further, the neutral position of the United States had brought about the transfer of considerable English and other foreign capital to the United States to be invested, under corporate privileges, in cattle-ranges or other industries connected with Western agriculture. The American managers of these corporations, feeling little responsibility to any power except their foreign employers, permitted themselves to take liberties with individual settlers and their rights which arrayed a large part of the agricultural population of the West against corporate property. Finally the differential rates made in private, even secret, contracts, by railway corporations all over the country, had gathered up passions of all sorts against the corporate "monopolies."

The anger of agricultural conservatism, usually a safe reliance, had ceased to be of service in this matter. An order, the "Patrons of Husbandry," said to number 1,500,000 members in 1874, had been formed with the avowed object of checking the common corporate enemy. and, though its prominence was short-lived, its influence remained. This growing power of corporations, and that at a time when the democracy had just shown its strength most forcibly and to its own satisfaction their evident tendency, especially in the protected industries and in transportation, to further combinations, such as "pools" and "trusts;" the consequent partial disappearance of that competition which had seemed to be a restriction on the power of the corporations over the individual the power and disposition of corporations to cut wages down whenever dividends made it necessary to do so; the half-understood, but heartily dreaded, weapon known as the "black-list," by which combinations of employers, especially of corporations, drove employees inclined to agitation out of employment the general misgivings as to the wisdom or honesty of the State legislatures, in which the power over corporations was vested; the unhappy influences of the above-mentioned increase of urban population over the jury system the complicated systems of appeals which had grown up in our law, with their opportunities for delay, opening a path for a perversion of justice by wealthy and determined corporations; the altered character of American labor, which was now largely made up of a mass of immigration hardly yet fully digested, and more apt than American labor had once been to seek help in something else than individual effort,-all these influences made up a mass of explosives which became seriously dangerous. It was no longer so easy for the individual to defend himself against aggression; if it had been, the American workingman was no longer so apt to trust to an individual defense; and laborers began to turn to combinations against corporations, though these combinations were even more prompt

and successful in attacking individual employers than in attacking corporations.

The trades unions, which retained most of the conservative influences of their generally beneficiary nature, were not radical enough, and a local Philadelphia society, the "Knights of Labor," was developed into a national organization, following the usual system of local assemblies, with delegates to State and National conventions. With but 52,000 members in 1883, it claimed 630,000 in October, 1886, and 1,000,000 in the beginning of 1887. Its general object was the union of all classes and kinds of labor into one organization, so that, "an injury to one being the concern of all," the oppression of even the humblest and weakest individual might be answered by the sympathetic action of more important, and, if necessary, of all, classes of labor. The "boycott," an imported idea, was its most successful weapon the firm or corporation which oppressed its employees was to be brought to terms by a refusal of all members of the national organization to buy its productions or to deal with any one who bought or sold them. Such a scheme was directly subversive of all social protection or security, and yet it had gone on for nearly two years before it came plainly to public notice, in January, 1886. Boycotts increased in number local assemblies, intoxicated by their sudden success, went beyond the control of the well-intentioned head of the order; the passive obedience on the part of the members, which was a necessary feature of the system, evolved a class of local dictators, or rings, which were irresponsible as well as tyrannical, and the business of the country was very seriously threatened all through the years 1886 and 1887.

It would be tedious and unprofitable to recapitulate all the strikes which took place during these years. The most important, however, was one in favor of a general law restricting the hours of labor to eight hours a day. Throughout the country thousands of hands in various trades struck, and a great demonstration was planned to take place simultaneously the first week in May in several leading cities; but it was, as an organized agitation of striking workmen, less formidable than was anticipated. The largest display was made in Chicago, where about 30,000 men quitted their work and paraded with bands of music and red flags. These were not all strikers. About 15,000 were men out for a holiday. About 7,500 were railway men and wood-workers who had struck for eight hours. About as many more were laborers out of employment, because their employers had closed their shops rather than yield to the eight hour demand. All were orderly and peaceable at first, but later a mob of 7,000 of the most turbulent elements in the city, consisting largely of Poles, Bohemians, and Germans, attacked the McCormick Reaper works, because they believed the men were working ten hours. The fact was that the demand of eight hours had been temporarily conceded. The mob assailed the men with stones and broke the windows of the building. When a platoon of police arrived, they were met with stones and pistols. The police stood their ground, finally routing the mob after severely injuring several. In New York there was an open-air meeting in Union Square in favor of the eight hours movement. It was attended by 20,000 men, mostly laborers. There were many red flags, and incendiary speeches, by foreign Socialists chiefly, but the crowd was quiet and orderly, and dispersed early, apparently without being much affected thereby. It became apparent that there was no skillfully organized eight hours movement here. In other cities there were smaller demonstrations, but few strikes. Few concessions were made by employers, several of whom professed their willingness, rather than

yield, to stop work entirely. The cause of the movement is stated to have been the belief that wages were too high, and that a general reduction was inevitable unless an organized demonstration of the laborers could be made. It was estimated that there were at least one million laborers idle in the country.

These labor agitations culminated in a formidable Socialist riot in the city of Chicago, on Tuesday, May 4th, in which many persons - police, citizens, and rioters - were killed and wounded. It appears that for years a body of socialists, mostly Germans, had been permitted to preach openly the most incendiary doctrines without molestation. They published a German newspaper (edited by one Augustus Spies) which daily advocated anarchy. On the day preceding the outbreak it had a most incendiary appeal, containing the following passages in allusion to the strike agitation of the preceding day, above referred to: "A war of classes is at hand. Yesterday workingmen were shot down in front of McCormick's factory whose blood cries out for revenge. Who will deny that the tigers who rule us are greedy for the blood of the workingman? But the workingmen are not sheep, and will reply to the White Terror with the Red Terror. Sooner death than life in misery! If the workingmen are to be shot at, let us answer in such a way that the robbers will not soon forget it. The murderous capitalistic beasts have been made drunk by the smoking blood of our workingmen. The Tiger is crouching for a spring. Its eyes glare murderously. It moves its tail impatiently, and all its muscles are tense. Absolute necessity forces the cry - To arms! To arms! If you do not defend yourselves, you will be torn and mutilated by the fangs of the beast. The new yoke which awaits you in case of cowardly retreat is harder and heavier than the bitter yoke of your present slavery. All the powers opposed to labor have united. They see their common interest in such days as these. All else must be subordinate to one thought - How can these wealthy robbers and their hired bands of murderers be made harmless? Whoever is a man must show it to-day. Men to the front!" This was the preliminary to a summons for a meeting in the open square called the Old Haymarket, at half-past seven in the evening. The place is capable of holding 20,000 people. It was some two hours later when the leaders came upon the ground. Augustus Spies, climbing a wagon in front of a factory, began an address denouncing capital, and saying he had not caused the previous day's riot, but it was natural, and the result of class oppression. His remarks created no enthusiasm, and the crowd began to dwindle. He was followed by another speaker, named Parsons, who, though inflammatory, caused no excitement. In the end a notorious Socialist, named Fielding, began a most incendiary harangue, becoming so violent that word was sent to the neighboring police station, and a squad of 125 constables were marched to the square. Their leader ordered the crowd to disperse. Fielding shouted from the wagon, "To arms!" The police once more ordered the people to disperse, when somebody in the mob shouted, "Kill them, kill them !" Almost as soon as the words were uttered a bomb was thrown from near the stand into the midst of the police detachment. It exploded instantly and five of the policemen fell. Others were wounded, and several Socialists also. The police retorted instantly with a volley from their revolvers. The rioters answered with theirs, with which they were well provided. The mob appeared crazed with the desire for blood, and, holding their ground, poured volley after volley into the midst of the police constables. The latter fought gallantly, and finally dispersed the mob and cleared the market place. Large numbers of the rioters fell, but as they dropped they were immediately carried to the rear and into many of the

dark alleys by their friends. The wounded and killed were removed to the neighboring police station, and later to the hospital. It was discovered that thirty-six policemen were wounded - two mortally - and four killed. One Socialist was killed. The names were ascertained of four rioters and citizens who were wounded. Spies and some of his companions were later indicted for murder and with inciting to violence, and were convicted and sentenced, in two cases to death, in others to various terms of imprisonment.

An interesting feature of American State politics in 1886 was the nomination of Mr. Henry George, by popular acclamation, for Mayor of New York. It is significant of the influence he wields in certain sections of the community that he polled nearly 68,000 votes, his opponents, Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Hewitt, polling 60,000 and 90,000 respectively. This fact startled thoughtful people, showing, as it did, much larger discontent among the laboring classes than was suspected. It may be reasonably doubted whether the heavy vote thus given was an approval of the peculiar doctrines which Mr. George teaches. These doctrines may be summed up in the word of One tax system, for Mr. George advocates the removal of all taxes except that on land, and this tax on land is to be levied on the ground alone, not on the improvements effected in it or on the buildings erected on it. With the growth of population in every country, and especially near large cities, the value of land rises without the owner contributing anything of either labor or money to its enhancement, the energy, industry and toil and struggle of the community at large are but the factors that produce this increase of value. This increase Mr. George, following Karl Marx and adopting his language, styles the unearned increment, and on this increment, created, as he argues, not by the landowner, but by the people, the burden of taxation should rest, instead of as in the present system, being placed on the shoulders of those who have tilled, subdued, or built or labored on the soil.

The discontent, or rather the longing for change to which the vote for Mr. George gave expression, was no new thing. It had, as we have already pointed out, long existed in the classes who are dependent on wages, and given birth to the countless trade unions and brotherhoods that finally culminated in the Knights of Labor.

Discontent, however, had now also spread in other classes, and the mercantile and manufacturing interests, the shippers and handlers of goods, were profoundly dissatisfied with the management of the railroads as regards transportation of goods, and loud were the complaints of unjust favoritism.

It was only natural, under these circumstances, that one of the matters which occupied the attention of statesmen and business men, and which finally led to Congress passing, in 1887, the Interstate Commerce Act, was the prevalent system of incorporation. The bill itself was designed to stop the encroachments of railway corporations on individual rights, and to check discrimination in the rates of freight to the advantage of certain localities or certain favored customers. It was not without protracted debate that the measure became law, and it was not without considerable misgivings and foreboding of evil that the railroads commenced to comply with its provisions. The ultimate or permanent success of even this measure is still quite doubtful.

An investigation held in April, 1889, elicited the fact that, while the great railway managers had found difficulties in the way of carrying out its provisions, none of them asked for its repeal. On the contrary, they urged the necessity of the Government strictly enforcing its provisions on all railroads in the United States or that pass through the United States. This last demand was aimed especially at the Canadian railroads, of which the Grand Trunk Railroad has a branch running through the State of Maine, and derives the bulk of its business from the Western cities of Chicago, Detroit, and St. Paul. The law too, it was urged, placed American transcontinental lines at a disadvantage compared with the great Canadian Pacific Railroad that runs to Vancouver's Island from the Atlantic seaboard. Built by the aid of lavish subsidies from the Canadian Government and guarantees from the British Government, this transcontinental line, running wholly outside the United States, is necessarily exempt from the action of its laws. It is not, moreover, hampered by any such restrictions as those embodied in the Interstate Commerce Bill respecting rates of freight or the relation of the rates of freight to the number of miles over which the freight is carried. It can, therefore, carry some classes of goods between England and San Francisco cheaper than our lines can. The contention, therefore, of the railway managers is that, as far as the connections of this company extend to the United States, so far ought the Interstate Commerce Bill to be enforced.

The question, however, of what rates railroads ought to charge and how they are to be managed so as to ensure fair treatment to all localities, is a secondary question to that which is asked respecting the power, the steadily increasing power, wealth, and solidarity of all the great corporations that have sprung up, more particularly since the war, and the plethora of money which followed the peace. Personal feeling, too, enters into the question. In a country like ours, republican in government, democratic in principle, where all citizens are equal, and where all can aspire to even the highest honors that the nation can bestow, the enormous fortunes amassed in a few years by the managers and manipulators of these colossal corporations, seem almost an outrage on the individual. This view is natural, although its existence may be deplored. The change which has come over the whole system of incorporations has been a gradual one, inevitable in the increasing development of means of communication, the increasing products of the soil, and the rapidly advancing progress of our industries. It is a change which is taking place over all the world, a change indicative of a tendency to substitute combined action for individual competition. In the earlier days of our national life the conditions under which industrial corporations existed, without railway or telegraphic communications, were not such as to give them a pronounced advantage over the individual. All this is now changed, and the corporation has shown its superiority; it is to the mass of the people what a highly organized and trained army is to an undrilled, unconnected, inharmonious, and scattered aggregation of individuals.

There are many kinds of business in which, if the individual is not very highly endowed, it is better for him to take service with a corporation. Individual success is growing more rare; and even the successful individual is usually succeeded by a corporation of some sort. In the United States, as in England, the new era came into a country which had always been decided in its leanings to individual freedom and the country could see no new departure in recognizing fully an individual freedom of incorporation instead of the old system, under which each incorporation

was a distinct legislative act. General provisions were rapidly adopted by the several States, providing forms by which any group of persons could incorporate themselves for any purpose. The first act of the kind was passed in Connecticut, in 1837, and the principle of the English Limited Liability Act of 1855 was taken directly from it. The change was first embodied in New York in its constitution of 1846, as follows: "Corporations may be formed under general laws, but shall not be created by special act except for municipal purposes, and in cases where, in the judgment of the Legislature, the objects of the corporation cannot be attained under general laws." The general laws were for a long time merely directions to the incorporators as to the form of the certificate and the place where it was to be deposited. The New York provision was only a development of the principle of a statute of 1811, applying to manufacturing, but it is an instance of what was taking place all over the country. The consequent freedom of corporations was also influenced by the law, as expounded by the Supreme Court of the United States in the Dartmouth College case (1819), which principle has always been the object of vigorous but unsuccessful criticism. The States are prohibited by the Constitution from passing any laws which shall alter the obligation of contracts. This decision held that a charter was a contract between the State and the corporation created by it, and therefore unalterable, except by consent of the corporation. The States were careful thereafter to insert in all charters a clause giving the State the right to alter the charter, but the decision has tended to give judges a bias in favor of the corporations in all fairly doubtful cases. Corporations in the United States thus grew luxuriantly, guarded by the Constitution and very little trenched upon by the States.

Our corporations have usually been well managed, and very much of the extraordinary development of the wealth of the United States has been due to them. But a corporation which holds \$400,000,000 of property, which owns or influences more than one State legislature, and has a heavy lien on several others, is not an easy creature to control or limit. Wars of rates between rival corporations claiming great stretches of territory as "their own," into which other corporations must not intrude, are startling things to any people. The rise of a corporation like the Standard Oil Company, built upon the ruins of countless individual business concerns, and showing that it can reduce even railway corporations to an obedience which they refuse to the State, is too suggestive of an imperium in imperio to be pleasant to a democracy.

It is, however, in the relations between employers and employed that the change in methods of carrying on business has had most unhappy results. Corporations, it is an old saying, have no souls; the directors, who control everything, are never seen they are mere names, representing so much capital and wielding so much power the subordinates, who execute everything, can merely carry out the instructions they receive. In any case, the substitution of a soulless, intangible abstract creature of the law, such as a corporation is, could not but affect the relations between the capitalist and the laborer, the employer and the employed. It could not but affect them disastrously for at least a time. Still, the disastrous results of such a substitution of employers might have been mitigated, if not quite averted, by mutual forbearance and consideration, but the freedom and power of the corporate employers strained the relations farther than was at all necessary. The first clumsy attempts to control the corporations, by limiting the percentage of their profits, led to the artifice of "watering" - unnecessarily increasing their stock. In good years

the nominal dividends were thus kept down to an apparently normal percentage. When bad years, or increasing competition, began to cut down the dividends, the managers were often forced to attack the wages or increase the duties of their employees. "The bad years" began to be more numerous and constant after the financial crisis of 1873 had set in, and the first serious effects appeared in the railroad strikes of 1877, which have been repeated disastrously in following years, as in the strike on the Missouri Pacific and other great lines of communication. One of the most serious of those occurred on Dec. 24 on the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad. Certain men were discharged for declining to move some "boycotted" goods. New hands were employed, and the Knights of Labor demanded that the discharged men should be reinstated. This the company's officials refused to do. A general strike of all employed in the goods traffic followed, and about 25,000 men were thrown out of employment. The Knights of Labor then ordered the 30,000 colliers employed in the coal pits of the company to join the strikers but, as many of the men remained at work and new men were easily procured, the company was able to move the traffic without difficulty. This was a serious blow to the Knights of Labor. Referring to these disturbances, Mayor Hewitt, of New York, Dec. 19, made a remarkable speech before the Board of Trade, which attracted much attention. He opposed the Knights of Labor, declaring that their obstruction of public business created an issue more important than those of the tariff or the surplus, and that secret organizations acting outside the law, which undertook to stop the work of common carriers, must be put down as guilty of crime worse than burglary or highway robbery.

In April, 1887, an important change took place in the Cabinet, the Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Daniel Manning, being compelled by ill-health to resign his high position. Mr. Manning, who was born in Albany in 1831, entered in his twelfth year the office of an Albany newspaper, the Argus, and rose to be its manager, and in 1873 the president of the company. He had also extensive business relations, being elected in 1881 President of the National Commercial Bank of Albany. His personal entry into political life, as distinguished from his journalistic support of his party, took place in 1872, and from 1874 to 1885 he was a member of the Democratic State Committee. To his exertions the election of Grover Cleveland as Governor was mainly due, and his action in the National Convention of 1884, as head of the New York delegation, had equally great influence on his nomination to the Presidency. His knowledge of banking and finance well qualified him for the office to which he was assigned, and his discharge of his duties was satisfactory to the financial and commercial community. After his resignation he paid a visit to Europe, but the improvement of his health did not continue on his return hence, and in December he died, in his native city of Albany.

Before this, several prominent men had passed away, among them three who had unsuccessfully aspired to the Presidency.

In 1885, death removed from the scenes of active life General George B. McClellan, the commander of all the armies of the United States after the retirement of General Scott, and the organizer of the Army of the Potomac. His career in the war and his candidacy for the Presidency in 1864 have already been told in these pages. In that year he had resigned his commission in the army, and took up his residence in New York and New Jersey, of which latter State he became

Governor in 1877. Thenceforward he devoted himself to various engineering enterprises, to travel, and to literary pursuits. He was a clear writer, a good speaker, and profoundly versed in the arts of strategy and tactics. Too much caution and a strange suspicion that the Government did not wish him to succeed, led to all his failures and disappointments. But, to quote the words of Prof. Henry Coppee, "his personal magnetism has no parallel in military history, except in that of the first Napoleon. He was literally the idol of his officers and men, and they would obey him when all other control failed."

Samuel Jones Tilden was born in Lebanon, New York, in the year 1814, the descendant of a New England family that settled in America in 1634. His father was a friend of Martin Van Buren, and politics was the very atmosphere of the household in which the boy grew up. Both before and after his entrance at Yale, in 1832, as well as before and after his admission to the bar, his tongue and pen were devoted to discussing the political questions of the day. As a lawyer, he made his fame and laid the foundation of his fortune by his argument in the suit between the Pennsylvania Coal Company and the Delaware and Hudson Canal Company, and from 185 all the great Northwestern railroads were his clients. In 1848 he had joined in the Free Soil schism which that question provoked in the Democratic party, but throughout the war maintained that the struggle against the Confederate States could be carried on to a successful termination without having recourse to unconstitutional methods. In 1868 Tilden was the leader of the Democrats in New York State, and, to his honor, he opposed with the utmost determination the corrupt ring which, under the command of William M. Tweed, plundered the city of New York. He became the directing spirit which carried out the impeachment of Judges Barnard and Cordoza, and gave his energy and time and labor to prosecute the suits by the city against the "Tweed Ring" and its agents and allies. He became Governor of New York in 1874 and his first message denounced the extravagance and dishonesty that had prevailed in the management of the canals of the State. In 1876 he was nominated the Democratic candidate for the Presidency, and although the Electoral Commission gave the high office to Mr. R. B. Hayes, yet Tilden had the popular vote, the numbers being 4,284,265 for Tilden, against 4,033,295 for Hayes. Henceforth he was the first of Democratic leaders, but his state of health compelled him to decline the nomination in 1880, and again in 1884. He died, after a protracted period of feebleness, in 1886. His last important act in public affairs was a letter addressed to Speaker Carlisle, urging the necessity of liberal appropriations for the purpose of making our coasts safe against the attacks of any naval power. In public life Mr. Tilden was more a politician than a statesman. Astute, secretive, and dexterous, he was an excellent organizer of his party and held them together in defeat, although he could not lead them to victory in his lifetime. To his advice Mr. Cleveland owed the presence in his Cabinet of its strongest man, Mr. Manning, the Secretary of the Treasury. Mr. Tilden will be long known from the contested result of his candidacy for the Presidency; he will be perhaps better known for the munificent legacies he left to the city of New York to establish a free public library in the large and stately house in Gramercy Park, which he also bequeathed to the city.

Another unsuccessful candidate for the honor of the Presidency died in 1886, General Winfield Scott Hancock, who was defeated by I. A. Garfield in 1880. Whatever slanders political malignity

had scattered abroad during General Hancock's candidacy had been forgotten before his death, and his deeds during the war were alone remembered. "Hancock," wrote General Grant, "stands the most conspicuous figure of all the general officers who did not exercise a separate command. His name was never mentioned as having committed in battle a blunder for which he was responsible. He was a man of very conspicuous personal appearance; tall, well-formed, he presented an appearance that would attract the attention of an army as lie passed. His genial disposition gained him friends, and his presence, with his command, in the thickest of the fight, won him the confidence of the troops that served under him." General Sherman spoke equally highly of their fellow-soldier. "Sit down," he said to a raker-up of scandals during the heat of the Presidential campaign, "sit down and write the best thing that can be put in language about General Hancock as an officer and a gentleman, and I will sign it."

To these may be added the name of one who had been nominated by the Republican party as their candidate for the Vice-Presidency in 1884, General Logan, of Illinois, equally distinguished as a soldier and as a statesman.

John Alexander Logan was born in Illinois in 1826, and died at the capital of the Union in 1886. He served as a soldier in the Mexican war, and after it was over embraced the profession of the law, where his pleasing address and forcible oratory soon rendered him popular. After some experience in State politics, he was elected to Congress in 1858 as a Douglas Democrat, and in 1860 advocated the election of that statesman. He declared, however, on the first suspicion that the election of Abraham Lincoln would be the cause of strife, that he would "shoulder his musket to have him inaugurated." He fought as a volunteer at the first battle of Bull Run, and afterwards organized the Thirty-first Illinois Regiment, of which he became Colonel. He greatly distinguished himself in the field, and refused to interrupt or abandon his military service by accepting a nomination to Congress. "I have entered the field to die, if need be," he said, "and never expect to return till the object of the war is obtained." He was conspicuous for his skill and gallantry at Vicksburg, Resaca, Atlanta, and marched with Sherman "to the sea." When active service was over he resigned his commission and was returned to Congress, where he was one of the managers of the impeachment of President Johnson. In 1871 he was elected to the Senate, and in 1884 was nominated as the Republican candidate for the Vice-Presidency on the same ticket as Mr. Blaine. The most fitting tribute to his memory is expressed in the words of Mr. Blaine: "General Logan was a man of immense force in a legislative body. His will was unbending; his courage, both moral and physical, was of the highest order. I never knew a more fearless man. He did not quail before public opinion when he had once made up his mind, any more than he did before the guns of the enemy when he headed a charge. In debate he was effective and aggressive. While there have been more illustrious military leaders in the United States and more illustrious leaders in legislative halls, there has, I think, been no man in this country who has combined the two careers in so eminent a degree as General Logan." General Logan was a man of striking personal appearance; swarthy, as if he had Indian blood in his veins with jet-black hair, which he wore long, a heavy black mustache, dark eyes, and regular features, he looked the type of the Western American.

Before passing on to narrate the foreign relations which the Secretary of State had to conduct, and which brought upon him much obloquy, it will not be out of place to take some notice of the alarming earthquake - or rather series of earthquakes - at Charleston, the first and most alarming shock being on August 31st, 1886. This was felt, indeed, throughout the whole region of the United States between the Mississippi River and the Atlantic Ocean. It was especially severe in North and South Carolina, reaching its climax in the city of Charleston, where it caused terrible destruction. The city was wrecked, and the streets encumbered with masses of fallen bricks and tangled telegraph and telephone wires, making it almost impossible to pass from one part of the city to another. Most of the people, with their families, passed the night in the streets, which were, for some days, crowded with men and women who were afraid to re-enter their houses. Fires broke out in different parts of the city immediately after the earthquake, adding to the general alarm. An examination of the ruins showed that the damage was greater than was supposed. The loss was variously estimated at from ten to fifteen millions of dollars. Though few persons were killed, the suffering of the people was very great. The city was, for a time, virtually cut off from the outer world. The rails had been twisted like threads, so that no trains could approach or leave the place. There was some prospect of famine, the principal hope of relief from such disaster lying on the seaward side. Famine was, however, happily averted by strenuous effort and by contributions in kind from adjoining cities. These were, later, supplemented by considerable money donations from all parts of the world.

Chapter CXLIII

The Bartholdi Statue - Liberty Enlightening the World - The Largest Colossal Statue of Modern Times - A Gift from the French People to the American Nation - Speeches by W. M. Evarts, President Cleveland, M. Lefaiivre, C. M. Depew - The Fisheries Question - History of the Question - The Reciprocity Treaty of 1854 - The Convention of 1877 - Withdrawal of America in 1553 - American Vessels Seized by Canada - Retaliation Measures - British Ships Seized in Alaskan Waters - The Fisheries - Commission Sitting in Washington - The Treaty Signed, but Rejected by the Senate - The Samoan Question - American Interests in the Islands - German Outrages - The King Deposed - President's Message on the Subject - Conference of Germany, England, and America at Washington Suspended, but Renewed at Berlin - Treaty Signed - The Hurricane at Samoa - Loss of the "Trenton" and "Vandalia" - Heroism of the Sailors - Centenary of the Constitution at Philadelphia - The President's Speech - The Message of 1857 on Finances - The Surplus - The Mills Bill - The Great Tariff Debate of 1858 - The Presidential Election - General Harrison and L. P. Morton Elected - Causes of Cleveland's Defeat - The Sackville-West Letter - Dismissal of British Minister - The Rebel Flags - Appointment of Lamar to Supreme Bench - Insurrection in Hayti - Death of General Sheridan - The Pension Bill - The Indians.

In the fall of 1886 a ceremony took place which rose to the dignity of a national event - that was, the solemn unveiling of the statue, "Liberty - Enlightening the World," which now stands in New York Harbor - "a grand beacon enlightening the waves at the threshold of free America," and holding aloft her torch of invitation to all who seek to escape from obsolete laws or conditions repugnant to souls inspired with liberty. The idea of this work, the largest colossal statue made in modern times, is due to M. Bartholdi, who began his labors in 1879. The cost of the statue was over a million of francs (\$200,000), and was defrayed by a popular subscription throughout France. It is thus essentially a gift of the French people to the American people. The pedestal on which the figure stands was completed by popular subscriptions in America, and thus the complete work symbolizes the fraternal union of the two republics. The summer of 1886 was spent in its erection, and on the 28th of October the ceremony of accepting it took place. A procession of imposing dimensions, comprising not only military bodies, but other organizations representative of civil life, and of citizens of all nationalities, under the command of General Schofield, marched in review before President Cleveland, who, after this part of the proceedings was ended, embarked on the Hudson River and passed through a flotilla of war vessels and commercial steamers to Bedloe's Island, where the statue was seen towering aloft. The statue, which faces to the east, is made of "repousse" copper, and is 151 feet high. It is a draped female figure crowned by a diadem, holding a tablet close to the body in the left hand, and a torch in the uplifted right hand, and this stands upon a pedestal 155 feet high, square in form, built of granite and concrete. The lower part, or 65 feet, is unornamented, while the upper part is decorated by the resources of the architect's art. At night the torch is lighted by electricity, the base and pedestal being also illuminated by the same means. The statue can be distinctly seen from a distance of four or five miles. The total height above low-water mark is 305 feet 11 inches. The star-shaped walls of old Fort Wood, within which it stands, add materially to its appearance, and here the delivery and acceptance of the gift of the French people took place.

Mr. W. M. Evarts had been selected to perform the first part of this ceremony, and he did so in these words: "The statue, on the 4th of July, 1884, in Paris, was delivered to and accepted by this Government, by the authority of the President of the United States, delegated to and executed by Minister Morton. To-day, in the name of the citizens of the United States, who have completed the pedestal and raised thereon the statue, and of the voluntary committee that have executed the will of their fellow-citizens, I declare in your presence, and in the presence of these distinguished guests from France, and of this august assemblage of the honorable and honored men of our land, and of this countless multitude, that this pedestal and the united work of the two republics is completed and surrendered to the care and keeping of the Government and people of the United States." Due response was made by President Cleveland in behalf of our country: "This token of the affection and consideration of the people of France demonstrates the kinship of republics, and conveys to us the assurance that, in our efforts to commend to mankind the excellence of a government resting on a popular will, we still have beyond the Atlantic a steadfast ally. We will not forget that Liberty has here made her home, nor shall her chosen altar be neglected. Willing votaries will keep alive its fires, and these shall gleam upon the shores of our sister Republic in the East."

To this succeeded an eloquent address from one of the French delegates, who, with the artist, Bartholdi, took part in the ceremonies. M. Lefavre said: "More powerful than mere monuments and inscriptions will be the majestic statue itself which not only recalls a glorious past, but spreads ominous light upon the present and over the future. This symbol which we inaugurate to-day is not a clumsy allegory. Pledge of a fraternal union between the two greatest republics of the world, it is greeted simultaneously by more than one hundred millions of freemen, who tender friendly hands to each other across the ocean.

In a more rhetorical style Mr. Chauncey M. Depew concluded the exercises: "Higher than the monument in Trafalgar Square, which commemorates the victories of Nelson on the sea; higher than the column of the Place Vendome, which perpetuates the triumphs of Napoleon on land; higher than the towers of the Brooklyn Bridge, which exhibit the latest and grandest results of science, invention, and industrial progress, this Statue of Liberty rises toward the heavens to illustrate an idea which nerved the three hundred at Thermopylae, and armed the ten thousand at Marathon which drove Tarquin from Rome and aimed the arrow of Tell which fired the farmer's gun at Lexington, and razed the Bastille at Paris; which inspired the charter in the cabin of the Mayflower and the Declaration of Independence from the Continental Congress. It means that, with the abolition of privileges to the few and the enfranchisement of the individual, the equality of all men before the law, and universal suffrage, the ballot secure from fraud, and the voter from intimidation, the problems of labor and capital, of social regeneration and moral growth, of poverty and property, will work themselves out under the benign influence of enlightened law-making and law-abiding liberty."

Mr. Cleveland, at the conclusion of his speech, had unveiled the statue, amid salvos of artillery from the forts and ships of war, and cheers from the multitudes assembled within sight of the proceedings. The day was, unfortunately, a rainy one, and this led to the postponement of the

display of fireworks that had been promised for the evening. This, as well as the first kindling of the torch, was put off for some days, when they took place amid the greatest enthusiasm, but with less pomp.

From the balcony, seventeen feet below the summit of the torch, there is a magnificent view of the bay, Long Island, New York, Staten Island, and the shore of New Jersey, with their forests of masts and mountains of buildings. It is, however, the stranger that comes into the unrivaled harbor of New York who is most struck by this colossal pledge of friendship between old allies, and of welcome to all.

One of the most important and delicate questions that occupied the attention of the Secretary of State during President Cleveland's administration was the so-called "Fisheries Question," or the controversy between Canada and Great Britain on one hand, and the United States on the other, respecting the rights of American fishermen who plied their trade in the waters adjacent to the Dominion of Canada. It is a question that is coeval with the republic, and which, on several occasions, has produced considerable coolness between the two Governments.

The fisheries question may be set forth briefly as follows : By the treaty of 1783 American fishermen were recognized as possessing the same power to fish in the territorial waters of British North America as they had enjoyed before the separation of the colonies from the Mother Country. This was coupled with certain restrictions and conditions, which became subject of dispute, and so remained till the Convention of 1818. By the terms of this convention our fishermen obtained all the powers and privileges they had possessed as colonists of Great Britain, on condition that they should neither take, dry, nor cure fish "on or within three marine miles of any of the coasts or bays of British North America. The question at once arose, What is a bay, and where do the three miles begin? The British said a bay means any bay, great or small, and three miles must be measured from a line drawn from headland to headland. The United States replied that the three-mile line followed the sinuosities of the coast. In 1854 a Reciprocity treaty was negotiated between Canada and the United States of America, giving to the former certain privileges of free trade, and to the latter the use of the in-shore fishings. In 1865 the convention was abrogated, and in 1877, under the Treaty of Washington, the sum of \$5,000,000 was awarded to Canada as compensation for the acts of American fishermen since 1865. The old dispute had been about the three-mile limit; it now turned upon the purposes for which a foreign fishing vessel could enter Canadian ports. The American view is that the word purposes includes the purchase of bait, ice, and supplies, hiring seamen, and trans-shipping the catch in bond, and that such purposes do not contravene the convention of 1818, which was intended to protect in-shore fisheries, the powers of which convention must not be exercised when the manifest intention is to fish in the deep sea. Finally, in consequence of the continuance of annoyances inflicted on our hardy fishers, the United States in 1883 gave two years notice of its intention to withdraw from the treaty or arrangement made in 1877. In 1885, therefore, treaty arrangements ceased, and the rights of fishing vessels once more became subjects of discussion and dispute.

This condition of affairs might have lasted almost indefinitely, but the matter was brought to a

crisis by the action of the Canadian authorities, who, doubtless, took no steps without consultation with the Imperial Government of England. The action taken by the Canadian ministers was to equip and send to sea in 1886 a fleet of armed cruisers, with instructions to patrol the fishing grounds and see that no American fishing vessel transgressed the limits which the Canadians claimed as defining the rights of the Americans; and at the same time instructions were issued to all the Custom House officers in the neighborhood of the disputed fishing grounds to enforce rigidly the regulations in their several jurisdictions. The results of this course of proceeding were speedily visible. On the 7th of May the schooner "David F. Adams," hailing from the port of Gloucester, in Massachusetts, was seized in Digby Bay, in Nova Scotia, on the charge of violating the customs regulations. Subsequently the "Ella M. Doughty" was seized by the Canadian cruisers at Elizabethtown, Cape Breton, an account of its having purchased bait at St. Ann's. On July 2d the City Point, a schooner belonging to Portland, Maine, and two other vessels from the same port, the C. B. Harrington and the George W. Cushing, were seized at Shelbourne. On the 28th of August the Howard Holbrook, of Gloucester, Massachusetts, was seized at Port Hawkesbury, in Cape Breton. All these seizures above enumerated were made on the charge that they had violated the customs regulations. The other claim of the Canadian Government as to the meaning of the three-mile limit was also enforced, the first vessel seized on this charge being the Highland Land, which was said to have come within and fished in the forbidden waters. It is needless to mention other captures of American vessels while plying their trade in their accustomed way in the waters from which, according to the Canadian contention, they were excluded. Great was the indignation felt, especially in the Eastern States, at this forcible assertion by the Dominion of Canada of claims which the American Government held to be unfounded, or at least to be still in dispute. Petitions were sent up to Washington, and delegates of representatives of the fishing interests followed them to urge upon Congress the necessity of taking some steps to protect the American fishermen. Retaliation was advocated and adopted. A bill was passed which denied to Canadian vessels entrance to the ports and waters of the United States and prohibited the entry of fish. Such a state of affairs between two countries coterminous from ocean to ocean and bound together by so many commercial ties and common interests, was seen to be fraught with danger to the harmony and good feeling that ought to exist, or, if not existing, to be restored between two neighboring powers, who had neither interest nor desire to create a cause of more serious strife. A similar state of things existed on the Pacific Coast, with, however, this difference : that British ships were there charged with violating Alaskan waters by taking seals within the limits which the United States claimed as exclusively American under the terms of the purchase by which Russia had ceded her territory of Alaska. The vessels thus seized by the authorities of the United States, the "Caroline", "Onward," and others, were, as was the case in the Canadian seizures, released on bonds being given to abide ultimate decisions.

Numerous communications took place between the Federal Government and the Colonial office in London and the Dominion Government at Ottawa, and these diplomatic negotiations resulted in propositions for the formation of a mixed commission of representatives of the parties in interest, to examine and discuss the whole question and, if possible, to devise some plan by which all misunderstandings, either respecting the limits, which the respective parties might define

or the customs regulations that they might establish, should in the future be avoided. It was clearly to the advantage of both countries that some arrangement should be made that would be equitable and satisfactory to the citizens alike of the United States and of the Dominion, and the commission was formed with a sincere desire on both sides that a satisfactory treaty should be drawn up, to set at rest forever the disputed points that had, since the very first treaty of peace with Great Britain in 1783, been the cause of occasional ill-feeling, and which threatened, the closer the commercial interests of Canada and the United States became, to become more annoying and even more dangerous.

The question was, indeed, a very curious one; one impossible to arise between Great Britain and any other country, or between the United States and any other country. The American claim to certain rights or privileges in Canadian waters rests on the fact that the United States, that signed the treaty of peace in 1783, had, like Canada, formed a part of the British Empire. In the old days, before the Declaration of Independence, Massachusetts and Canada had stood exactly on the same footing as to all rights and privileges of fishing or of free intercourse in the waters of New England or Canada. They were both colonies of Great Britain, separate only as New England is today separate from New York, but with full, free, uninterrupted, indefeasible rights of communication, of hospitality, and of commerce. In other words, the United States claim, as they had always claimed, that, in virtue of their previous political condition as integral parts of the British Empire, they are tenants in common with Canada, and that they have never, by treaty, at any time or in any way, relinquished their title, all the conventions and arrangements which, from time to time, have been entered into by the two nations, being intended merely to define the modes and extent under which these never-surrendered rights could be exercised most harmoniously. That some definitive arrangement had not been made in the Treaty of Peace in 1783 is to be regretted, for from that time onward, these fishing rights have been an ever-present, though at times dormant, source of possible trouble. Nor is it a controversy to which the ordinary rules of international law can be applied, for international law defines the rights of independent nations, while in this case the very basis of the American claim is that the rights of American fishermen in Canadian waters arose before the independence of the United States. It is obvious that disputes between France and England as to their reciprocal rights of fishing, of hospitality, or of commerce, stand on a very different footing from the question that the commission was formed to settle.

The diplomatic negotiations between the respective Governments finally resulted, as we have said, in the formation of a mixed commission. On behalf of the United States, President Cleveland appointed W. L. Putnam, of Maine, and James B. Angell, of Michigan, to act in conjunction with Secretary Bayard in negotiating with Great Britain for a settlement of the question, and about the middle of November the Right Honorable Joseph Chamberlain, a Privy Councillor and Member of Parliament for Birmingham, with Sir Charles Tupper, of Canada, arrived in Washington, and they, with the British Minister, Sir Lionel Sackville West, constituted the commission on behalf of the British Government. A series of meetings took place, but from the necessity of submitting many of the points in dispute to the Imperial Government and the consequent delay in obtaining replies, the business of the convention progressed slowly. The delay, however, was not without its

compensations to one of the British Commissioners, for Mr. Chamberlain had thus the opportunity of wooing and winning Miss Endicott, the daughter of the Secretary of War, to whom he was married in the following spring.

A conclusion satisfactory to the joint commission was finally reached, and on the 15th of February, 1888, the proposed treaty was signed. On the 20th of that month it was forwarded by the President to the Senate, with a message suggesting that it was advisable to publish the text of the treaty as soon as possible. The Senate, regarding this as a challenge, at once gave the treaty to the press, and on May 28 it was debated in open session. The chief clauses stipulated that the contracting parties should appoint a mixed commission of four, to delimit the British waters, bays, creeks, and harbors of the coast of Canada and Newfoundland, and define the regulations to be conformed to by United States vessels entering such waters. A protocol was added, with a view to establish a *modus vivendi*, pending the ratification of the treaty, by which certain privileges were to be allowed to our fishing vessels on taking out a license at a fee of \$1.50 per ton. In the debate that ensued Senator Frye, of Maine, led the opposition to the ratification of the treaty. He exclaimed that no one had asked for delimitation, and that our fishers could tell where the three-mile limit was and what bays were six miles wide, without all the machinery of a commission, and concluded: "This is a complete surrender of the position which we have occupied for more than fifty years. We claimed these privileges and these rights. We have insisted on their enjoyment. We have enjoyed them all up to two years ago, and now here is a treaty which admits that Canada's refusal has been right and that we have been in the wrong; which admits, if we desire to enjoy these privileges, that we must buy them of Canada instead of claiming them under the laws of Great Britain and the United States." Senator Evarts strongly denounced the treaty. "We are constitutionally, in our habits, repugnant to treaties. Let us govern, let Great Britain govern, let every nation govern its own interior arrangements of trade. We will do the same for ourselves." The great subject outside the fishery was the question of hospitality, the right to touch and trade," and this right, he held, was by the treaty abrogated. On the other side, Senator Gray, of Delaware, argued that no important doctrine as to jurisdictional waters had been abandoned that the United States had conceded less than Great Britain as far as area went that there had been substituted reasonable, certain, and easily-ascertained lines, in place of vague and disputed limits. "Canada," he concluded by saying, "has conceded nearly all that we have any right in fairness to ask. We have no right to ask that we shall make her harbors our basis of fishing operations while we refuse to share with her any advantages we possess. I repeat, she has given us nearly everything we ask, and more than we had a right to demand." The debate was continued with much heat and passion on both sides, and on August 21st a vote was reached, by which the proposal to ratify the treaty was rejected by thirty voices against twenty. seven.

Two days later President Cleveland created considerable surprise by sending to the Senate a message, in which he asked for fuller power to undertake retaliation, in case harsh measures should become necessary in consequence of the rejection of the treaty. Such a change of tone as this document displayed was evidently adopted by Cleveland in the hope of recovering some of the support which the negotiations for the treaty had taken from him, and at the same time of throwing on the Senate any odium which might accrue from his executive acts. It was a smart

political trick, played in view of the approaching Presidential campaign, but it failed of any effect for although a bill such as he asked for was introduced, the Senate took no action on it, the majority holding that the act of 1887 gave the Executive ample power in the premises.

While the Fisheries Question has come down as a legacy from Colonial times, the other matters which occupied the attention of the Secretary of State, as our Minister for Foreign Affairs, are the outcome of the changed position in which our country stands in its relations to other nations. The marvelous growth of the United States in population and in wealth and their territorial extension from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean, have made them to-day one of the Great Powers of the world, and justify our aspirations to the hegemony of the continent. As such a Great Power, the Union has been compelled to enter into treaties with numerous States with whom otherwise it would not have been brought into connection. The islands of the Pacific Ocean, since the development of the trade of the States of California and Oregon and the acquisition of Alaska, have attracted the attention of American merchants and planters, and have been largely benefited by the investments and enterprise of our citizens and as these groups of islands are still in a rudimentary state of civilization, the treaties formed with them generally convey exceptional territorial rights.

In the course of ships between San Francisco and Auckland in New Zealand, between Panama and Sydney, in Australia, and between Valparaiso and China, lies the group of the Samoa Islands. American missionaries were the first to carry to the natives the religion of Christ, and till within the last twenty years the trade was exclusively in the hands of American and English commercial houses. In 1872 Commodore Meade made a treaty with the then ruling powers of Samoa, by which they ceded to the United States the harbor of Pango Pango, and President Hayes dispatched thither a vessel to survey and to take possession of the ceded territory. In a naval point of view, it is the key to the Samoan group and to Central Polynesia the harbor can hold safely the largest fleets it is free from hurricanes, land-locked, and easy of defense from attacks either by sea or land. It is, to all intents and purposes, the possession of the United States, and has been occupied for over ten years as a coaling station for our navy. Since the occupation of Pango Pango by our naval authorities, the necessity of keeping such a station has become more apparent. The projected canal through the Isthmus of Panama, and the possibility that it might be executed by foreign capital, and even under the auspices of some foreign State, render it absolutely indispensable for the safety of our communications that the United States should have some fixed stations for its fleets within easy distance of the Atlantic and Pacific ends of the canal. The occupation of such strategic points is but the legitimate development of the Monroe Doctrine, that no European power must be permitted to gain a foothold on our borders. It is, then, a strict regard to the vital interests of the country that dictates the action taken by our statesmen with reference to such an important station as Samoa and the attention given by the Government to the equally important group of the Sandwich Islands. Down to the year of the cession of Pango Pango, the chief trade of the Samoan group, it must be repeated, was in American hands; but about that time civil wars, among the various native competitors for supreme power, gave to some German houses that did business in the Pacific Ocean an opportunity to establish themselves. They sold arms to all the belligerents, and in return took cessions of land.

In 1873 the islands had petitioned to be taken under the protection of the United States, and in 1877 a similar petition was addressed to the Government of Great Britain. Both of these powers declined to comply with the request of the Samoans; but in 1878 a treaty between them and the Governments of the United States, Great Britain, and Germany was signed, in which one of the clauses was as follows: "In the event of the Government of Samoa being, at any time, in difficulty with powers in amity with the United States, the Government of Samoa then reserves to itself the right to claim the protection of the American flag." In 1884 Germany and Great Britain entered into mutual engagements to respect the independence of Samoa, for the King had appealed to the British Government for protection, alleging that a treaty which had been made with Germany had been made under duress, and really handed over the government of the islands to German officials. In 1885 the unhappy Samoans, smarting under the insolence of the German consuls and repulsed from the shelter of the great powers, voted the annexation of their islands to New Zealand but again the policy of Great Britain stepped in and forbade the consummation of this arrangement. The Germans continued their high-handed proceedings, and went so far as to hoist the German flag; but this act was disavowed by the Emperor. The King of Samoa who had been generally recognized was Malietoa, and the treaties made by Germany, Great Britain, or the United States, had been with him. He proved, however, not supple enough for the Germans, and they began a series of intrigues with a rival chief, Tamasese, who finally, encouraged by them and relying on their support, took up arms, and civil war was begun, to the great detriment of American interests. A well-grounded fear, too, arose, that the result of the struggle would be either the establishment of a German protectorate or the annexation of the islands to Germany. This fear was based on the efforts that the Government of Berlin was making, in various parts of the world, to found German colonies and a German colonial empire. In 1886 three large German ships of war entered the harbor of Apia, the capital of Samoa, and acknowledged Tamasese as King. The recognized King, Malietoa, appealed to the American Consul, Greenbaum, to act as a peacemaker. "As the kingdom of Samoa," wrote the distressed chief "has appealed to the United States for assistance and protection," and as he feared that English and Americans might fire on the rebel forces under Tamasese, he requested Consul Greenbaum to issue a proclamation that might prevent so disastrous a result. The Consul did so, and, moreover, hoisted the United States flag over the Samoan flag on the same halyards, as a token that the islands were under the protection of America. This step, having been taken without reference by the Consul to the Federal Government at Washington, was repudiated by the Secretary of State, Mr. Bayard, and Consul Greenbaum was recalled.

In 1886 President Cleveland called the attention of Congress to the deplorable condition of the islands. He wrote "Civil perturbations in the Samoan Islands have, during the last four years, been a source of extreme embarrassment to three Governments - Germany, Great Britain, and the United States, whose relations and extra territorial rights in that important seaport are guaranteed by treaty." He announced, too, that special agents of the three Governments had been deputed to examine the situation in the islands, and hoped "that this change and an harmonious understanding would secure the business prosperity of the autonomous administration and the neutrality of Samoa." As a result of the reports of their agents, a conference between the representatives of Great Britain, Germany, and the United States was held on board the American vessel "Mohican,"

commanded by Captain Day, and a declaration was signed that these three powers did not recognize Tamasese as King.

But, meanwhile, the Germans were busy in the islands. In August the German vessel Adler arrived at Apia, and demanded from King Malietoa a heavy fine for damages alleged to have been caused by his acts to German interests, and also "an abject apology for his conduct. The fine thus sought to be extorted was enormous in amount, and evidently quite beyond the resources of which Malietoa could dispose, while the letter conveying the demand was of a most insulting and arrogant character. Not satisfied with this, the German Consul prevailed on the captains of the German ships of war, the Adler, the Eber, and the Olga, to land a considerable body of troops, who searched the town in quest of Malietoa, without any regard to the nationality of the owners of the houses searched. The United States protested, but the only reply was a proclamation issued by the German Consul on August 25, that "War is proclaimed against Malietoa." On sight of this document, the representatives of the United States and Great Britain published a counter proclamation, announcing that they had never recognized Tamasese, and would continue to recognize Malietoa. Still the Germans continued in their course of action, probably not without some sort of understanding with Great Britain, for it is likely enough that that kingdom would be willing to leave Germany free to act in the Pacific Ocean, in return for concessions to be made in Africa or New Guinea, where British interests were larger. On September 8 came the announcement that Malietoa had been deposed by Germany, had been taken prisoner and sent to a German settlement in New Guinea, whence he was transferred to the Cameroons, and finally to Hamburg.

The conventions which the three powers had entered into in the years 1879 and 1883, were based on assurances of mutual guarantees for the independence of Samoa; but the events above related, as occurring in 1886 and 1887, evidently made it necessary for our Government to insist on a new treaty. A conference between delegates from the three powers interested was held in the summer, at Washington, at which the German Minister proposed that the government of the islands should be vested, for a term of five years, in a foreign adviser, who was to be nominated by the power having the largest material interests in Samoa. This was rejected by Mr. Bayard, who made a counter proposition, to place the supreme authority in the hands of the King, the Vice-King, and three foreigners, one from each of the great powers. This, in its turn, was not satisfactory, and the conference was, on July 26, suspended, but not abrogated. The events above described, however, and other proceedings of the German civil and naval officers, rendered a renewal of the negotiations indispensable. German marines had been landed, all foreign vessels were searched, and American goods not allowed to be landed. An American named Klein, who had taken an active share in the military operations of the party of Malietoa, had taken refuge on board the Nipsic, and his surrender was demanded. This demand called forth energetic communications from the Secretary of State but as President Cleveland's term of office was expiring, the renewal of the conference did not take place till President Harrison had been inaugurated and appointed Mr. Blaine as his Secretary of State. On April 29, 1889, the suspended conference was resumed at Berlin, the representatives of Germany being Count Herbert Bismarck and Dr. Krauel; of Great Britain, Sir Edward Malet, the British ambassador to

the German Empire, and Mr. Scott; and of the United States, Mr. Kasson, who had previously been our Minister to the Court of Vienna, and Mr. Bates, who had been one of our Commissioners to Samoa, and they were assisted by Mr. W. W. Phelps, Consul Sewall, and Lieutenants Buckingham and Parker. The first meeting was held in the palace of Prince Bismarck, the Chancellor of the Empire, and the proceedings were opened in the French language by an address, to which Sir Edward Malet and Mr. Kasson responded. After this diplomatic formality had been gone through, it was agreed that the further proceedings should be carried on in English, and that strict secrecy should be observed by all members of the conference.

It was understood that Count Herbert Bismarck's remarks were to the effect that arrangements ought to be made for non-interference by any of the powers represented in the conference, and that the natives should be allowed to select their King. Within three days of the meeting of the conference, King Malietoa was released from the confinement in which he had been kept, a decided testimony to the desire of the German authorities to bring the negotiations to a peaceful and speedy conclusion. By the well-defined instructions of Mr. Blaine, the American Commissioners were directed to insist upon the autonomy of the native Government to resist all attempts to hold Americans responsible for the disturbances in the islands; to endeavor to lighten, as much as possible, any burden in the way of indemnity the Germans might seek to place upon the impoverished Samoans; to demand an equal representation with the other treaty powers in the local government of the islands, in the event that any foreign influence should be permitted a share in it, and to insist most strenuously upon the restoration of the status quo ante.

The result seems to be, in every way, satisfactory to our statesmen, and to insure due respect to American rights and interests.

But before the conference met, while the ships of war of Great Britain, Germany, and the United States were lying in the harbor of Apia, there took place one of those extraordinary outbreaks of the forces of nature which paralyze all human efforts, and teach how weak a thing man is. On the 14th of March the barometer began to fall with alarming rapidity, and at three o'clock on the 15th the storm burst in all its fury, veering from the northwest to the nor'-nor'west. On the morning of the 16th the German ships Eber and Adler were blown on to the reef, and at nine o'clock the British ship Calliope seemed doomed to the same fate. She was a new ship and had good engines, and her commander resolved on the desperate task of running out to sea in face of the storm. She got into collision with the Olga, and passed close to the Trenton, on board of which the fires were extinguished, and which, like her consorts, the Vandalia and the Nipsic, was being irresistibly forced on the deadly reefs. Yet at that moment of despair the crew of the Trenton greeted the efforts of the Calliope with three ringing cheers. "Those cheers," said the British captain, saved my ship, for it gave new heart to my men." "Consider the scene," said an English writer, "and the matchless heroism and generosity of this Yankee crew. Almost sure of instant death themselves, they could see the Queen's ship fighting the hurricane and appreciate the gallantry of the effort with the generous pleasure of true mariners. We do not know, in all naval records, any sound which makes a finer music upon the ear than the cheer of the Trenton's men. It was distressed manhood greeting triumphant manhood, the doomed saluting the saved. It was

pluckier and more human than any cry raised upon the deck of a victorious line-of-battle ship. It never can be forgotten, never must be forgotten by Englishmen speaking of Americans. The dauntless cheers to the Calliope was the expression of an immortal courage." The heroism of the American sailors was beyond parallel in recent years. Their labors were incessant, their sufferings great, no help possible, nothing but death before them yet, in the very crisis of the hurricane, the band of the Trenton struck up the Star-Spangled Banner as the ship swept onward to the reef.

The Trenton and Vandalia became total wrecks, like the German ships, Adler and Eber, but the Nipsic and the German ship Olga were got off the beach with little damage when the storm had abated. In his letters reporting this disaster, Admiral Kimberly bore generous testimony to the assistance the wrecked crews received from the natives, who, regardless of all danger, hurried to rescue the survivors that were swimming to the shore, and to recover the bodies of those who had perished either in the wreck or on the reef. The great storm at Apia will be remembered when the affairs of Samoa are forgotten.

In September, 1887, the Centenary celebration of the completion of the Constitution was kept in Philadelphia. The festivities lasted three days. On the first was a Grand Industrial Parade of 12,000 members of the various trade societies on the second, a military parade of 30,000 men, and a public reception by the President and on the last day a public meeting was held in Independence Square, at which a hymn by Francis Marion Crawford was sung and orations made by Mr. J. A. Kasson and Mr. S. F. Miller, Judge of the Supreme Court.

President Cleveland and his Cabinet attended, and many other prominent persons were present, including the Justices of the Supreme Court, Senators, Representatives in Congress, the foreign diplomatic body, and the Governors of the several States. Dense crowds of people filled the square and the adjacent streets. President Cleveland presided at one of the stands and made a brief address. Referring to the difficulties overcome by the framers of the Constitution, he said : Continuing, in face of all discouragements, the fathers of the Republic labored on for four long, weary months, in alternate hope and fear, but always with rugged resolve, with their endeavors sanctified, with a perfect sense of the value to posterity of their success, and with unflinching faith in the principles which make the foundation of government by the people. At last their task was done. It was related that on the back of the chair occupied by Washington as President of the Convention, a sun was painted. As the delegates were signing the complete Constitution, one of them said: "I have often and often, in the course of this session, in the solicitude of my hopes and fears as to its issue, looked at that sun behind the President, without knowing whether it was rising or setting. But now, at length, I see it is rising, and not setting." We stand to-day on the spot where this rising sun emerged from political night and darkness, and in its own bright meridian light we mark its glorious way. Clouds have sometimes obscured its rays, dreadful storms have made us fear, but God has held it in its course, and through its life-giving warmth has performed His latest miracle in the creation of this wondrous nation and people. When we look down one hundred years, and see the origin of our Constitution when we contemplate its trials and triumphs; when we realize how completely the principles upon which it is based have met every national peril, how devoutly should we say with Franklin, 'God governs in the affairs of

men,' and how solemn should be the thought that to us is delivered this ark of the people's covenant, to us is given the duty to shield it from impious hands! It comes to us sealed with the tests of a century. It has been found sufficient in the past; it will be found sufficient in all years to come. If the American people are true to their sacred trust, another Centennial day will come, and millions yet unborn will inquire concerning our stewardship and the safety of their Constitution. God grant they may find it unimpaired; and as we rejoice to-day in the patriotism and devotion of those who lived one hundred years ago, so may those who follow us rejoice in our fidelity and love for constitutional liberty."

In the President's message, December 6, 1887, attention was again called to the state of the national finances, which, he stated, imperatively demanded immediate and careful consideration. The amount of money annually exacted through the operation of present laws from the industries and necessities of the people largely exceeds the sum necessary to meet the expenses of the Government. On the 30th of June, 1885," he continued, the excess of revenue over public expenditure, after complying with the annual requirements of the sinking fund, was \$17,859,785.84. During the year ended June 30, 1886, such excess amounted to \$49,405,545.20, and during the year ended June 30, 1887, it reached the sum of \$55,567,849.54. The annual contribution to the sinking fund during the three years specified, amounting in the aggregate to \$138,658,320.94, and deducted from the surplus as stated, were made by calling in for that purpose outstanding 3 per cent. bonds of the Government." It was also stated that the condition of financial affairs among the people was rendered precarious by the withdrawal of such large sums from the circulation of the country. Nor was there any clear and undoubted executive power of relief. All the bonds redeemable at the option of the Government had been called in, and there were no bonds outstanding which the Government had a right to insist on retiring. The right of the Secretary of the Treasury to go into the market and purchase bonds at a premium was perhaps doubtful, and if not so, such a power ought not to be left to the judgment of a single official. Nor was it advisable to deposit Government money in banks through the country, for such a course would establish too close a connection between the operations of the Treasury and general business, thus fostering a reliance in private business upon public funds. It could not be expected that extravagant appropriations should be made to avoid the accumulation of a surplus. Such expenditure, apart from all conceptions of public duty, stimulated reckless improvidence, inconsistent with the mission of the American people and the purposes of the American Government." This was quite in harmony with the opinions that President Cleveland had expressed in his inaugural address and in his other messages to Congress; and in accordance with these views a bill to reduce the duties on many articles of import was prepared and brought into the House of Representatives by Mr. Roger Q. Mills, of Texas. The question had been warmly debated by both political parties, both in the press and in speeches through the country, and the introduction of the bill resulted in the great tariff debate of 1888." The general debate occupied no less than twenty-three day and eight evening sessions, during which, in the time of one hundred and twelve hours, no fewer than one hundred and fifty-one speeches were delivered. The debate on separate paragraphs was still more lengthy, occupying twenty-eight days, or one hundred and twenty. eight hours. Mr. Mills, in advocating his bill, argued that taxation was necessary during war that the raising of the duties from an average of 18.84 percent in 1861 to an average duty of

40.29 percent in 1862 to 1866 was a war measure, a temporary measure to which good citizens must give their support. But these duties became excessive when continued in a time of peace, and became unjust when they were raised still higher, as they had been between 1883 and 1887, when the average impost had been 44.51 percent. The levying of such excessive duties, he maintained, destroyed the value of our exports by limiting the amount of our imports. "It took two to trade," he continued, and as seventy-five percent of our exports consisted of agricultural products, cotton, breadstuffs, pork, beef, and the like, the direct tendency of the existing tariff was to check foreign nations from sending their products to us. Such heavy duties crippled our productions and closed to them the markets of the world." In reply Mr. McKinley, of Ohio, said that a protective tariff made the foreigner who came into competition with our home products bear the burden of taxation, and thus encouraged our own industries. We tax the foreigner because he is an alien, and as such free from the obligations that lie on the citizen of the United States. He denounced the levying of duties ad valorem, as leading to dishonesty and fraud upon the Government, and held that protection meant high wages to the workingman and home markets to the producer, whether his products were agricultural or industrial. In the same vein Mr. Randall, as the leader of the protectionist wing of the Democratic party, called for a repeal of the internal revenue taxes, which he characterized as distinctly war taxes and direct taxes. Protective duties only added to the price of imports when they came into competition with home products, nor do they constitute a bounty on manufactures, but are really an equalization of profits. In the words of Jefferson, what we want is, the manufacturer alongside the farmer," and this can only be effected by protection and protective duties. Mr. Reed, of Maine, pointed out the results of the system of a protective tariff as demonstrated by the growth of our cities through the length and breadth of the land, and by the unparalleled development of our inland commerce, and then took higher and more general ground, that a nation must diversify its industries, so that every man may do what he can do best. Let the inventive faculties and the mechanical skill of the people not only have fair play, but due encouragement.

"For a nation to get out of itself or out of the earth all the wealth there is in both, it is not necessary for the nation to buy cheap or sell dear. That concerns individuals alone. What concerns the nation is how to utilize all the work there is in man, both of muscle and of brain, of body and soul in the great enterprise of setting in motion the ever-gratuitous forces of nature."

The debate was a remarkable one, but the result had been foreseen, and the bill was never considered by the Senate.

The Mills bill was but the expression of the declared policy of President Cleveland, elaborated in the form of practical legislation, and when it was reported it was regarded as an explanatory preface of the platform of the Democratic Convention, which had been summoned to meet in St. Louis on June 5, 1888. The Convention nominated as the party's candidate for the ensuing Presidential term, the then holder of that exalted office, and the Republican Convention, that met at Chicago on June 19th, nominated as its candidate General Benjamin Harrison, of Indiana, who had already served his country as a soldier in the field, as Congressman in the House of Representatives. and as a Senator. The veteran Allen G. Thurman, of Ohio, was nominated by the

Democrats as Vice-President on the same ticket with Grover Cleveland as President, while the Republicans named Levi P. Morton, of New York, as the Vice-President on their ticket. The campaign was not disgraced by the personalities which had formed so revolting a feature in the campaign of 1884, but was conducted on broad, economic issues. The result was that Benjamin Harrison and Levi P. Morton were elected President and Vice President of the United States by 233 electoral votes, against 168 cast for Cleveland and Thurman.

While the failure of the Democracy to return their candidate must be chiefly attributed to the position assumed by the President on the questions of Civil Service and Tariff Reform, and the consequent division of the party, other causes were at work. Appeals were made by Republican journals and speakers to the evil passions of the most ignorant part of the Irish citizens, and everything done by the President was represented by the word English." The Civil-Service Reform was English; the Mills Bill was English the Fisheries treaty was a truckling to England the Extradition treaty was a base surrender to British influence. A harmless club of old political economists, who meet in London once a year and call themselves the Cobden Club, was described as flooding the country with British gold and British pamphlets in behalf of free trade. Every effort was made to detach the Irish vote from the Democrats, by fair means or foul and an error in judgment, almost ludicrous in a trained diplomatist, on the part of the British Minister, Sir L. Sackville-West, came to the aid of these efforts. A letter was addressed to him from the State of California, which purported to be signed by Charles T. Murchison, an American citizen of British birth. He professed to seek for guidance as to his course in the political campaign just opening, and therefore applied for such guidance to the British Minister as would enable him to influence the political action of other British-born citizens. The letter was offensive in tone, imputing insincerity to the Government of Washington, and Lord Sackville's reply was indiscreet, for he wrote that, in the rejection of the Fisheries bill and the President's message referring to retaliation, allowance must be made for the political situation." He also implied, therefore, that the message was insincere, but indicated that a vote for Cleveland would be the most likely to conduce to the prosperity of Great Britain and to a continuance of harmony between the nations. The letter to the Minister, it may be useless to say, was a campaign trick, and his answer was at once spread abroad by the Republican press. At first little was thought of the affair. Mr. Bayard expressed himself to the effect that it was merely a private affair - a private reply to a private inquiry - and the whole Government seemed inclined to treat the business as of little importance. As, however, the Republican party began to make use of the document thus dishonorably acquired to arouse the susceptibilities of the national as well as of the Irish feeling at any attempt whatever by a foreign power to influence our internal policy, remonstrances were made by Mr. Bayard to the British Foreign Office in London. Lord Salisbury replied that, before he could recall a British Minister, he must know the charges against him. A compliance with this request would have involved delay, and been again described as yielding to England. The extreme step was, therefore, resolved on by the President, who, it is said, dictated his course to Mr. Bayard, of dismissing the English Minister; and on the 20th of October Sir Lionel Sackville-West, Lord Sackville, received his passports. But even this assertion of the national honor did not avail Cleveland. Those who had clamored for the dismissal of the Minister denounced it as too tardy, while an equally numerous party regarded it as an ignominious yielding to popular clamor, unworthy of a great nation and a

strong Government, and especially uncalled for when the British Government had the question of recall under consideration, and merely asked for information and time. The British Government resented the action by not appointing a successor to Lord Sackville till a new President was inaugurated.

In 1887 another mistake of a high officer created justly considerable feeling prejudicial to Mr. Cleveland's candidacy. This was the recommendation of Adjutant-General Drum advising the restoration of the battle-flags captured from the soldiers of Confederate States during the war to the various States whose regiments had borne them. The recommendation was signed and approved of by the President. But at once widespread indignation was expressed. The Grand Army of the Republic, the well-known organization of veterans, was loud in its denunciations of such a measure. Everywhere it was felt that a great blunder had been made. That the President was only guilty of thoughtlessness was not conceded. He was regarded as the author of the measure, and it was described as a natural outcome of Democratic consideration for the Southern States, a consideration which, it was added, was evidenced by the President's vetoes of so many pension bills. The flags were not returned, as it was discovered that they had become the property of the nation, and could not be restored without an act of Congress. But this, too, came too late, and the affair nearly led to an open insult to the President by the encampment of the Grand Army of the Republic when the President visited St. Louis during a tour through the Western States.

The appointment of the Secretary of the Interior, Lucius Q. C. Lamar, to the Supreme Bench also provoked much criticism. It was remembered that Mr. Lamar had sat in Congress, and left it to sit in the Confederate Congress, and that he had held command in the Confederate army, and it was loudly argued that such a man was unfit to sit in a court that had to decide constitutional questions, even if he had displayed any legal abilities but, in place of being a Taney, or a Marshall, he was a dreamy scholar, who had not even distinguished himself by industry in his Secretariate. After considerable delay, the nomination was approved by the Senate, but of course the Republican party found it a good weapon of attack in the campaign.

While measures already described were being taken to secure the independence of Samoa as necessary for the security of the United States on the Pacific coast, in view of any canal or canals being cut through the isthmus of Central America, disturbances that might easily have led to foreign intervention, or at least embarrassing intrigues by European powers, broke out in the Republic of Hayti. On the second of June, 1888, President Salomon was expelled from his office by two officers holding high commands in the Haytian army - Generals Manigat and Legitime. Against the pretensions of these two men, a revolt was organized in the northern part of the island by General Thelemaque. Cape Haytien was the headquarters of this faction, and the districts of Gonaives and St. Marc followed its example. A Provisional Government was organized for the election of a new President, and by it a body of eighty-four Presidential electors was constituted, to choose the new executive. A canvass of these electors before the official meeting of the body, disclosed the fact that the probability was that General Thelemaque would be elected by a large majority. He was, however, before the day of election, killed in a riot at Port-au-Prince, and

Legitime was declared President. He at once seized the treasury, and assumed all the powers of a dictator. A strong opposition to him had already existed in the northern provinces, and this was intensified by the killing of General Thelemaque, which his partisans did not hesitate to describe as a murder, instigated, if not ordered, by Legitime. Another revolt broke out at Cape Haytien, under General Hippolyte, and Legitime announced the blockade of the northern ports, and attempted to make it effective by dispatching thither his two warships, the Dessalines and the Toussaint Louverture. These vessels, on the 21st of October, signalized themselves by seizing an American steamer, the Haytian Republic, which was duly condemned by Legitime's courts as a lawful prize. The American Minister at once protested, on the ground that the blockade was not an effective, but only a paper one, and that the Haytian Republic had done no illegal act. To give strength to his protest, the Boston opportunely came into the harbor, and in the following week the Yantic and Galena arrived, to support their consort. With this display of force on the part of the Americans, the vessel seized and condemned was turned over to Admiral Luce, and a compensation for damages paid to its owners. Disturbances, however, still continued, trade everywhere began to suffer, and at the same time a report was spread that intrigues were carried on, with a view to give the protectorate of the republic to France. The report seems to have been set afloat by irresponsible parties, with a view to test the feeling of that country. It was well known that she had never thoroughly reconciled herself to the separation of this former colony from her dominions. Napoleon the First expended 60,000 men in a vain attempt to recover the island, and Napoleon the Third had plotted for the same end. The collapse of M. de Lesseps' scheme of a canal through the Isthmus of Panama, to which we have already alluded (p. 1 792), when mentioning his visit to this country in 1880, led to considerable pressure being put on the French Government either to complete the canal as a Government undertaking or to give it such official support as would insure the French shareholders from imminent ruin. In either of these contingencies the possession of Hayti would be of incalculable advantage to France, and in the agitated condition of political parties in the French Republic, it was impossible to foresee what rash plans might not be favored by some of the ambitious aspirants to power. The very fact that such a proposal as the establishment of a French protectorate had been mooted, even by irresponsible parties, even in the face of repudiation of such schemes by the French Government, brought before the minds of thinking men the dangers which, however improbable, might still, possibly, menace American rights and the maintenance of the Monroe Doctrine. The policy of our Government and the sentiment of our people are averse to schemes of control or purchase or conquest of the islands, like Hayti or Cuba, that are of as great strategic and commercial importance to us as any of the near and distant possessions of England that she has gained, held, and fortified. Yet President Grant came near acquiring the Bay of Samana, on the San Domingo end of the island, and would have completed the purchase but for scandals that attracted more popular attention than the real advantages of such an addition to our naval and commercial positions.

The present situation in Hayti - with a chronic, yet only partially successful, revolution tempting the natives to resort to intrigues with foreign powers, especially with France, and the development of our new navy and enlargement of our policy in regard to naval and commercial stations - compelled our Government to keep a watchful eye over affairs in the island and the

parties that are striving for supreme power in a manner that interrupts our trade and endangers our citizens.

In 1888 another great American soldier went to his last home. General P. H. Sheridan has been mentioned too often in OUR COUNTRY in connection with deeds of gallantry and patriotism, to need more than the record of his name to call up his exploits. After the war he was successively in command of the Departments of the Gulf and of the Mississippi: and in 1869, when General Grant became President and General Sherman the General-in-Chief, Sheridan was raised to the rank of Lieutenant-General. In 1870 he visited Europe, and was with the German Headquarters staff at the bloody battle of Gravelotte. In 1883 he became General-in-Chief, and in 1888 the full rank of General was restored by Congress for him and during his lifetime. He did not long survive the granting of this honor, as he died on the fifth of August, in his fifty-seventh year.

Mention has been made of the frequent use of the veto by the President, to kill the system of private bills for pensions. In February, 1887, another bill was returned by him. This was the so-called Dependent Pension Bill, the purport of which can be seen by his message:

"I herewith return, without my approval, House bill No. 10,457, entitled 'An act for the relief of dependent parents and honorably-discharged soldiers and sailors who are now disabled and dependent upon their own labor for support.' This is the first general bill that has been sanctioned by the Congress since the close of the late Civil War, permitting a pension to the soldiers and sailors who served in that war, upon the ground of service and present disability alone, and in the entire absence of any injuries received by the casualties or incidents of such service."

In President Cleveland's first message he had spoken about the Indians. The most intricate and difficult subject in charge of this department is the treatment and management of the Indians. I am satisfied that some progress may be noted in their condition as a result of a prudent administration of the present laws and regulations for their control. But it is submitted that there is lack of a fixed purpose or policy on this subject, which should be supplied. It is useless to dilate upon the wrongs of the Indians, and as useless to indulge in the heartless belief that because their wrongs are revenged in their own atrocious manner, therefore they should be exterminated. They are within the care of our Government, and their rights are, or should be, protected from invasion by the most solemn obligations. They are, properly enough, called the wards of the Government; and it should be borne in mind that this guardianship involves, on our part, efforts for the improvement of their condition and the enforcement of their rights. There seems to be general concurrence in the proposition that the ultimate object of their treatment should be their civilization and citizenship. Fitted by these to keep pace in the march of progress with the advanced civilization about them, they will readily assimilate with the mass of our population, assuming the responsibilities and receiving the protection incident to this condition." One of the first steps he had to take in their defense was when war between the Apaches and Cheyennes was imminent. He dispatched General Sheridan to the spot, and that good old "Indian fighter" reported that the trouble came from the encroachments of the "cattle kings" of the West on the

Indian reservations. The President at once ordered the withdrawal of the trespassers, and peremptorily refused all delay. The white men and their herds went peacefully, without any use of the military being required, and this was speedily followed by an order to remove all the fences in the Indian Territory at the same time, steps were taken to induce the Indians to surrender some of their claims, and to adopt a mode of life more consonant with that of the dominant race.

Chapter CXLIV

President Harrison, His Birth and Parentage - His Cabinet Ministers - The Foreign Missions - The Centenary of Washington's Inauguration - The President at Elizabeth - His Arrival at New York - The Naval Parade - The Receptions and the Ball - The 30th of April - Service at St. Paul's Church and Bishop Potter's Address - The Military Parade - The Triumphal Arch - The Centennial Banquet - The Industrial Parade, May 1 - Behavior of the Crowds - A Contrast between 1789 and 1889 - Floods in the Allegany Region - The Bursting of Conemaugh Dam - Appalling Loss of Life Descriptions by Eye Witnesses - Johnstown Swept Away - Other Disasters - Gross Negligence - Fire at Seattle - The Business Portion Consumed - Energy of the Citizens.

Benjamin Harrison, the twenty-third President of the United States, was the grandson of General William Henry Harrison, "Old Tippecanoe," who was President in 1841, and great-grandson of Benjamin Harrison, of Virginia, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence. He was born at North Bend, Indiana, in 1833, and practiced law in that city till he entered the army, in which he rose to the rank of Brigadier-General. When the war was over he resumed his profession, and was one of the Senators of his State in Congress, from 1880 to 1886. The Vice-President, Levi P. Morton, an eminent banker of New York, had been Minister to France during Mr. Arthur's administration. The new Executive was duly inaugurated at Washington with the accustomed ceremonies, and nominated as his Cabinet James G. Blaine, of Maine, Secretary of State William Windom of Minnesota, Secretary of the Treasury; R. Proctor, of Vermont Secretary of War; John Wanamaker, of Pennsylvania, Postmaster-General William H. Miller, of Indiana, Attorney-General B. F. Tracy, of New York, Secretary of the Navy; J. W. Noble, of Missouri, Secretary of the Interior; and Jeremiah Rusk, of Indiana, Secretary of Agriculture. This last was a new office, of which Mr. Rusk was the first incumbent. Mr. Blaine and Mr. Windom had both held the same offices under President Garfield; Mr. Proctor had been Lieutenant-Governor of his State; Mr. Tracy, an eminent lawyer, well known from his connection with the celebrated case of H. W. Beecher, had seen active service in the Army of Virginia, and had attained the rank of General. Mr. Miller had been the partner of General Harrison in his law business in Indianapolis, and was his most intimate and devoted friend, while Mr. Rusk had served in Congress, been Governor of his State, and gained great reputation from the firmness and promptitude with which he repressed the threatened Anarchist disturbances in Milwaukee. Mr. Wanamaker was an eminent dry goods merchant of Philadelphia, widely known for his Christian zeal and labors in developing the Sunday School system. The great foreign missions were assigned: France, to Mr. Whitelaw Reid, editor of the New York Tribune - England, to Mr. Robert Lincoln, son of the martyr President, Secretary of War in Garfield and Arthur's terms; for Germany Murat Halstead was nominated, but rejected by the Senate, for the personal reason that in his paper, the Cincinnati "Commercial Gazette," he had criticized harshly some of the proceedings of that body; to Russia Mr. A. Thorndike Rice, the accomplished editor of the "North American Review", was appointed, but he died suddenly, just as he was about to sail. Of the minor missions, the nomination of Mr. P. Egan to Chili, was the most open to censure. He had been closely identified with the Irish Home Rule agitators, had fled from his native country, and had been naturalized only a very short time before he received his appointment. Colonel Grant,

son of President Grant, received the mission to Vienna, and Mr. Hirsch that to Turkey.

The first great public function in which President Harrison was called to appear was the Centennial celebration of the inauguration of Washington at New York. The centenary of the Declaration of Independence was marked by the Great Exhibition in Philadelphia in 1876, under President Grant the termination of the War of Independence by the surrender of the British forces at Yorktown was commemorated in 1881 under President Arthur. President Cleveland witnessed the long processions and elaborate ceremonies with which Philadelphia, in 1887, kept the centenary of the signing of the Constitution, and now this series of national celebrations was completed by due observance of the hundredth anniversary of the day on which the first President had been inaugurated. In a certain point of view, this last was the most epoch-making event, for it marked the beginning of our National life and of our present Federal Constitution. How George Washington was inaugurated in 1789, has been already told in these volumes, and there may be read the route taken by the Father of his Country from his home at Mount Vernon to New York, of the honors that welcomed him in every place through which he passed, and of the ceremonies gone through when he took the prescribed oath of office. It was resolved that, as far as the change in circumstances would allow, the course of General Washington should be followed. The day (April 30) and the following day (May) were declared national holidays liberal appropriations were made by the State and the city, and generous subscriptions to defray the expenses were poured into the treasury of the Committee of Citizens who had charge of the affair. Days before the Centennial day the streets of the city began to assume a festive appearance; triumphal arches were erected over the wide and stately line of Fifth Avenue at Washington Square and Madison Square; flags were displayed from every house, and it was noteworthy, as evincing the widespread feeling of patriotism, that these were quite as numerous in districts through which no procession would pass as in the more favored localities through which the citizen soldiery or the industrial parade would defile. Indeed, if any distinction is to be made between the decorative displays of various parts of the city, it may be safely asserted that the poorer sections were gayer and brighter with the Stars and Stripes than were the mansions of the wealthy. It was universally felt that the occasion was a national one, in which every citizen had a share. Thousands upon thousands poured into the city from all quarters - east, west, and south - all intent on duly celebrating the important day. On Sunday, the 28th of April, the President prepared to leave Washington, and a little after midnight the special train conveying him and his Cabinet officers was on the road northward. The real beginning of the celebration was at Elizabeth, N. J., where the President alighted, to a salute of twenty-one guns, and was driven to the house of the Governor of New Jersey. There he held a reception, and afterwards reviewed the military who were to form his escort to Elizabethport. Three triumphal arches spanned the road which the procession had to take, and the march was completed amid continuous applause. The most interesting arch was at Elizabeth and the Cross-Roads. On it were stationed forty-nine pretty girls, dressed in costumes representing forty-two States and seven Territories, and as the President passed under he was showered with flowers. Historically speaking, there was an anachronism in this celebration at Elizabeth, for it was on the 23d of April, 1789, that Washington had been entertained there by Elias Boudinot. At Elizabethport the Dispatch was lying in the channel, and to it the President was rowed by a picked crew of the Alcyone Boat Club. patch began her passage across the bay.

Soon after eleven o'clock the Dispatch began her passage across the bay. In the early morning the daylight had revealed the men-of-war and revenue cutters anchored in a long line from a point off the Battery to a distance of two and a half miles down the bay. In the line were the new cruiser Chicago, the old Kearsarge, the Yantic, the Essex, the Brooklyn, the new cruiser Atlanta, the Jamestown, the Juniata, the Yorktown, and the new cruiser Boston. All were trimmed with rainbow lines of colors from their bows to a point abaft their sterns, where the colors dipped into the water. The new vessels, though only cruisers, were all larger than the fighting ships of the war epoch. They had a modern, stately manner impressive, trim, and soldier-like, if the term may be used. Their newness shone in every line of their construction, in every flag, in every finishing touch of color or of bright work. Among them all the Boston, farthest away though she was, was distinguished by her color, or absence of it, for she was white, while all the others were black. The cutters Grant, of New York; Gallatin, of Boston Dexter, of Newport; McLane and Ewing, of Baltimore, and the boarding tugs Manhattan, Chandler, and Washington, of New York, steamed along behind the war-ships, veering from one position to another with the changing tide. The upper bay was alive with boats, for no less than one thousand vessels were afloat, to participate in the demonstration, and fifty thousand people, at least, were afloat, to witness the spectacle. Cheers rent the air as the Dispatch, with the Presidential flag flying, entered the line, and, as she passed, the merchant fleet began to close in behind her, forming a huge fan of ships in her wake. Then the fleet of yachts was passed, then the fleet of revenue cutters, and then the yards of the men-of-war were manned, and the guns of the Boston began the salute, to which the patriotic pilots of nine hundred river steamers added the appalling discord of their whistles. It was with some difficulty that the Dispatch worked her way through the throng of vessels in the East River to her anchorage of Wall Street. At one o'clock the President stepped into the barge, which was rowed ashore by twelve old captains, members of the Marine Society - white-bearded, white-haired veterans of the sea - amid cheers that echoed from housetop to housetop, and from pier to pier all along the river front. When the President had landed Mr. Hamilton Fish, the President of the Centennial Committee, presented the following address:

"MR. PRESIDENT: In the name of the Centennial Committee, representing the enthusiasm, the gratitude, and the pride of the Nation on this Centennial anniversary, I tender to you the welcome of New York, on the very spot where, one hundred years ago, your great predecessor, our first President, planted his foot, when he came to assume the duties of the great office which has now devolved upon you, and to set in operation the machinery of the glorious Constitution under which the Government has prospered and enlarged and extended across the Continent, insuring peace, security, and happiness to more than 60,000,000 of people, and not a single slave. We welcome you to celebrate the Centennial anniversary of the inauguration of that Constitution to whose preservation and defense you have sworn."

A brief reply was returned, and then a procession was formed, to escort the President and invited guests to the Equitable Building. In that immense edifice were gathered many of the leading men of the nation, including the Governors of twenty-eight States, in the order of the admission of their States to the Union: Delaware, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Georgia, Connecticut, Massachusetts, Maryland, South Carolina, New Hampshire, Virginia, North

Carolina, Rhode Island, Vermont, Kentucky, Ohio, Indiana, Alabama, Maine, Missouri, Michigan, Iowa, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Oregon, West Virginia, Nebraska, Colorado, Montana, and the Governor of Washington Territory, Governor Hill, of New York, forming part of the Presidential party. Following the custom in Washington's time and of common sense, there was no shaking of hands by those presented to the President. It was a representative crowd that passed before President Harrison. There were descendants of the gallant Frenchmen who had fought, side by side with Washington, for independence; the veterans who had fought for the Union by land and sea; representatives of that society which its founders fondly hoped would be an American order of Knighthood, the Society of the Cincinnati; members of the Holland Society, that embraces the descendants of the Dutch colonists of New Amsterdam heads of great financial firms; authors and publishers engineers and photographers; delegates of the Chamber of Commerce and the various Exchanges - in fact, representatives of every trade, art, industry, or profession that men exercise. At the banquet that followed the only toast drunk was "To the memory of George Washington, the Father of his Country." From the Equitable Building the line of march was resumed to the City Hall through ever denser crowds, whose cheers were renewed as the procession swept into the City Hall parade ground. Two lines of white-robed schoolgirls stretched from the entrance of the Hall down the broad steps in front to the first line of troops. As the President, with Mayor Grant, walked slowly for ward, flowers were strewn before him at every step. In the Governor's room, beneath a canopy of National flags, the President took his stand and a truly public reception ensued, mostly of plainly-dressed men and women, many of the former in their working clothes, many of the latter with their children in their arms. About five thousand passed before him during the hour devoted to the reception. Meanwhile, the East and North Rivers had been the scenes of two grand naval parades. While the Dispatch was landing the President, the ships of war got up their anchors and steamed in line up the North River to the anchorage off Fifty-ninth Street, and were followed by the yachts and revenue cutters. The view of the shores as seen from the ships was only less interesting than the spectacle of the marine pageant. Not a pier, not a house-top, not a patch of ground from which a view of the harbor could be had but was occupied, and hundreds of thousands of men and women and children cheered the fleet that sailed first up the North River. The scene in the harbor as the procession of merchant steamers began to round these war-ships off West Fifty-ninth Street, was as astounding as any that had gone before, The long and varied line extended down along the piers of the North River, around the Battery, up the westerly side of East River above Twenty-third Street, over to the easterly side of the river, and down to Wall Street again, while from Wall Street to Governor's Island there was a host of vessels, probably numbering more than one hundred. This procession started up the East River at about 11:15. At 4 they were still in line, although many did not cover the entire route.

In the evening the Metropolitan Opera House was the scene of a grand ball, at which were assembled America's loveliest maids and most gracious matrons. At the back of the stage a box for the President had been erected, and to this he was conducted between two lines of artillerymen, with drawn swords, who formed a pathway across the auditorium. The opening quadrille was danced by Vice-President Levi P. Morton, with Mrs. Jones Lieutenant-Governor Jones, with Mrs. Morton Lieutenant Judson, special aide to the President, with Mrs. Astor; Senator Aldrich, with Mrs. Cruger; Admiral Jouett, with Mrs. Washington General Vincent, with

Mrs. Gerry General McCook, with Mrs. A. S. Webb; Commodore Ramsey, with Mrs. Newbold Morris; General Fitzgerald, with Mrs. Gracie King; Harry Cannon, with Mrs. De Peyster; Dr. A. L. Ruth, U. S. N., with Mrs. Bayard Cutting; Mr. J. William Beekman, with Miss Livingston; Captain Dorst, with Mrs. Cooper; Mr. J. De Peyster, with Mrs. Van Rensselaer Colonel J. M. Varnum, with Mrs. Weir; Mr. G. Creighton Webb, with Miss Schuyler. Seldom has such a group of bearers of historic names been gathered together in our country.

Such was the prelude to the great day - the hundredth anniversary of the first Presidential inauguration - and if the naval displays of the 29th were admirable, the ceremonies and processions of the 30th perhaps appealed to larger multitudes of enthusiastic citizens. From early morn the streets through which the procession had to pass had begun to be filled with throngs of sight-seers, and as hour after hour passed new accessions of spectators crowded every footway and occupied the countless stands which had been erected on the line of march. The proceedings were ushered in by the ringing of the bells of all the churches, and in most of these sacred edifices special services were held, notably in the Dutch Reformed and the Episcopalian Churches. The former remembered that they had been loyal to the cause of independence in its darkest days; the latter were mindful that George Washington belonged to their communion. In the venerable Church of St. Paul, where Washington had worshipped before his inauguration, the religious service took place. The President sat in George Washington's pew, and Governor Hill in that which had been occupied by Governor Clinton. The church was richly decorated with flowers and flags, conspicuous in which were the old thirteen-starred flag of the last century and the liliated-white flag of France. After the usual services of the Episcopal Church, the Right Reverend Henry C. Potter, Bishop of the Diocese of New York, delivered an address, which, from its boldness and fearless frankness, evoked much comment. The reverend prelate said "One hundred years ago there knelt within these walls a man to whom, above all others in its history, this nation is indebted. An Englishman by race and lineage, he incarnated in his own person and character every best trait and attribute that have made the Anglo-Saxon name a glory to its children and a terror to its enemies throughout the world. But he was not so much an Englishman that, when the time came for him to be so, he was not even more an American and in all that he was and did, a patriot so exalted, and a leader great and wise, that what men called him when he came here to be inaugurated as the first President of the United States the civilized world has not since then ceased to call him - the Father of his Country. "The goodly company," he continued, "that a hundred years before had assembled in these walls, acknowledged reverently the hand of Divine Providence in the events that had made the cause of America triumphant. The event they were that day celebrating was not merely an illustration of the continuity of the Chief Magistracy and of the corporate life of the nation rather it was felt with an unerring intuition which has, once and again and again in human history, been the attribute of the people as distinguished from the theorists, the system-makers, that that which makes it worth while to commemorate the inauguration of George Washington is not merely that it is the consummation of the nation's struggle towards organic life, not merely that by the initiation of its Chief Executive it set in operation that constitution which is 'the most perfect instrument which the wit of man has devised'; but that it celebrates the beginning of an Administration which, by its lofty and stainless integrity, by its absolute superiority to selfish or secondary motives, by the rectitude of its daily

conduct in the face of whatsoever threats, blandishments, or combinations, rather than by the ostentatious phariseism of its professions, has taught this nation and the world for ever what the Christian ruler of a Christian people ought to be." Then he spoke of the change that a century had effected in the character of our population, then homogeneous, now motley, and in the nature and influences of the forces that determine our destiny. To-day, there are indeed ideas that rule our hour, but they must be merchantable ideas. The growth of wealth, the prevalence of luxury, the massing of large material forces, which by their very existence are a standing menace to the freedom and integrity of the individual, the infinite swagger of our American speech and manners, mistaking highness for greatness, and sadly confounding gain and godliness - all this is a contrast to the austere simplicity, the unpurchasable integrity of the first days and first men of our republic, which makes it impossible to reproduce to-day either the temper or the conduct of our fathers. As we turn the pages backward, and come upon the story of that 30th of April in the year of our Lord 1789, there is a certain stateliness in the air, a certain ceremoniousness in the manners, which we have banished long ago. We have exchanged the Washingtonian dignity for the Jeffersonian simplicity which was, in truth, only another name for the Jacksonian vulgarity. And what have we gotten in exchange We need to recall his image and, if we may, not only to commemorate, but to reproduce his virtues. The traits which in him shone preeminent as our own Irving has described them, Firmness, sagacity, an immovable justice, courage that never faltered, and most of all truth that disdained all artifices - these are characteristics in her leaders of which the nation was never in more dire need than now. God grant we may reproduce them." After this stirring, perhaps startling, address, the Bishop read from Washington's prayer-book the Prayer for Rulers, and dismissed the congregation. From the Church President Harrison was conveyed to Wall Street. In that centre of present business activity, where the bronze statue of Washington stands in front of the marble portico of the Sub-Treasury, Washington had taken the oath of office, and there the literary exercises were held. A platform to hold a thousand people had been erected in front of the building, and from it projected a small balcony, in which were placed the chair in which Washington had sat and the Bible on which he had been sworn into office. On the arrival of the Presidential party, the Reverend Richard S. Storrs offered prayer. Then a poem by the Quaker bard, John Greenleaf Whittier, was read. It was entitled

"THE VOW OF WASHINGTON."

The sword was sheathed in April's sun Lay green the fields by
Freedom won;
And severed sections, weary of debates,
Joined hands at last and were United States.

O City sitting by the Sea!
How proud the day that dawned on thee,
When the new era, long desired, began,
And, in its need, the hour had found the man

One thought the cannon salvos spoke
The resonant bell-tower's vibrant stroke,
The voiceful streets, the plaudit-echoing halls,
And prayer and hymn borne heavenward from St. Paul's

How felt the land in every part
The strong throb of a nation's heart,
As its great leader gave, with reverent awe,
His pledge to Union, Liberty and Law!

That pledge the heavens above him beard,
That vow the sleep of centuries stirred
In worldwide wonder listening peoples bent
Their gaze on Freedom's great experiment.

Could it succeed Of honor sold
And hopes deceived all history told,
Above the wrecks that strewed the mournful past
Was the long dream of ages true at last ?

Thank God the people's choice was just,
The one man equal to his trust,
Wise beyond lore, and without weakness good,
Calm in the strength of flawless rectitude !

His rule of justice, order, peace,
Made possible the world's release
Taught prince and serf that power is but a trust,
And rule, alone, which serves the ruled, is just;

That Freedom generous is, but strong
In hate of fraud and selfish wrong,
Pretense that turns her holy truths to lies,
And lawless license masking in her guise.

Land of his love with one glad voice
Let thy great sisterhood rejoice;
A century's suns o'er thee have risen and set,
And, God be praised, we are one nation yet,

And still, we trust, the years to be
Shall prove his hope was destiny,
Leaving our flag with all its added stars

Unrent by faction and unstained by wars

Lo where with patient toil he nursed
And trained the new-set plant at first,
The widening branches of a stately tree
Stretch from the sunrise to the sunset sea.

And in its broad and sheltering shade,
Sitting with none to make afraid,
Were we now silent, through each mighty limb
The winds of heaven would sing the praise of him.

Our first and best - his ashes lie
Beneath his own Virginian sky.
Forgive, forget, O true and just and brave,
The storm that swept above thy sacred grave!

For, ever in the awful strife
And dark hours of the Nation's life,
Through the fierce tumult pierced his warning word,
Their father's voice his erring children heard !

The change for which he prayed and sought
In that sharp agony was wrought
No partial interest draws its alien line
'Twixt North and South, the cypress and the pine

One people now, all doubt beyond,
His name shall be our Union-bond
We lift our hands to Heaven, and here and now,
Take on our lips the old Centennial vow.

For rule and trust must needs be ours;
Chooser and chosen both are powers
Equal in service as in rights the claim
Of Duty rests on each and all the same.

Then let the sovereign millions, where
Our banner floats in sun and air,
From the warm palm-lands to Alaska's cold,
Repeat with us the pledge a century old!

The orator of the day was Mr. Chauncey M. Depew. "We celebrate," he said, "to-day the

Centenary of our nationality. One hundred years ago the United States began their existence. The powers of government were assumed by the people of the Republic, and they became the sole source of authority. The solemn ceremonial of the first inauguration, the reverent oath of Washington, the acclaim of the multitude greeting their President, marked the most unique event of modern times in the development of free institutions. The occasion was not an accident, but a result. It was the culmination of the working out by mighty forces through many centuries of the problem of self-government. It was not the triumph of a system, the application of a theory, or the reduction to practice of the abstractions of philosophy. The time, the country, the heredity and environment of the people, the folly of its enemies, and the noble courage of its friends, gave to liberty after ages of defeat, of trial, of experiment, of partial success and substantial gains, this immortal victory. Henceforth it had a refuge and recruiting station.

"More clearly than any statesman of the period, did Thomas Jefferson grasp and divine the possibilities of Popular Government. He caught and crystallized the spirit of free institutions. His philosophical mind was singularly free from the power of precedents or the chains of prejudice. He had an unquestioning and abiding faith in the people, which was accepted by but few of his compatriots. Upon his famous axiom, of the equality of all men before the law, he constructed his system. It was the trip-hammer essential for the emergency to break the links binding the Colonies to Imperial authority, and to pulverize the privileges of caste. It inspired him to write the Declaration of Independence, and persuaded him to doubt the wisdom of the powers concentrated in the Constitution. In his passionate love liberty he became intensely jealous of authority. He destroyed the substance of royal prerogative, but never emerged from its shadow. He would have the States as the guardians of popular rights, and the barriers against centralization, and he saw in the growing power of the Nation ever-increasing encroachments upon the rights of the people. For the success of the pure democracy which must precede Presidents and Cabinets and Congresses, it was, perhaps, providential that its apostle never believed a great people could grant and still retain, could give and at will reclaim, could delegate and yet firmly hold the authority which ultimately created the power of their Republic and enlarged the scope of their own liberty." Then, after an allusion to the old Congress and the Convention of 1787, he continued: "The Constitution, which was to be strengthened by the strain of a century, to be a mighty conqueror without a subject province, to triumphantly survive the greatest of civil wars without the confiscation of an estate or the execution of a political offender, to create and grant home rule and State sovereignty to twenty-nine additional commonwealths, and yet enlarge its scope and broaden its power, and to make the name of an American citizen a title of honor throughout the world, came complete from this great Convention to the people for adoption. As Hancock rose from his seat in the old Congress eleven years before to sign the Declaration of Independence, Franklin saw emblazoned on the back of the President's chair the sun partly above the horizon, but it seemed setting in a blood-red sky. During the seven years of the Confederation he had gathered no hope from the glittering emblem, but now, as with clear vision he beheld fixed upon eternal foundations the enduring structure of constitutional liberty, pointing to the sign, he forgot his eighty-two years, and with the enthusiasm of youth electrified the Convention with the declaration: Now I know that it is the rising sun.'

"Success was due to confidence in Washington and the genius of Alexander Hamilton. Jefferson was the inspiration of Independence but Hamilton was the incarnation of the Constitution. In no age or country has there appeared a more precocious or amazing intelligence than Hamilton. At seventeen he annihilated the president of his college upon the question of the rights of the Colonies in a series of anonymous articles which were credited to the ablest men in the country; at forty-seven, when he died, his briefs had become the law of the land, and his fiscal system was, and after a hundred years remains, the rule and policy of our Government. He gave life to the corpse of National credit, and the strength for self-possession and aggressive power to the Federal Union. Both as an expounder of the principles and an administrator of the affairs of government he stands supreme and unrivaled in American history. His eloquence was so magnetic, his language so clear, and his reasoning so irresistible, that he swayed with equal ease popular assemblies, grave senates, and learned judges. He captured the people of the whole country for the Constitution by his papers in *The Federalist*, and conquered the hostile majority in the New York Convention by the splendor of his oratory.

"The first Congress of the United States gathered in this ancient temple of liberty greeted Washington and accompanied him to the balcony. The famous men visible about him were Chancellor Livingston, Vice-President John Adams, Alexander Hamilton, Governor Clinton, Roger Sherman, Richard Henry Lee, General Knox, and Baron Steuben. But we believe that among the invisible host above him, at this supreme moment of the culmination in permanent triumph of the thousands of years of struggle for self-government, were the spirits of the soldiers of the Revolution who had died that their country might enjoy this blessed day, and with them were the Barons of Runnymede and William the Silent, and Sidney and Russell, and Cromwell and Hampden, and the heroes and martyrs of liberty of every race and age.

"No man ever stood for so much to his country and to mankind as George Washington. Hamilton, Jefferson and Adams, Madison and Jay, each represented some of the elements which formed the Union. Washington embodied them all. They fell at times under popular disapproval, were burned in effigy, were stoned, but he, with unerring judgment, was always the leader of the people. Milton said of Cromwell, 'that war made him great, peace greater.' The superiority of Washington's character and genius was more conspicuous in the formation of our Government and in putting it on indestructible foundations than in leading armies to victory and conquering the independence of his country. 'The Union in any event,' is the central thought of his farewell address, and all the years of his grand life were devoted to its formation and preservation." Then, after alluding to the enormous armies which impoverished the nations of Europe, and which are not a guarantee of peace, but rather a provocation to war, he concluded with this peroration : But for us no army exhausts our resources nor consumes our youth. Our navy must needs increase in order that the protecting flag may follow the expanding commerce which is successfully to compete in all the markets of the world. The sun of our destiny is still rising, and its rays illumine vast territories as yet unoccupied and undeveloped, and which are to be the happy homes of millions of people. The questions which affect the powers of government and the expansion or limitation of the authority of the Federal Constitution are so completely settled, and so unanimously approved, that our political divisions produce only the healthy antagonism of parties,

which is necessary for the preservation of liberty. Our institutions furnish the full equipment of shield and spear for the battles of freedom, and absolute protection against every danger which threatens the welfare of the people will always be found in the intelligence which appreciates their value, and the courage and morality with which their powers are exercised. The spirit of Washington fills the executive office. Presidents may not rise to the full measure of his greatness, but they must not fall below his standard of public duty and obligation. His life and character, conscientiously studied and thoroughly understood by coming generations, will be for them a liberal education for private life and public station, for citizenship and patriotism, for love and devotion to Union and Liberty. With their inspiring past and splendid present, the people of these United States, heirs of a hundred years marvelously rich in all which adds to the glory and greatness of a nation, with an abiding trust in the stability and elasticity of their Constitution, and an abounding faith in themselves, hail the coming century with hope and joy."

President Harrison then stepped forward, and, after a graceful compliment to Mr. Depew as having met the demands of the occasion on its own high level, said: "We have come into the serious, but always inspiring, presence of Washington. He was the incarnation of duty, and he teaches us to-day this great lesson - that those who would associate their names with events that shall outlive a century, can only do so by high consecration to duty.

Self-seeking has no public observance or anniversary. The captain who gives to the sea his cargo of rags, that he may give safety and deliverance to his imperiled fellow-men, has fame he who lands the cargo, has only wages.

"Washington seemed to come to the discharge of the duties of his high office impressed with a great sense of his unfamiliarity with these new calls upon him, modestly doubtful of his own ability, but trusting implicitly in the sustaining helpfulness and grace of that God who rules the world, presides in the councils of nations, and is able to supply every human defect.

We have made marvellous progress in material things, but the stately and enduring shaft that we have erected at the National Capital at Washington symbolizes the fact that he is still the First American Citizen."

The benediction was pronounced by Archbishop Corrigan, and then the President left the platform to proceed to the reviewing stand in Madison Square. There passed the greatest military parade ever seen in America, except when the mighty host that had fought the battles of the Union marched on the two memorable days of May 22 and 23, 1865, through the avenues of the National Capital. The men who defiled before President Harrison numbered over fifty thousand. For five hours and a half the air of Broadway was charged with stirring music, with the regular tread of hoofs and shoes, the rattle of gun-carriages, the clink of sabres, and the gorgeous and kaleidoscopic panorama of colors. For nearly six hours the people stood in solid ranks along the line of march, and the soldiers were hemmed in by these living walls, and saw the multitude towering far above their heads, in the windows, on the balconies, and on the roof edges. Cheering was continuous.

Detachments of the United States troops under General Schofield led the way cavalry and infantry, artillery and marines, sailors and West Point cadets, two thousand in number, followed in admirable array. Then came the militiamen of the National Guard, each body placed in line in the order in which the States were admitted into the Union. First came little Delaware with seven hundred and fifty men then the Pennsylvania contingent, in heavy marching order, with all the impedimenta of actual service in the field. At their head rode Governor Beaver, who, having lost a leg, rode strapped to his horse. The uniforms were the regulation State dress; sober and workman-like, the men, every inch soldiers. A striking contrast was furnished by the New Jersey troops, in which each regiment had different uniforms from its neighbor, but all were gay and gleaming. After the eight thousand of the Keystone State and the three thousand seven hundred of New Jersey came Georgia, with a representative delegation of thirty-five men, and Governor Gordon at their head. He and they had long fought gallantly and in vain against the forces of the Union, but, like true Americans, were ready to honor the great day. The Connecticut six hundred were resplendent, especially the Foot Guards in bear-skins, red coats, and buff breeches, and the Zouaves. The Governor of Massachusetts and her old "Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company," now in the two hundredth year of its existence, led on the fifteen hundred State troops, the first who saw active service in the War of the Secession. Then followed five hundred Marylanders and one thousand men from New Hampshire (one corps in Continental uniform, with 1784 on their caps), and from the late seceded States three hundred and fifty of South Carolina and five hundred Virginian cavalry and artillery, with the Governor of Virginia, Fitzhugh Lee. The cheers that greeted and accompanied this representative soldier of the Lost Cause were another proof of how the people honor valor, sincerity, and self-sacrifice in their fiercest enemies, and how ready it is to extend a welcome to those enemies when the strife is passed and they loyally acquiesce in the arbitrament of war. The citizens of the North saw in the son of the great Southern general only a citizen of the South, like them loyal to the Union, like them rejoicing to honor the birthday of the Presidency. The strongest body of troops followed Virginia - the National Guard of New York, twelve thousand strong, with Governor Hill in front, immediately followed by the famous Seventh Regiment. The first two brigades were city troops, the third and fourth consisted of men from the northern part of the State, and, in the opinion of many, their bearing, marching, and appearance surpassed all others in the review. North Carolina, Rhode Island, and Vermont preceded six companies of the Kentucky militia under Governor Buckner, and the Ohio contingent of three thousand men headed by Governor Foraker. The ten regiments, in blue uniform and in full marching order, looked ready to take the field; and the Cleveland Hussars, in black and gold, made a brilliant contrast to their somber comrades, Then came Louisiana, commanded by General Beauregard, the victor of Bull Run regiments from Missouri and Michigan, with its celebrated corps of cadets. Florida and Texas closed the line of States, and then appeared the Light Infantry of the District of Columbia, in bear-skins, buff coats, and blue trousers, and a colored regiment. After the troops in active service came the Grand Army of the Republic, to whom the President paid special honor. By half-past six the great parade was over. The day had been a trying one and the march long. The column had begun to form at half-past eight in the morning, at Wall Street, and as the head moved up, the regiments stationed in side streets fell into their places. Nearly half a million of spectators were massed on the pavement, cheering as regiment after regiment moved up. The most striking moment of the day was when

the line turned out of Washington Square into Fifth Avenue and passed the graceful, classic arch which had been erected at the foot of the finest avenue of America. Gleaming white in its exquisite proportions, gay with many-colored flags, crowned by a statue of Washington, no more imposing entrance to a magnificent highway can be imagined than this simple yet stately structure. When it is reproduced in marble it will remain, for after ages, a memorial of the early days of the Republic and of the great celebration, as well as a permanent ornament to the city.

"After all has been written," said an eye-witness of the scene, the imagination would best be depended on to delineate the real picture. Populate Broadway and Fifth Avenue as densely as you please, leaving scarcely room enough for the moving column, stop at no obstacles, mount platforms of observation for every conceivable place that offered an advantage, fill the cross-streets with platforms erected on trucks and vehicles of all kinds, give to each of the myriad of windows its own group of eager sightseers, perch them on cornices, on roofs, on spires and domes, turn City Hall and Union and Madison Squares into great seas of humanity, with influent and effluent currents that flow like a river till movement is stayed because there is no further room for it, dot this dark mass with innumerable spots of red, white, and blue, project it up and down the great thoroughfare for five miles, endow it with the capacity of breaking out at intervals with an irruption of fluttering white, which moves along synchronously with some courtly horseman or high dignitary whom the people love to honor - exercise your fancy in painting such a picture, beautified, varied, and heightened by a thousand and one details which baffle the recorder, raise it to the highest power of a final and supreme effort, and you will have a faint and incomplete idea of what the historic spectacle was like."

A banquet at the Metropolitan Opera House closed the day's proceedings. As one looked from the entrance to the auditorium from the main corridor, the scene was dazzling in its brilliance. On every side were flowers in such profusion that one could scarcely distinguish the dividing lines in the masses of color, so artistically were the variegated blossoms blended by the decorator. Above, below, and on all sides were hundreds of brilliant jets of light. The Mayor of New York presided and announced the toasts. The most noteworthy speeches in reply were those to the toast of "The People," by the late President Grover Cleveland, and of Our Literature, by James Russell Lowell. "The literature of a people should be the record of its joys and sorrows, its aspirations and its shortcomings, its wisdom and its folly. We cannot say that our own as yet suffices us, but I believe that he who stands a hundred years hence where I am standing now, conscious that he speaks to the most powerful and prosperous community ever devised or developed by man, will speak of our literature with the assurance of one who beholds what we hope for become a reality and a possession forever." To the toast of The United States," the President responded : Have you not learned that not stocks or bonds, or stately houses, or lands, or products of mill or field, is our country It is a spiritual thought that is in our minds. It is the flag and what it stands for, it is its glorious history, it is the fireside and the home, it is the high thoughts that are in the heart, born of the inspiration which comes of the story of the fathers, the martyrs to liberty - It is the graveyard into which our grateful country has gathered the unconscious dust of those who died. Here in these things is that thing we love and call our country rather than anything that can be touched or handled.

"Let me add the thought: That we owe a duty to our country in peace, as well as in war. Perhaps never, in the history of our Nation, have we been so well equipped for war upon the land as now; and yet we have never seen a time in our history when our people were more smitten with a love of peace.

"To elevate the morals of our people; to hold up the law as that sacred thing which, like the Ark of God of old, may not be touched by irreverent hands; to frown upon every attempt to dethrone its supremacy; to unite our people in all that makes the home pure and honorable, as well as to give our energies in the direction of our material advancement - this service we may render, and out of this great demonstration do we not feel like reconsecrating ourselves to the love and to the service of our country

After the pageant of war on Tuesday, came on Wednesday the pageant of peace, the civic and industrial parade. Wednesday was distinctively the people's day. Conspicuous among the marshalled throng were the Public School Battalions, in knee-breeches and Derby hats, and they easily carried off the marching honors of the day. In one respect they set an example that ought to be always followed - no flag but that of the United States was borne in their ranks; there was no sign of a divided allegiance or of by-gone feuds in the lines of Young America. Next in popularity were the Veteran Firemen. Then came French, Italian, and German Societies, the members of the Tammany Society, and countless workingmen's organizations. The fact was impressed strongly on all spectators, that the most attractive part of the parade was that contributed by our adopted citizens. The German was the most significant division of the day's show. The introduction, not into America, but into the civilized world, of the art of printing, the cultivation of the art of music, and the spread of its humanizing influences through the medium of societies of singers floriculture, with its gentle ministrations; the growth of the vine and the manufacture of wine, with its corollaries of geniality and good friendship; the pretty and poetical myths of childhood, he whose name we have translated into St. Nicholas and all his merry train of fays, fairies, gnomes, and spirits that populate the meads and woods and brooks of the German Fatherland, and transported hither, have helped to quicken the fancy and warm the emotions of American children - all these things, and many more, were called to the attention of the myriad of careless sight-seers by the tableaux that beautified the German division in the parade. But besides the tableaux of the Germans and the Labor Unions, there were many other elaborate and historical displays. Such were "The Landing from the Mayflower," "The Arrival of William Penn," "The Swedes on the Delaware," Washington Crossing the Delaware," "Valley Forge in 1778," and "Washington Taking Leave of his Officers." All these tableaux, historical as well as mythical, formed a succession of pictures full of color, variety, and picturesqueness. In the evening the President returned to Washington. The procession dispersed, but still crowds of sight-seers filled the streets and carried off strips of bunting, flags, and decorations of all sorts as relics of the eventful day. And so ended the celebration. The conduct of the countless spectators was a more remarkable display of the American character than either the naval, military, or industrial parades. Crowded as were the streets from early morn, great as was the influx of strangers, manifold as were the temptations, no more orderly, patient, or good-humored throng ever was assembled. Drunkenness was unknown, and there was no pilfering, pocket-picking, or disturbance. There

was, here and there, inevitable pressure, and occasionally confusion, but the good sense, the self-restraint, the civic virtue of the citizens, kept order more effectually and more surely than whole squads of police could have done.

What did this outpouring of the people, this universal display of loyalty, this general rejoicing, mean? It meant that the American people were celebrating the coming-of-age of the nation. It meant that the Federation was no longer an experiment, watched by European statesmen with curious, if not hostile eyes, but a great fact in the world's history. The United States had passed successfully through wars with foreign nations had conquered, by the arms of peace, by industry, frugality, and enterprise, the noblest empire the world had seen from the Atlantic to the Pacific the people, by their own efforts, had made the desert blossom like the rose, had built up great industries and reared cities to vie with the greatest of those of the Old World in all that constitutes civilization and freedom, and now, one hundred years after the first President took his exalted office, the United States proudly assumed and took its rightful place as one of the great nations of the world. Henceforth, in a sense stronger than ever before, America is for the Americans. Well did Washington foresee the future when, in his inaugural address, he said:

"The foundations of our national policy will be laid in the pure and immutable principles of private morality, and the preeminence of a free Government be exemplified by all the attributes which can win the affections of its citizens and command the respect of the world,

"I dwell on this prospect with every satisfaction which an ardent love for my country can inspire; since there is no truth more thoroughly established than that there exists in the economy and course of nature an indissoluble union between virtue and happiness, between duty and advantage, between the genuine maxims of an honest and magnanimous policy, and the solid rewards of public prosperity and felicity; since we ought to be no less persuaded that the propitious smiles of Heaven can never be expected on a nation that disregards the eternal rules of order and right, which Heaven itself has ordained and since the preservation of the sacred fire of liberty, and the destiny of the republican model of government, are justly considered as deeply, perhaps as finally, staked on the experiment intrusted to the hands of the American people."

The experiment is one no longer; the American Republic, to use a trivial but expressive phrase, "has come to stay."

"If it were possible," wrote the New York Tribune, "to contrast the industries of 1789, when the world had lived and learned at least fifty-eight centuries, with those of 1889, when only one century more has been added, what a startling contrast!

"It is not possible. A new world has been created. The methods, tools, products, and arts of a century ago in many departments have vanished as completely as if they belonged to another planet. What has become of the spinning wheel or the wooden clock? The suit of woolen cloth worn by President Washington at his address to Congress in 1789, was presented by a woolen factory only established in the preceding year, and cloth then cost five dollars a yard; the people

were clothed in the homespun made in every family. The power loom for knit goods was not invented until 1830. In 1789 two citizens of Norwich asked exemption from poll-tax for themselves and their apprentices because they had set up eight stocking frames, which required two men for each. A century ago woolcarding had been done by hand, but Whittemore invented machinery to make cards. The first carpet factory in the country was established a little later. A century ago the cotton-gin had not been invented, the spinning-jenny was yet an experiment, and the first shipment of cotton to England, only eight bags, was made in 1784 Now the country has raised more than seven million bales of cotton in a year, and worked up more than one thousand million pounds of cotton and four hundred million pounds of wool.

"A century ago only charcoal iron was produced, and not as much of that, probably, as thirty thousand tons yearly; for, twenty years later, the product was but fifty-three thousand tons. Even Great Britain in 1788 produced only sixty-eight thousand three hundred ton - not as much as any one of several furnaces in this country now turns out yearly. The manufacture of steel was just beginning here; twenty years later only nine hundred and seventeen tons were produced in the country. The coarsest pigiron then cost about as much as steel rails do now. A single railroad now buys yearly more iron than both Great Britain and this country then made, but there were neither railroads then, nor iron bridges, nor buildings no petroleum pipes, for there was no petroleum no gas-pipes, for there was no gas-lighting even in Europe until later. Washington lived in an age of darkness instead of the electric light, the millions had candles costing about two cents apiece. In all the departments and applications of chemistry the century has simply created a new world. American pressed glass, which has completely revolutionized the supply of table and house ware, is an invention of the last sixty years. The silk manufacture has not existed in this country half a century; the paper made a hundred years ago would hardly be thought fit for use since modern methods have been invented; the only use discovered for India-rubber then was to erase pencilmarks; and while the town of Lynn made one hundred thousand pairs of boots and shoes in 1788, they were not the shoes of to-day, and the manufacture by machinery is wholly due to inventions since 1800. Sewing machines for any purpose were unknown, and salt was made by boiling sea- water, though in 1787 it was first made from the springs near Syracuse at the rate of about ten bushels per day, and the cost soon fell to fifty cents per bushel.'

Farming in Washington's day knew nothing of machinery; even the first iron plough, patented in 1797, was a failure, for New Jersey farmers thought it poisoned the soil. Mowers, reapers, and harvesters began to be invented about the same time, and even the ordinary implements were such as it would not now be thought possible to use. The steamboat was practically unknown, and the railroad entirely until forty years later, and the cost of transportation by wagon confined the area of possible production with profit, as to most crops, to the margin of navigable waters. The whole Nation could not produce in Washington's day as much wheat as single Territories not yet States now export each year, and when the accounts of a century ago tell of vast quantities' exported, they really mean less in a year than the country has since moved in a single week.

"Volumes could be filled, and yet but a small part of the change in industry within the century could be mentioned. But the revolution in the condition of the laboring population has been the

crowning result of all this progress. Of wages, it is enough to say that masons a century ago earned 61 cents per day in Massachusetts, carpenters 52 cents, blacksmiths 70 cents, and ordinary labor, 30 cents. Food near the farms was cheap, but pork is quoted in Massachusetts at 16 cents per pound, flour at \$8.16 per barrel, corn at 76 cents per bushel, and ham at 20 cents per pound. Calico cost 48 cents per yard, broadcloth \$2.70, buckram 22 cents, cotton cloth 88 cents, and tow-cloth 30 cents; hose cost \$1.35 per pair, and 'corded Nankeen breeches' \$5.50; buttons from 1 to 5 shillings per dozen, shoes of lasting 84 cents per pair, and sugar from 15 to 22 cents per pound. One does not need to study such figures as these very long to discover that the world and the living of to-day were simply impossible for the working people of a century ago. The whole world has changed, but nowhere has the marvellous advance been greater than in these United States."

But as if to remind us that there are greater powers than those of man, and agencies against which all his skill, industry, and courage are impotent, the month that opened with such a jubilant celebration, and such a display of human achievements, ended in an appalling catastrophe. For some days heavy rains had been falling in the region of the Allegheny Mountains and swollen every stream. On the Conemaugh River, between Altoona and Pittsburgh, stood the town of Johnstown, the most populous in the county of Cambria, and the seat of extensive iron works, around which the 28,000 inhabitants dwelt. It had its rolling mills, steel works, and wire works it had a freight station on the Pennsylvania Railroad, which corporation had also repairing shops in the town. It had churches of all denominations, daily and weekly newspapers, street cars, gas and electric lights, and was in every respect a thriving community. It lay, however, right under three hills several hundred feet high, from which the streams descended that formed Conemaugh Creek and River, and filled nearly the whole space between the two bluffs that formed the valley. Back in the hills at the head of Conemaugh Creek, three hundred feet higher than the town, was a huge dam that had originally been constructed for the old Pennsylvania Canal. When the canal was abandoned the lake and the dam became the property of a fishing club, and this society increased the size of the dam till it was over a hundred feet high, and held back a lake three miles in length and a mile and a quarter in width. Alarm about the stability of the dam had often been expressed but, as no accident had happened, men thought little of the danger, or, at all events, thought that if it did break, it would only flood the lower parts of the town. The rains in the last week of May had been continuous and heavy, and on the 31st of the month, at three o'clock in the afternoon, the huge mound gave way, and the pent-up waters were precipitated on the doomed town.

Examination showed that the repairs and the heightening of the dam by the fishing club had been imperfectly done, and that adequate sluice-ways had not been provided. In addition to these defects of original construction, the top of the dam had sunk in the centre. The danger was seen by John G. Parke, Jr., a civil engineer engaged on the grounds of the club, and he succeeded in warning the inhabitants of South Fork. He stated: "By half-past eleven I had made up my mind that it was impossible to save the dam, and getting on my horse, I galloped down the road to South Fork to warn the people of their danger. The telegraph tower is a mile from the town, and I sent two men there to have messages sent to Johnstown and other points below. I heard that the lady operator fainted when she had sent off the news, and had to be carried off. The people at

South Fork had ample time to get to the high grounds, and they were able to move their furniture, too. In fact, only one person was drowned at South Fork, and lie while attempting to fish something from the flood as it rolled by. It was just twelve o'clock when the telegraph messages were sent out, so that the people of Johnstown had over three hours' warning."

It was the lowering of the centre of the mound that immediately led to the disaster. The waters overflowed at that point, and their rush down the outer side of the embankment washed away rapidly the rip-rap and loose earth, cutting a deep channel right into the dam, till it could no longer contain the mass of waters behind it. An eye-witness who escaped from a train at Conemaugh and gained higher ground, thus writes of the force of the flood as it came thundering and foaming down: "The roundhouse of the Pennsylvania Railroad had stalls for twenty-three locomotives. There were eighteen or twenty of these standing there at this time. There was an ominous crash, and the roundhouse and locomotives disappeared. Everything in the main track of the flood was first lifted in the air and then swallowed up by the waters. A hundred houses were swept away in a few minutes. These included the hotel, stores and saloons on the front street, and residences adjacent."

Another man, who stood on the bluff below Johnstown and saw the first wave of the flood come down the valley, tried to describe it. "I looked up" he said, "and saw something that looked like a wall of houses and trees up the valley. The next moment Johnstown seemed coming toward me. It was lifted right up, and in a minute was smashing against the bridge, and the houses were flying in splinters across the top and into the water beyond." The wall of water had a front forty feet high and an eighth of a mile wide, and came on with the force of thirty Niagaras. In a few moments all was desolation, death, and agony in Johnstown. The only outlet for the torrent was over or under the railroad bridge, in part a solid stone structure, and up against it the houses, borne down in the torrent, were heaped in wild confusion. Above it for the space of sixty acres extended the pile of debris which, to add new horrors to the flood, soon took fire, and burned with a heavy, sickly odor, for numerous corpses were there imbedded. In this mass of ruin were the timbers of four square miles of houses, twenty-seven locomotives, Pullman cars and freight cars, fragments of the iron work of bridges, and no one knows how many dead. Strangely, the first reports from the disaster underestimated the loss. It was said that two hundred had perished; then that two thousand; then, when the whole extent of the calamity was seen, it was stated that ten thousand to fifteen thousand lives had been lost. What befell Johnstown befell other villages in the valley for fifteen miles all was swept away. The greatest loss of life was that of women and children, for in many cases they were incapable, through fear, of availing themselves of means of escape, which involved letting go of the debris in which they were whirled along. By half-past five - that is, within two hours and a half from the bursting of the dam - the force of the flood was spent. Many heroic deeds were done, but none perhaps more worthy of record than that of Mrs. Ogle, a widow, who, with her daughter, managed the Western Union Telegraph Company's office. In spite of repeated notifications to get out of the reach of danger, she stood by her instrument with unflinching loyalty, sending warnings to points in the valley below. When every station in the path of the torrent had received its warning, she sent the words: "This is my last message." It was so, for she and her daughter both perished. Appeals for help were sent out in all

quarters, for merely local generosity was entirely unequal to the task of housing, feeding, clothing, and tending so many homeless, starving, half-naked outcasts, much less to undertake the necessary task of burying the dead. The Governor of the State, James A. Beaver, simply told the tale in a few words: The Valley of the Conemaugh, which is peculiar, has been swept from one end to the other as with the besom of destruction. It contained a population of forty thousand to fifty thousand people, living for the most part along the banks of a small river, confined within narrow limits. The most conservative estimates place the loss of life at five thousand human beings, and of property at twenty-five million dollars.

"Whole towns have been utterly destroyed; not a vestige remains. In the more substantial towns the better buildings, to a certain extent, remain, but in a damaged condition. Those who are least able to bear it have suffered the loss of everything," and he added that there had been no exaggeration in the newspaper reports as to the loss of life and property. He sent to the spot the Adjutant-General of the State, and placed the district under martial law, for all traces of self-government had ceased. The whole country nobly responded; the State of Pennsylvania advanced one million of dollars, New York gave nearly three-quarters of a million, and other cities in pro portion. Relief trains, with goods and provisions, poured in as soon as the railroad tracks were passable, but the greatest difficulty was still to clear away the ruins, bury the dead, and prevent the outbreak of disease. As far as can be estimated, the total loss of life was about eight thousand or less. It can never be accurately known, as many unknown corpses were buried where they were hurled ashore, miles below the homes that knew them.

On the west branch of the Susquehanna the floods inflicted great loss. At Lewistown the water was four feet higher than ever known; at Williamsport and Lock Haven both booms were swept away, and nine-tenths of the sawed lumber was lost at Milton the water was five feet high in the streets. In all directions bridges were carried down and the railroads rendered impassable. The Potomac rose till it spread from the highlands of Maryland to the highlands of Virginia, and the bridge at Harper's Ferry was only saved by the desperate expedient of loading it down with every locomotive that could be procured. The Chesapeake and Ohio Canal received damage that it would take a million of dollars to repair. In Washington itself it was feared that the foundations of the Washington Monument were injured, and the Long Bridge was badly torn and strained in fact, the whole country irrigated by the rivers from the eastern slopes of the Alleghanies was flooded, and days elapsed before railroad communication could be restored, owing to the destruction of bridges and the washing out of the road-bed. Every town was temporarily isolated, for in most cases the telegraph had ceased to work or was sadly crippled. In New York State less damage was done, but still the loss inflicted on Elmira reached nearly half a million; from Hornellsville to Corning the country was almost all under water; at Olean houses and bridges were swept away.

The flood fell nearly as fast as it rose, but its traces will long remain in homes left desolate and fertile fields made barren.

While water was thus laying waste exterior districts in the East, fire almost blotted out one of

the most rising towns, on the Northwestern seaboard. Seattle, in Washington Territory, was the centre of trade for the rich country lying on Puget Sound, and had developed considerable coastwise and foreign commerce. The business district embraced within its limits banks, professional and business offices, wholesale and retail stores, newspaper and printing establishments, docks and warehouses, and a small but crowded manufacturing quarter, and the tenements, in which some three thousand Chinese and Italians dwelt. On Monday, June 6th, a fire broke out, and in six hours this whole site of the active life of the town ceased to exist even the piles and docks on the tidal-flats were consumed. No lives were lost, but the damage was estimated at fifteen million dollars - a sum which, estimating the population at twenty thousand, is higher in proportion than the loss in the Chicago fire. But if all the business machinery of Seattle was destroyed, the motive power remained. At nine o'clock the next morning the banks opened wherever they could find a room. At noon a mass meeting was held, at which the leading citizens resolved to rebuild their town in brick, to lay out wider streets and straighter thoroughfares, allowing therein no wooden buildings. Within twenty-four hours the heaviest losers were blasting down ruins, removing debris and contracting for new buildings.

Chapter CLV

The Roosevelt Regime: VI - The Public Domain, its Products and Exports - Irrigation and its Operations - Immigration - Industrial Wars and the Labor Unions - The Era of the "Sky-Scraper" and Tall Apartment Houses - Durability of Steel-Frame Structures - The Doom of the Church Spire.

THE public domain of Continental United States, including Alaska (590,884 square miles in area), is in extent 3,616,484 square miles, or embracing the area of the Philippines (122,000 sq. m.), Hawaii (6,449 sq. m.), Porto Rico (3,606 sq. m.), Guam (200 sq. m.), and Tutuila, Samoa (54 sq. m.) - a grand total of 3,748,793 square miles. The population of the United States proper, including Alaska (63,592), was, in 1900, 76,149,386, or embracing the inhabitants of the Philippines (8,000,000), Porto Rico (953,243), Hawaii (154,001), Guam (8,661), and American Samoa (5,800) - a grand total of 85,271,091 souls, or an estimated total in 1905 of close upon 90 millions. In 1903, the wheat crop of the United States yielded close upon 638 million bushels; Indian corn yielded 2,244 million bushels; oats yielded 784 m. bu.; barley, 132 m. bu.; rye, 29 m. bu.; and buckwheat, 14 million bushels. The value of the ores and minerals of the United States, the product of the year 1903, amounted to over a thousand million dollars, or including the value of metals mined and smelted, \$1,587,317,905. The returns, for the same year, of the tobacco product in the several States of the Union, but chiefly in Kentucky, North Carolina, and Virginia, were 812,724,221 lbs., from an area of 1,031,695 acres, the total value being \$55,221,445. This growth of the tobacco product is, at an early day, likely to increase still more largely, since the area of its production is not now limited to the South, but is extending over the East-Central tier of States from Vermont to Wisconsin. We are also as a nation greatly increasing our imports from Cuba in cigars and tobacco-leaf, the returns, for the fiscal year of 1905, showing an import of over four million dollars' worth of cigars against three million dollars' worth in the preceding year; while in the same year we imported nearly eleven million dollars' worth of tobacco in the leaf, an excess of a million in value over the imports of the year 1904. The total U. S. imports of tobacco, for the year ending June 30, 1904, amounted to \$20,073,346 in value; while we exported of the same and its manufactures to the value of \$34,633,531, nearly half of which went to Britain.

The current exports to Great Britain continue to be large of other natural products and semi-manufactured material than tobacco. The largest values are those represented by our horse and cattle exportations, together with wheat - flour, maize, fresh beef, preserved meat, bacon, hams, pork, lard, tallow, cheese, apples, etc., etc. Timber is another large export, as are raw cotton, leather, petroleum, oil-seed cake, turpentine, glucose, in addition to machinery, copper-work, lead, etc. The value of the exports of this country to the United Kingdom was, for the year ending June 30, 1904, close upon 538 million dollars; while we exported about 214 million dollars' worth to Germany - the total of the gross exports of the United States for the year to Europe being a little over 1,000 million dollars in value. To Canada, Mexico, and other countries of North America we exported, in 1904, 235 million dollars' worth; to South America we exported, in the same year, 50 million dollars' worth; to Japan, China, and the Far East, 60

millions in value; to British Australasia and the Philippines, 32 millions; and to British Africa 24 millions - a grand total of 1,461 million dollars! This, no one will say, is not a goodly and gratifying showing.

Irrigation, in many of the drier parts of the United States, where the rainfall is deficient, is a serious necessity. In the plains of the North-west, as well as in New Mexico and Arizona, it is to the farmer in his agricultural operations a crying need, as an artificial means of creating or increasing the productiveness of the soil. By this method, now largely utilized, many arid parts of the country have been usefully reclaimed; while, happily, there is, as a rule, little lack of water, in lakes and rivers throughout the nation, from which to divert the fructifying element by canals, ditches, or dams for the irrigation of farm lands.

In some, indeed, in not a few quarters, artesian wells have been profitably made use of, for irrigation purposes, with windmills as the cheap machinery for pumping, as in Nebraska and Kansas, and the Great Plains; while in California water has been readily secured by tunneling into the hillsides. The drawback in some instances to widespread irrigation is the long distances from which water, where it is not obtained locally, has to be brought, besides the expense of conduits by which to convey it, where ditches, in hilly regions, interfere with the natural flow of the water.

In Canada, especially in the vast new farm-land regions of the North-west, our neighbors, like ourselves, have been seriously handicapped in their agricultural operations by want of water.

They have enterprisingly however, set to work to relieve their necessities by resorting, and here and there on a large scale, to irrigation, and have met with much and gratifying success in doing so. In this they have been materially assisted by the operations of ambitious land companies, encouraged by the schemes already developed of the Canadian Pacific Railway. Of these operators, in contributing to the local husbandman's wants, one of the chief is the Alberta Railway and Irrigation Co., which has large landed properties in the neighborhood of Lethbridge, in the New Province of Alberta. This Company has now a canal system embracing 150 miles of main waterways, the construction and operation of which has aided materially in developing the agricultural resources of the district. The Canadian Pacific Irrigation scheme is another important and useful one in the region. Its undertaking embraces a block of three million acres of land lying east of Calgary, which is intersected by the main line of the Canadian Pacific Railway. The soil in this vast area is, we understand, first-class, but in the majority of years the rainfall is not sufficient to mature crops.

The water, as "The Canadian Statistical Year Book" for 1904 informs us, for irrigation in this block of land is taken from the Bow River, near Calgary, in a main canal having a bed-width of sixty feet, and carrying water to a depth of ten feet. This main canal is about twenty miles in length, and from it the water is distributed through secondary or smaller canals, which will ultimately reach several hundred miles in length. About one-half the block, or 1,500,000 acres, can be irrigated, the remaining half being devoted to grazing and dairy farming. The first section of the scheme now under construction includes the main canal and about 100 miles of secondary

canal, and this section will irrigate and bring under cultivation 300,000 acres, and open up an additional 400,000 acres for grazing and dairy farming. This portion of the scheme, it is estimated, will cost \$1,600,000, and if it proves a success, further sections are to be constructed until the whole scheme is completed, at an estimated cost of between four and five million dollars.

Much the same story, happily, may be told of the doings of Irrigating Land Companies and their operations on this side of the international boundary line, especially in Colorado, Utah, Montana, Wyoming, and Idaho, where the rainfall is either generally light, or so variable as to be a serious detriment, at critical periods of the husbandman's year, to the farmer. By the adoption of irrigation schemes, intelligently planned and directed, the system has been, and in the future is certain to be more than ever, of the greatest value in the region of farm lands where the climate is a dry and non-humid one.

By the resort to irrigation, on an adequate and efficient scale, the desert has literally been made to bloom, and vineyards and orchards, meadows and fields of smiling grain, churches and schoolhouses, the possession of cultivated, prosperous, and law-abiding communities, have replaced the barrenness of regions that, but a few years ago, were chiefly the resort of herds of bison and roving bands of Indians."

Immigration into the United States happily keeps growing to a gratifying extent, and that of useful immigrants representing the industrial classes, in addition to farm laborers. Especially large has been this addition to our population even within the period since the last Decennial Census (1900). In the latter year, the number of immigrants were 448,-572; two years later the number had increased to 648,743, while last year (1904), the addition had grown to 812,870. Of these immigrants the chief additions came from Europe, the total of which, in 1904, was 764,923, while 14,264 came from Japan, and 10,193 from the West Indies. Of the increased population, chiefly settlers, Italy, including Sicily and Sardinia, furnished the largest number (in 1904, 193,200) Russia and Finland come next, with 145,141 while Austria-Hungary furnished 177,150. The total number of immigrants, in 1903, was 857,046, a slight increase over the year 1904, of about 45,000. From these figures, on the other hand, have to be deducted the current outflow into the neighboring Dominion of Canada, the population of which, in recent years, has been largely augmented by the emigration from this side the boundary line, chiefly in the West. The extent of this outflow from the United States into Canada will be seen from the appended figures.

In 1900, the number of declared settlers from this side the line was 8,543 in 1901, the number was 17,987; in 1902, 26,388; in 1903, 49,437; and in 1904, 45,229. These figures, we may add, are considerably in excess of the immigration into Canada of English and Welsh, and about on a par, including the latter, plus the immigration of Scotch and Irish, with the immigration into the Dominion from the United States.

Our American communities are once more disturbed by labor strikes, which Phlippino threaten to extend indefinitely, to the intended discomfiture, if not the serious menace, of capital, forgetful that capital is the ally, or should be, of labor, and not its enemy. With the cause of labor we, who

are of the toilers ourselves, are in hearty sympathy, but it is to real and not sham labor that we feel kindly, and we have no emotions to waste on the mere agitator. Nor have we any quarrel with trade unions, guilds, or other associations of industry organized for legitimate purposes, which do not threaten or unnecessarily incommode the community, are not in spirit anti-social, but whose members obey the dictates of reason and refrain from acts of violence and intimidation.

We admit, of course, that brotherhoods of labor expect from capital and its employing chiefs the same considerateness and restraint that we should seek to impose upon the Unions and their associate members. Tyranny is hateful, on whatever side it is exercised, and against wrong, whether on the part of capital or of labor, we do well, in the last resort, to fight. But fighting is too apt to be the attitude assumed in most labor conferences, and the wheels of commerce are constantly being clogged by industrial antagonisms. We want more conciliation and the bringing of grievances, unaffected by class enmities, into the court of the arbitrator. With frank and unheated conference, the resort to strikes would often be obviated and social chasms would be bridged that otherwise alienate and perpetuate class distinctions. That there is at times failure, on both sides, to meet and give effect to the counsels of reason is only to say that this is an imperfect world, and that transactions between man and man are, in this mundane state, not yet wholly governed by the maxims of the golden rule.

Communities, actuated by sentimental feeling, have generally looked leniently upon the growing disposition of dissatisfied labor to strike when its demands have not been complied with. Trade unions and other labor organizations have not only encouraged the tendency to revolt, but have done much, in recent years, to evoke the anti-social spirit and to foster industrial antagonisms. To protect itself against the incitement of this spirit, capital, on the other hand, has shown itself obdurate and sullen. The result of both attitudes is fatal to the spirit of arbitration, and, indeed, discourages it for open war. What it leads to, we have abundantly seen, for now many years back in this and other countries, in riotous proceedings and social incendiarism, culminating not unfrequently in pitiful bloodshed. Some eight years ago, it will be recalled, we had a distressing example of this in the coal miners' strike at Hazleton, Pa. A more calamitous instance of human perverseness and fatuity of conduct has hardly occurred than was that affair, and the lesson of the tragedy may today well be heeded alike by capital and by labor.

Had the spirit of reason and conciliation then prevailed, with considerate regard for the fact that the disaffected miners were, in large measure, ignorant foreigners, such a sequel to the strike, which all good men deplored, could not have occurred.

In that unhappy instance of industrial war in Pennsylvania, it may probably be said, that the fact that the strikers were chiefly foreigners, escaped from the governmental pressure and social thralldom of the Old World, explains the lawlessness which brought upon the men their ill-starred doom. But this view of the case is only to palter with the matter, since the spirit which engenders labor strikes had, unhappily, been active in the country long before the advent of the Hazleton and Lattimer miners. It is the spirit that has constantly bred disturbances, antagonized capital, alienated classes, and flouted the gospel of honest industry, thrifty contentment, and harmonious

living. It is a spirit, moreover, which is ever growing, and is an increasing menace to the world of peace and order, and may well cause dismay to it. It is the spirit which is to-day the great peril of industrialism, and one that unlettered labor, coming into the country, is not slow to learn. Its indulgence speedily tends to class embitterment, lawlessness, and its accompanying havoc.

In taking this view of a matter that must fill all breasts with anxiety and concern, we do not, of course, deny the right of workmen to strike, nor conceal from ourselves what labor has gained from organization. It is not to combination among the toilers that we denur, but to the evil counsel, the unreasoning, haggling spirit, and all that in tone and feeling is hostile to conciliation, and that tends to widen the breach and cause increasing distrust between employer and employed. These are the things we deplore, and we see their legitimate outcome almost everywhere we look in the fields of labor. Yet why should this be? Seeing that labor over the entire country is generally prosperous, that unions are recognized, and that the wages and hours of labor are, in the main, satisfactory. Still less do we see why labor should be so perturbed and dissatisfied, when, almost everywhere, the supply of wage-earners is inadequate. Is not this the result of labor unions, and of the too often impolitic and foolish spirit that controls and actuates them?

And yet the picture is not wholly dark, as a contemporary (The New York Times) in an article issued on Labor Day, 1905, thoughtfully and optimistically observes: If labor has been defeated (in the past year) with exceptional thoroughness, it has prospered as never before. The year began with only 196 unemployed among each 1,000 of the approximately 100,000 wage earners of the State. The previous New Year's found 231 in each 1,000 unemployed. There is no authority for stating the present conditions, but they are certainly better, and perhaps unprecedentedly good. One reason for thinking so is the reports made by the savings banks.

Their deposits increased for the first half of the year \$52,000,000, which is considerably more than half of the previous largest increase for any year, which was \$71,000,000 in 1899. This is a happy contrast with conditions when workingmen were withdrawing funds because their wages were stopped or lessened by strikes. It is in evidence that the unions spent \$1,500,000 during the bituminous coal miners' strike. The United Mine Workers alone expend an average of \$1,000 in strike benefits. It is safe to say that during strikes more money is withdrawn from savings banks than is received in 'benefits.' And when there is no occasion for benefits the money flows into the savings banks. Perhaps no previous Labor Day ever provided more sobering or more encouraging facts and conditions for laborers and employers alike."

It is not without its element of pathos that one witnesses, in our large cities of to-day, the passing of the old, roomy, and often cozy frame house, and its substitution by the towering, many-storied, modern sky-scraper. Even when the conversion to the lofty apartment house has not occurred, the increasing cost of lumber - consequent on the extending remoteness of its supply from cities, and its growing scarcity - limits the erection of frame or brick and frame houses and has made them comparatively rare in large towns. The cost of the latter has also now increased beyond that of the fireproof building, of concrete or steel-frame construction, and as a result they are now less commonly to be met with as homes. In cities of limited and already

crowded area, the provision of the skyscraper tenement or apartment house has solved, while it has utterly changed the character, of the housing problem. The number and varied accommodation of these lofty apartment houses are remarkable features of town life in such cities as New York; while for factory and office purposes the sky-scraper has come as a welcome boon to the clerical wants and other urgent necessities of industry and commerce.

In Manhattan, a few of the more notable of these lofty structures, with an indication of their heights, may be cited as examples of this new architectural departure. The more prominent of these are The New York Times Building, on Broadway and 52nd and 43rd Streets, which is 25 stories in height above the curb, or 358 feet from curb to top of lantern; the American Surety Co. (Broadway and Pine Street), and the American Tract Society building (Nassau and Spruce Streets), are other examples, each of which has 23 stories, and rises to a height, in common, of 306 feet. Two structures on Park Row (one of them the Pulitzer Building) are respectively 22 and 29 stories, or a height of 380 feet from curb to top of tower.

On lower Broadway, on Broad Street and Exchange Place, on Nassau and Cedar Streets, and on Broadway and Rector Street, are other towering structures, ranging from 18 to 21 stories while another eye-arresting structure is the Fuller or Flatiron Building, on Broadway and 23rd Street. The St. Paul Building, on Ann Street and Broadway, is another soaring structure, of 26 stories, rising to a height of 308 feet; while yet another is the Washington Life Insurance Co. building, on Broadway and Liberty Street, consisting of 19 stories, with a height of 273 feet. The Commercial Cable building, on Broadway (21 stories, and a height of 255 feet, exclusive of the dome), is yet another example, as are some of the uptown hostelrys, such as the "Hotel Netherland," on Fifth Ave. and 59th Street, which has 17 stories and a height of 220 feet, and "The Waldorf-Astoria," on West 33rd Street, which has 16 stories and a height of 273 feet.

As a result of the new era in our city architecture a radical change has become imperative in the designs for our modern church edifices. The day of the Gothic structure for our churches, with their graceful, ornamental spires, has admittedly passed, since the "sky-scraper," in adjoining buildings, has so environed and dominated the sky-pointer as to utterly dwarf the church steeple and overwhelm it as a feature in the architectural aspect of the city's street-front.

Notable instances of this in New York are St. Paul's Chapel and "Old Trinity," in the lower-town Broadway region, which have now quite lost their former glory in the close environment of the massive and lofty edifices devoted to offices and the huge hives of present-day commerce. Aside from this fact, there has also come a demand for church structures that will be adapted to the religious institutional life of to-day - buildings that will serve not only as places of worship, but that will also meet the wants of religious organizations in connection with the churches, such as church libraries, reading and recreation halls, and other social society and guild rooms. Hence the new requirement of church architecture is to abandon the spire, and erect lofty, dome-crowned edifices, topping these guild rooms, etc., and placing their structures somewhat on a par with those by which they are surrounded.

Pessimistic and timid people are fond to-day of casting doubt on the durability and stability of the "sky-scraper." Such fears arise from not appreciating sufficiently the capabilities of resistance in the huge steel structures of our time. In the sky-scraper," as well as in the other marvels of engineering audacity in which the steel-frame and girder play so important a part, the effects of vibration, corrosion, and molecular degradation are alike slight and slow. Scientific assurance of this has come not only as the result of severe and rigid tests, but also from the inspection of structures carried upon steel skeletons which have borne the wear and tear of a score of years. Public forebodings may therefore be dismissed on this matter as groundless and unreasoning fears.

Chapter CLVI

The Roosevelt Regime: VII - Electricity and its Practical Utilization - The Automobile and other Self-propelled Vehicles - Underground or Subway transportation - Wireless Telegraphy - Speed records on Land and Sea - Motorcars, Motorboats - Yachts - Ocean Liners - Railroad Express trains - Steam Turbines - Air ships and Ballooning - Grand Army Encampment at Denver, Colo. - the U. S. Pension List.

MARVELOUS, as well as characteristic of the progress of the era, is the modern-day development and utilization, in so many ways, of Electricity and its practical application, not only as a means of securing power for machinery and traffic, but as. an expedient and service in the home, increasing its efficiency, security, and comfort. It has practically revolutionized the industrial world, while it has greatly extended and cheapened the facilities of modern. railway and tramway traffic. To tise a common expression, it is the stuff of which the world is made, if we may trust, as we well may, the researches of Science into the boundaries, and even into the innermost reserves, of the material universe. In the quest for increased mechanical power, we have found in electricity a subtle, phenomenal force, the marvel of the age, and an agent of manifestly unlimited scope brought to the service of labor and the scientific activities of the world. By the agriculturalist, electricity has now been utilized to destroy insects and vermin that prey upon the crops and other products of the soil. This is done by sinking metal rods or electric brushes at intervals in the land troubled by injurious insects, the rods being connected with a small dynamo; the practical result is to exterminate the pests as if by a stroke of lightning. Electricity has further given us the auto-mobile and other electric vehicles, in the portable and highly charged storage batteries which electrical experts and skilled machinists have devised for us; while its uses as a power-transmission, drill machine and tunnel excavator, and its utilization as an intense temperature furnace in smelting and other metallurgical purposes, are invaluable. Nor is it the least wonderful of the marvels which electricity has disclosed in our time to note the phenomena that science has brought to light in the study of the basal constituent of matter and its hitherto occult properties, in the reduction of the atom and its discovery as the physical basis of energy, as well as in the theories recently propounded in relation to the ether, as the stuff out of which the universe is built.

We have referred to the Automobile among the self-propelled vehicles which electricity and other power-generating forces have given us as a means of ready and rapid transportation on our streets and highways in our modern age. The equipment of this now largely utilized conveyance, with its varied yet kindred types made use of as cabs and omnibuses, as well as trucks and delivery wagons, consists, as our readers know, of a storage battery for supplying the current, the motor for transforming the current into mechanical power, and the controller for regulating the speed of the motor. The more popular machines in present-day use are, manifestly, those that are propelled by some form of oil-engine or internal combustion motor, in which the propulsive power is given to the piston by the explosion on the cylinder of vaporized oil, such as benzine or gasoline, the power thus derived being transmitted to a crank-shaft, from which it is communicated by varied systems of gearing and clutches to the driving wheels. The mechanics of

automobile construction are constantly being improved, and we may soon see the use of these vehicles largely extended, especially if their cost is lowered, at no sacrifice of their utilities, and with less trouble or effort in managing and running them. The perfect motor vehicle, doubtless, has yet to be constructed, though its present development and practical uses are phenomenal. The chief responsibility in running them is the care which has to be exercised in regulating their speed, so that they shall not be a menace on the crowded street or on the less frequented highway, where, as yet, automobiles are, in some measure, novel and rather disturbing sights to many using the public roads in ordinary vehicles. This, we need hardly say, is the serious trouble, and it is one that is exercising State and municipal authorities alike over the land, in their efforts to regulate automobile traffic, so that it shall not be a danger, still less a nuisance, on the public highway.

One of the wise, practical achievements of the time, as seen especially in the two chief cities of the Union, New York and Boston, is the remarkable extension of rapid transit by means of Underground or Subway communication, in addition to that supplied by the Elevated railway system. In Boston, between the years 1895-99, the City was provided with a subway railway, constructed under the supervision of a Transit Commission, the cost of which was in the neighborhood of five million dollars, of which \$3,800,000 was expended in construction, and \$1,000,000 in acquiring the necessary real estate and right of way. The municipal enterprise has proved a great boon to the citizens, while it has happily relieved the other crowded modes of public transit, in a city of characteristically narrow and tortuous streets.

By an excellent fan system of large proportions, operating in commodious chambers, an adequate and constant supply of pure air is maintained, which has added materially to the health as well as the comfort of those using the Subway and its several sections. In New York, besides the extensive transit facilities supplied by the Elevated railroads, the city has of recent years been given a Subway service, operated by electricity, extending from the City Hall and the Battery on the main line in Manhattan borough, to 96th St. W. and Broadway, thence by the West Branch northward to 157th St. and Lenox Avenue - a distance of 9.46 miles, the usual running time being for local trains 38, and for express trains 26, minutes.

Another of the interesting marvels of the time is the installment and operation of the system of intercommunication by Wireless telegraphy. Besides, the importance of this now fast-developing method of communication at sea, it has been proved of high value on land, over long stretches of isolated country, as in Alaska and other remote parts of our great North-west, where intercommunication is sometimes stopped or delayed by storms which obstruct or otherwise interrupt messages being received or sent. Another successfully attested use of the system has been in this country to convey speedy information to the national authorities, or to cities or public officials within call, of the outbreak of fires in forest reserves in remote parts of the Republic, and so hasten the means of putting them out or limiting the area of their destruction. But the chief utilization of wireless telegraphy has so far been on the ocean, in communicating with vessels, often 200 miles apart, one or other of which, it might be, was in distress and seeking assistance; as well as in the case of a seacoast bombardment, where communication with warships at a distance was desired at, it might happen, a critical moment, or where dispatches were sought to be sent

conveying calls for food or powder, or reporting notable happenings and the progress of operations. Already, the success of the system has been proved by many and gratifying tests, which will ensure its wider application at no distant day; while it may be possible, in developing its practical uses, to extend the number of words transmitted by the operators in a given space of time: at present, this is from twenty to thirty words a minute.

Ours is undoubtedly a fast age, so fast, indeed, that our city streets and public highways are no longer safe for the sauntering pedestrian in these days of scurrying automobiles and motor-carriages. Abroad, where the roadways are better than they are in this country, the motorcycle is a menace on every highway. Here, with the gasoline-propelled automobile, speed-breakers, who are not afraid of municipal ordinances limiting the pace on the public highway, are audacious enough to do their mile a minute, whatever life may chance to be in peril thereby. In Europe, tests for motorcar speeds have achieved 150 kilometers an hour. At Nice, even this headlong speed has of late been exceeded. At home, among recent notable records for heavy (60 horsepower) cars, one embraces the covering of the distance between Boston and New York (a 250-mile run) in 6 hours, 41 minutes; another record is the covering of the distance between San Francisco and New York in 32 days, 23 hours, and 20 minutes. While such statistics of speed, plus comfort and exhilaration of such rapid modes of transportation, it is safe to assume that the automobile and its connected industries have come to stay.

There would appear to be as great a future also for the motorboat as for the motorcar, while the records for speed are equally remarkable. One such record may be cited, which was won by the Napier Minor, a boat 35 feet in length, with a 4-cylinder Napier engine of 55 horsepower. This craft, in the Solent races of last year (1904), won Sir Alfred Harms-worth's Cup (the Gordon-Bennett Cup of the Sea), and also the German Emperor's Cup at Kiel. It is recorded as having covered 271 1/2 knots at an average speed of 133/4 knots an hour. In international yacht races for the America's Cup, it is gratifying to find that for more than thirty years we have beaten English yachts such as the Valkyries and Shamrocks, in spite of the plucky, persistent efforts of Sir Thomas Lipton to snatch from us the laurel. In August, 1903, the American yacht Reliance, pitted against the "Shamrock III", twice won the contest of the year; first over a course of fifteen miles to windward and back (time, 3 h., 14 m., and 17 s.) and second, over a triangular course of thirty miles (time, 3 h., 14 m., and 54 s.). In the first race, the American boat beat the English one by 7 m. 3 s., and in the second race by 1 m 19 s.

In Ocean travel by the great Steamship lines passage across the Atlantic has in the past twenty years been reduced by one day. Of recent years the record of the Cunard liner Liscania, won in 1894, has not yet been beaten, the time in crossing from Queenstown to New York by that steamship being 5 days, 7 hours, 23 minutes. The rapid passages, in the early nineties, of the City of Paris, Canpania, Majestic, Oceanic and Teistonic - all of them signal triumphs of mechanical and constructive skill - will not have been forgotten by trans-Atlantic tourists. Other vessels, such as the Deutschland of the Hamburg-American, and the Kaiser Wilhelm der Grosse of the North-German Lines, have made fast passages, both within six days, while several others have crossed in 5 days, 7 or 8 hours. Further records, which of recent years have become general,

cover the delivery in London, by fast steamer across the Atlantic and rapid railroad journey from Southampton to the British capital, of the American, New Zealand, and Australian mails within 5 days, 21 hours, and 53 minutes from the time of departure from New York.

Railroad speed, alike in England and on this side, forms another marvel of the time. In England, the great railway feat of the year 1904 was the non-stop run of the new Cornishman Limited Express between London and Plymouth, a distance of 246 miles in 265 minutes, an average speed of 55.69 per hour. From Plymouth to London, brisk rivalry between the London and Southwestern and the Great Western R.Rs., transfers the American mails over a distance of 250 miles under four hours. On this side the Atlantic, fast short-run railroad trips (under ten miles) are accomplished at the speed rate of from 105 to 115 miles an hour; while long distance runs are usually achieved at a pace varying from 50 to 75 miles an hour, allowing for stops en route. The records of such trips as those of the New York Central Empire State Express, the Twentieth Century Limited on the Lake Shore, the Pennsylvania, and the Michigan Central systems, and the Burlington & Chicago Express, will be very familiar to the reader. The Empire State Express, over the New York Central & Hudson River railroad route, does the journey between New York and Buffalo, a distance of 440 miles, with four stops, in 8 hours, 15 minutes, or at the rate of 53 1/2 miles an hour. The same road has even reduced the time on specials to 6 hours, 47 minutes, or a speed of 64.33 miles. The Central Railroad of New Jersey has run an express between Jersey City and Washington (231 miles) in 4 hours, 8 minutes, a speed of 60 miles an hour; while the Pennsylvania, Chicago, Burlington & Quincy Railroads have accomplished the feat of running a train between Jersey City and Denver (1,937 miles) in 48 hours, or at the rate of 40.3 miles an hour, including stops; while the distance between Jersey City and Oakland, Cal. (3,311 miles) has been bridged in 83 hours, 45 minutes, an average speed of 39.53 miles an hour.

The Steam Turbine for high-speed Liners has come as a rival to steamships of the current type propelled by reciprocating engines. The marine turbine has the advantage not only of higher speed, but of reduction in weight, ease in handling. . . . together with absence of vibration and the minimum of wear and tear. Already the Canadian Allan Steamship Company have put turbine steamers with success on their route between Liverpool and Montreal; while the Cunard Company have under construction two new liners with turbine engines for the New York traffic. The difference in favor of the turbine-fitted vessel is a gain in speed, with less steam pressure, and a higher rate of rotation. The turbine engines make in the neighborhood of 500 revolution" per minute in the case of the side shafts and 600 for the central shaft, as against 180 revolutions per minute in the reciprocal engines.

For propellers used in local and coast traffic, and for the lighter classes of marine work, the turbine engine is as yet ill-suited, in consequence of its waste of power, though this may at a future day be remedied when more experience has been gained in the use and management of the turbine fitted vessel, with improved methods in reversing and otherwise manoeuvring them and in going astern. For war vessels and torpedo boats, the turbine engine must become valuable, especially where high speed is wanted, with great horsepower. The superiority of the turbine over

the reciprocating engine, in the case of bad weather at sea, is moreover great; while it is especially superior under rough-weather conditions as against the side-paddle steamer.

That air-ships, in our modern era, are to add practically to our other varied facilities for rapid transportation few, we imagine, will be likely to assert. Recently in New York we were treated to a free public exhibition and test of an air-ship, the aeronauting a young venturesome Toledoan, named Knabenshue, who was apparently successful in his flight over the city, reaching a height, it is said, of over 1,000 feet. The dirigible balloon seemed to be under adequate control, the wind conditions being favorable and the day fine. That the exhibition was more than an exciting holiday spectacle, and contributed anything to the extension of our scientific knowledge of aeronautics, will, however, hardly be affirmed; while he would be a bold man who would say that flying machines are likely to be wildly popular methods in the future of transportation. The air-ship on exhibition in New York was similar in construction to those used by M. Santos Dumont, the Brazilian, who, at the manifest risk of his life, amused Paris in 1900 with his flights from St. Cloud to and around the Eiffel Tower. It is true that balloon excursions have extended to over a thousand miles in their flight, and have reached an extreme height of 9 or 10 miles; but the success of these ventures, made under favorable weather conditions, have naturally had little effect in evoking a passion for practical aeronautics, nor, so far as one can see, are they likely to do that.

The annual encampment of the Grand Army of the Republic for the year 1905 was held in Denver, Colo. A large and enthusiastic gathering of the Veterans of this patriotic society was present. The city and State made generous provision for the comfort and entertainment of the Veterans of the Civil War, and gave the assembled delegates of the order a most cordial reception. The organization has for its chief object, besides the maintaining and strengthening of the fraternal feelings which bind together the surviving soldiers, sailors, and marines who took personal part in suppressing the War of the Rebellion, the dutiful one of perpetuating the memory and historic deeds of the comrades who have passed into the hither land, together with the practical and humane design of assisting the needy, including the widows and orphans of deceased comrades, caring for and educating the orphans, procuring, where necessary, an increase in the pensions of infirm existing members, and founding and supporting soldiers' homes. The number of Grand Army Posts is at present between six and seven thousand, while the National Council of Administrations consists of forty-five members, each department being represented by one member. At the Denver Encampment, Minneapolis was chosen as the place of meeting for 1906; the choice (which was made unanimous) of Commander-in-Chief for the new year fell to Corporal James Tanner, of New York, a notable hero of the Civil War, who lost both legs in the second battle of Bull Run. He is widely known throughout the country and is an active and zealous member of the Grand Army, and in 1876 and 1877 was Department Commander at New York. Among the prominent matters of business that came before the Encampment at Denver was a resolution thanking President Roosevelt for the part he took in helping to bring about peace between Russia and Japan. This resolution was offered by Past Commander Henry W. Knight of U. S. Grant Post of Brooklyn, Department of New York, and was adopted by a unanimous vote. The resolution is as follows:

WHEREAS, The Grand Army of the Republic, comprising a great majority of the survivors of the Union Armies of the Civil War in the United States from 1861 to 1865, and now in Annual Encampment at Denver, representing 600,000 living veterans of that great conflict, knowing the horrors of war and appreciating the blessings of peace, have noted with great satisfaction the earnest efforts of President Theodore Roosevelt in bringing about peace between the warring nations of Russia and Japan, and for these efforts looking towards the peace of the world, and which have been crowned with success, we extend to him our thanks for the manly and patriotic part which he initiated, and we congratulate him and also Russia and Japan on the happy issue of the negotiations resulting, as we trust it will, in a lasting and honorable peace to all concerned.

Resolved, That a copy of this minute be sent to the President and also to the Peace Plenipotentiaries of both nations.

That this country, forty years after the close of the Civil War, should be disbursing annually close upon 140 million dollars for Pensions is practical evidence of the Nation's considerate treatment of those who have honorably fought its battles. This large sum is divided among the veterans of the War of the Rebellion and their widows and orphans, while a portion goes to those, still alive, who fought in the Wars with Mexico and Spain, in wars with the Indians, as well as to survivors of the War of 1812, or to their dependent families, besides the sums appropriated to pensioners of the two branches of the regular service.

The provision is a generous one, and properly so, since in the case of veterans, upon whom the burden of years must now fall heavily, it is the duty of the Government to see to it that the evening of their days shall be comfortable, and, above all things, free from want. It should be its care, at the same time, to see that no fraud is permitted in drawing thus upon the Nation's bounty. To just and defensible claims for pensions, no man of humane and patriotic feeling would of course object; but objection would be justified were the fund drawn upon illegitimately or upon any dubious pretext. It is satisfactory to know that the Pension Commissioner at Washington is alive to the danger that besets the granting of pensions, and as a remedy has advocated the publishing of the Lists. It is also assuring to see the willingness of the chiefs of the Grand Army to cooperate with the Pension officials in purging the fund of inadmissible and reprehensible claims, which, by honoring them, bring dishonor on the worthy and deserving.

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Overview of Our Country: Volume 8

A history of the United States from the discovery of America to the present time (1905). Volume 8 of 8 covers Theodore Roosevelt's presidency through the Russo-Japanese War.

Chapter CLVII

The Roosevelt Regime: VIII - The President's Intervention in the Russo- Japanese War - The Tokio and St. Petersburg Envoys - Victorious Japan, and her Magnanimous Concession for Peace - The Conference at Portsmouth, N.H. - Peace Agreement (Aug. 29, 1905) - Felicitations over President Roosevelt's share in Ending the War - Japan's claim for Indemnity abandoned - Signing of the peace treaty - Russia after the War - Rise of a New Nation in the Far East - Provisions of the Peace Treaty - Effect of the Treaty on Japan - Does it lack Finality?

THE years 1904-05 were for the American nation momentous in the outbreak of the Russian-Japanese War and the resultant perplexities to the United States Government in view of American national interests at stake in the Pacific. The admirable restraint, as well as the sterling common sense, manifested by the Administration, under President Roosevelt's wise direction and forethought, have so far guided the nation amid its difficulties and enabled it to meet the new emergency with Public approval and confidence. In the midst of the perplexities of the situation, Mr. Roosevelt has meanwhile taken safe as well as strong ground, and with no uncertain sound has called for and urged the importance of an efficient navy, and at the same time manifested his purpose to maintain the Monroe Doctrine as our people desire that it shall be maintained, yet with no idea of seeking, far less provoking, foreign entanglements. While abstaining from any intervention, save in the interest of peace, in the War in the Far East, the President has been no indifferent spectator of it, nor has he averted his face from the conflict; but has striven, with his wonted tact and humanity, to cry Peace in the ears of the contestants and their rulers, and sought to bring about a mutual conference, which was considerately yet cordially responded to, a meeting taking place of the accredited representatives of the two warring nations at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, dating from August 9, 1905. Sessions of the conference continued to be held throughout the month named until the object and end of the call was triumphantly, though, considering the difficulties in the way, unexpectedly, crowned by a successful agreement in the interests of Peace - an agreement come to on August 29, after a series of sessions extending over three weeks. This signal achievement, the result of President Roosevelt's indefatigable personal efforts in bringing the envoys of the two Powers together in conference in our country, has been enthusiastically acclaimed by the whole onlooking world, and has redounded to the conspicuous

honor alike of the President and the United States nation. The happy result has been the more notable, in view of the difficulties which diplomacy had to overcome in attempting to harmonize the naturally conflicting views held by each nation's assembled representatives in conference, and the ever-threatening failure to come to anything like a common understanding and agreement. Fortunately, instead of the feared and anticipated failure, there finally came success, and, through the magnanimous concessions on Japan's part, a triumph which few had expected or even hoped for as the result of the Conference. The credit for bringing about this happy issue, and the reconciliation of the yawning differences between the two Powers which had been at war since February, 1904, it has been frankly and universally admitted, were due to the resolute and humane efforts of President Roosevelt, who, with the admirable union of traits in his character not only of forcefulness, persistence, and undaunted earnestness, but also of consummate wisdom and tact, had been solely instrumental in bringing about the meeting, and had prevented its issues from being negative or abortive.

The representatives of the two Empires at strife present at the Conference were, for Russia, Count Sergius Witte, the eminent statesman and financier, and Baron Rosen, a distinguished diplomat; and, for Japan, Baron Komura, and Minister Takahira, of the Japanese Legation at Washington, men of recognized distinction and high standing in the Island Empire. From the first session held by the respective envoys it was apparent that Russia, though unquestionably beaten on the field of war, was not likely to be worsted in that of diplomacy; still more was it evident that the Muscovite nation would not pay any war indemnity, nor make any humiliating sacrifices or concessions in the interests of Peace. This attitude - doubtless dictated by the bureaucratic Russophile party at the Court of St. Petersburg, which was known to desire a continuance of strife - was a firmly and persistently held one, and hence became embarrassing to Japan, her councilors and envoys, who naturally desired, as practical victors in the conflict, compensation for the main cost of the war. That the Japanese, after diplomacy had exhausted itself on either side, abandoned their chief points of contention, and other claims, was practical evidence of their earliest desire, not only to end conflict in the field of strife, but to secure, if possible, a satisfactory and honorable peace, in the interests of both nations. It was further evidence, as well as a remarkable added example, of the reasonable restraint which has characterized all of Japan's deeds and acts during the struggle and her overtures to her beaten enemy for peace and reconciliation. Even her giving up to Russia half of the inland of Sakhalin, which her army had won and occupied, and that without monetary compensation, was a sacrifice which she should not have been called upon to make, with others which Russia had insisted on before agreeing to Peace. Of the value of Sakhalin few, evidently, are aware, save the Japs, who have long coveted its re-possession. By them it is known for its dense valuable forests, which are practically untouched, and for its rich coal beds and vast oil-fields while its fisheries are so productive that beyond what the Japanese harvest from the island's coasts for food they draw largely upon them for fish-fertilizers as manure for their native rice-fields. It is a pity, therefore, that they should not have been given its entire possession. But, in all this we see, as we have said, the magnanimity of Japan, and the attitude which, in the issues of the Conference, has given to her side the weight and influence of a great moral victory.

How freely and widely recognized is this moral victory, won by the generous Japan nation, is amply admitted by the Press and by many eminent public men on both sides of the Atlantic. Among these admissions we may point to the observations of a prominent London journal (The Daily Graphic) in commenting upon Japan's extraordinary magnanimity, considering that it comes from a victorious power on the eve of further victories, had the war been renewed. This magnanimity, and the great concessions Japan has made to end the war, point, as the journal remarks, to a higher code of ethics than that which prevails in any of the European nations and to a deeper appreciation of the causes that make nations really great. Whether her magnanimity will prove costly in the future, it is impossible to say; but in any case Japan secures the respect of the world, and that is an asset which may perhaps yet prove more valuable than many fortresses." The Graphic also comments on the relief to Europe through the cessation of the struggle, on the ground that the utter destruction of Russia's power in the Far East would have involved the shifting of the balance of power in Europe and been fatal to the long continuance of European peace." Other English journals, chiefly those that have been pronouncedly pro-Japanese throughout the war and its succeeding diplomatic negotiations, express disappointment at Japan's failure to be reimbursed for the expenses of the war; though not a few admit that the nation has perhaps chosen the wiser and more politic, business-like course. On the point, the London Times, while observing that "no surrender less complete, on Japan's part, would have availed to end the war," remarks that surrender in the case is not thought or meant to imply reproach, while the world regards the decision of the Japanese Government as a great act of magnanimity, a great act of statesmanship. "No event," the Times goes on to say, in the history of Japan, not many in the history of any other great Power, has called for more courage. It is nothing that the Emperor and his advisers have had the courage to make an unpopular peace. But they have had the courage to risk the judgment of the world on a decision which the enemies of Japan may easily represent as one of something else than courage; while the nation obviously risks something in the future."

Not less pronounced, as well as generously handsome, are the comments of foreign governments, statesmen, and journals in regard to the part played by President Roosevelt in bringing about the Conference and its peaceful results. The Prussian Foreign Office remarks that without the President's personal exertions, supported by his unique position and the power of the United States, peace would not have been attained, and that Germany and the whole world will benefit by the statesmanship shown by the Washington Government." The Prussian bureau also acknowledges the generosity and moderation of Japan and the steadfast spirit of the Russian Government." Another high official abroad, the President of the Austrian Senate, speaks of the success of the Portsmouth Conference as a remarkable one, an achievement which could not have been realized in any other country in the world, once more showing to Europe the power and indomitable energy of the United States and is an enduring tribute to President Roosevelt." Still another statesman, a French Viscount and member of the French Chamber of Deputies, gives expression to this opinion, that President Roosevelt, by this one act, has immortalized himself and gained a permanent place in history." Even among crowned heads abroad do we meet with generous recognition of Mr. Roosevelt's energetic, persistent intervention, and his successful efforts to bring the representatives of the two warring Powers to confer at Portsmouth, N. H., on the subject of Peace. King Edward VII., of Great Britain, was one of the earliest to transmit a

message of congratulation. It was as follows: "Let me be one of the first to congratulate you on the successful issue of the Peace Conference, to which you have so greatly contributed. EDWARD, R. AND I."

The following despatch was almost simultaneously received from the German Emperor: "President Theodore Roosevelt. NEUES PALAIS, Aug. 29. Just read cable from America announcing agreement of peace conference on preliminaries of peace; am overjoyed express most sincere congratulations at the great success due to your untiring efforts. The whole of mankind must unite, and will do so, in thanking you for the great boon you have given it. WILLIAM I. R."

The President transmitted the following reply to the Kaiser: "To His Majesty, William II., Emperor of Germany, Berlin. I thank you most heartily for your congratulations and wish to take this opportunity to express my profound appreciation of the way you have cooperated at every stage in the effort to bring about peace in the Orient. It has been a very great pleasure to work with you toward this end."

Here is the cablegram of the Czar to the President, dated from St. Petersburg on August 30th: "President Roosevelt. Accept my congratulations and warmest thanks for having Brought the peace negotiations to a successful conclusion owing to your personal energetic efforts. My country will gratefully recognize the great part you have played in the Portsmouth peace conference. Nicholas."

It is regarded as particularly significant that Emperor Nicholas extended to Mr. Roosevelt his "warmest thanks for having brought the peace negotiations to a successful conclusion." The dispatch is regarded as one of the most remarkable of its kind ever sent by the head of one nation to that of another.

President Loubet of France extended his congratulations in this message: "LA BEGUDE PRESIDENCE, Aug. 30. Your excellency has just rendered to humanity an eminent service, for which I felicitate you heartily. The French Republic rejoices in the role that her sister, America, has played in this historic event. EMILE LOUBET."

In reply to the French President, Mr. Roosevelt forwarded this acknowledgment: "I heartily thank you for your telegram. I am grateful for the attitude France has constantly taken in the interests of peace."

From Europe also came the following congratulation from the Emperor Francis Joseph of Austria: To the President of ISCHL, Aug. 31. On the occasion of the peace just concluded I hasten, Mr. President, to send you my friendliest felicitations on the result of your intervention. May the world be blessed with many years continuance of peace undisturbed! FRANZ JOSEF."

The first of the following messages is from His Excellency, the Vice President; while the others are a few of those that came pouring into the White House on the auspicious day of August 29th:

To Theodore Roosevelt. Accept my heartiest congratulations upon your great achievement. I never doubted the result, which would not have been attained without your wise and constant efforts. CHARLES W. FAIRBANKS."

"To the President. Yours has been a master stroke of diplomacy. As soon as you succeeded in the difficult task of bringing about the Portsmouth Conference I considered the victory for peace already won. Your subsequent efforts

made it sure. This has been a signal triumph for strenuous intercession. HORACE PORTER."

"To the President. Pray accept my sincere congratulations upon the conception and achievement by you of a new and fearless diplomacy which has brought peace to the people of two great empires who, with every lover of peace and concord, will rise up and bless you. E. A. HITCHCOCK."

"To the President. Accept my congratulations and indorsement of your delicate but praiseworthy work in bringing about peace between Japan and Russia. R.B. GLENN Governor of North Carolina."

"To President Roosevelt. Please accept my hearty congratulations on your successful efforts for peace. JOHN D. ROCKEFELLER."

A congratulatory cablegram from the French ambassador to Washington, reads "LONDON, ENGLAND, Aug. 29. Happiest, heartiest, warmest congratulations. JUSSERAND."

The former Russian ambassador to the United States cables: "PARIS, FRANCE, Aug. 29. Profoundly happy at result of negotiations which assure a peace honorable to both nations and in which you have taken so fruitful a part. CASSINI."

Cardinal Gibbons was among the first to wire the President. His message was as follows: "BALTIMORE, Md., Aug. 29. Accept hearty congratulations on your splendid victory for peace. CARDINAL GIBBONS."

Other congratulations were: "JAMESVILLE, WIS., Aug. 29. Accept congratulations. Your successful efforts to secure peace between Russia and Japan reflect credit on the nation. WILLIAM J. BRYAN."

"NEW YORK, Aug. 29. I rejoice in your great triumph. You have rendered the world an unparalleled service and have won for yourself imperishable fame. P.C. KNOX."

Sir Mortimer Durand, the British ambassador to Washington, wired as follows: "LENOX, MASS., Aug. 29. Please submit to the President my most cordial congratulations upon the success of his efforts to bring about peace. DURAND."

The Chinese minister's message read: "AMHERST, MASS., Aug. 29. I beg to offer my hearty congratulations for the successful conclusion of peace for which the whole world, especially the Orient, is ever indebted to you. CHENTUNG LIANG CHENG."

The Italian ambassador telegraphed: "WASHINGTON, Aug. 29. I beg to offer you, Mr. President, on behalf of the Italian Government and of myself as representative of my august sovereign, heartfelt congratulations for your great success in reestablishing peace. Italy, which, since her constitution, has endeavored to be an element and factor of harmony among nations, will greatly admire and praise the work you brought on so advantageously for the benefit of humanity. MAYOR DES PLANCHES."

Mr. John W. Foster, former Secretary of State and special counsel to China at the treaty of Shimonoseki in 1895, sent this telegraph: "NEW YORK, Aug. 29. I join with all the world in giving you the credit for the welcome peace. JOHN W. FOSTER."

Messages, in the same hearty congratulatory strain, also poured in upon the President from the Ambassadors of Foreign Powers at the Washington Legations, and from public men of eminence at home and abroad, from great Cardinals and dignitaries of the Church, and others, in addition to the paeans of applause from the Press in all parts of the country. All this must have been particularly pleasing to the President, as, indeed, we are told it was, especially, as we understand, that great as had been his efforts as a mediator, he was unprepared for the extent of the submission of Japan, or for the expedition shown in reaching so early and felicitous a conclusion to the doings of the Conference. Here we place on record the announcement of the results of the closing session of the Peace Envoys, as transmitted to the President by the Russian plenipotentiaries, and Mr. Roosevelt's felicitously expressed acknowledgment: "PORTSMOUTH, N.H., Aug. 29. We have the honor to inform you that we have reached an agreement with the plenipotentiaries of Japan. To you history will award the glory of having taken the generous initiative in bringing about this Conference, whose labors will now probably result in establishing a peace honorable to both sides. WITTE ROSEN"

To this the President replied: "OYSTER BAY, N. Y., Aug. 29. I cannot too strongly expressly my congratulations to you and to the entire civilized world upon the agreement reached between you and the plenipotentiaries of Japan, and upon the fact that thereby a peace has been secured just and honorable to both sides. THEODORE ROOSEVELT."

We have spoken with regret of what Japan's envoys failed to exact from Russia in the peace negotiations at the Portsmouth Conference but the reader must not understand that the gallant little Island Empire has not gained anything substantial for her side as the decisive results of the war. On the contrary, though she has failed in her diplomatic efforts to secure from Russia a war indemnity, and had to make cession of half of Sakhalin Island, conquered by her, without money payment beyond that for the maintenance of Russian prisoners, and that involved in the cession of the Chinese Eastern Railroad yet despite her unexplained moderation, and the relentless, stubborn pride of Russia, she has secured many of the objects for which she went to war. She has

established her predominance in Korea secured Port Arthur, the strongest fortress in the world, with Dalny adjoining, an important commercial port; caused the evacuation, and secured the neutralization, of Manchuria obtained occupation rights in half of the Island of Sakhalin with the control of the Chinese Eastern Railroad, an asset of \$17,500,000 in value; not to speak of the prestige she has gained by the phenomenal achievements of her army and navy. She has also obtained important fishing rights along the Russian littoral, and practically asserted her dominion in the Asiatic Empire and in the waters of the Pacific in the Far East. Though she has had to renounce her claim to Russia's interned warships in neutral ports, with other concessions of minor import, she has gained much in elevating herself to the status of a great modern War Power, and won freedom to advance along profitable commercial, industrial, and social paths, unvexed and unhindered by a hitherto aggressive and arrogant European nation.

In all this, Japan, it will be seen, though she has not obtained from Russia much of what she asked or reasonably ought to have had, in view especially of the military disposition of her arms in the field favorable to further successes, as well as of the fact that her troops are, as we write, within striking distance of Kwang-cheng-tse, the greatest trading mart in Manchuria, and of Kirin, the rich capital of the second in importance of the three provinces of the region, she has had important gains as the result of the war and its attendant Conference. It is true, the peace terms leave Russia untouched in her financial resources, and this is important to her, besides saving her from inevitable further defeat were the war resumed, with the possible loss of Vladivostok and much of the Primorsk province of Siberia. A patched-up compromise, with ill-determined terms of peace, would obviously have been unfortunate for both sides, and further and heavily drained their respective resources. Russia, it is true, might be able - and we daresay would be able - to withstand the financial drain, and that perhaps better than Japan, for she has still large unexpended resources, in spite of the heavy debt incurred by the war. Even had she been forced to pay indemnity to her late enemy, humiliating as that would have been to her pride, and what she deems the honor of the nation, she could have well met the claim and honored it. Here, however, there was danger of the aggressive Court party, rather than Emperor Nicholas himself, maintaining the nation's war attitude and rejecting any and all peace proposals while there was the peril of a political outbreak in the country, fatal to the Russian dynasty. These things had to be considered, and doubtless were considered, by Russia, before rejecting peace and actively resuming hostilities in the Far East. Nor would her plight have been small had she likened insane enough to accept the latter decision, since, as we all know, she is practically without an available fleet in the East to resume the fighting. What she has left of a navy, after the disasters in and before Port Arthur, little could be of possible use to her had she decided to renew the war, for the Black Sea squadron is not only interned, but, as we have seen, is crippled by disaffection and mutiny; while the Baltic fleet is remote from the scenes of the war, and is besides greatly weakened by the drafts that have been made upon it, and thus would be powerless to reinforce the few war vessels that are still left of Russia's active navy at Vladivostok.

These facts are not only of advantage to Japan, but are assuring to this country, in freeing the Pacific from menace did any turn of affairs, unlikely as that is, give Russia at any future day the upper hand in the waters of the Far East.

The only other possible occasion for alarm, aside from the "Yellow Peril," a bogey one constantly hears of in timid quarters, is the now preponderating power of Japan. Here, unquestionably, there is a danger, though not a menace, especially in the existence and development of the Japanese navy, which, as we have seen in the war, has been exceedingly well handled and with decisive effect. Besides her now extensive fleet of modern cruisers and destroyers, supplemented by a large torpedo flotilla, Japan is building considerable additions to her navy, having armor factories of her own, while she lately designed to raise and utilize many of Russia's warships which were sunk at Port Arthur. With her large, effective navy, added to her magnificent army of splendid fighting material, the landwehr and reserves, the Island Empire possesses large resources still for battle, and all in an admirably efficient state of organization. Her capture and occupation of part of the island of Sakhalin, her grasp of Korea, and her practical control and probable future absorption of the cumbrous and inert Chinese Empire, are added factors in Japan's strength. In this formidable position, Japan has become a Power to be reckoned with, and one which, in its phenomenal rise and remarkable success as a belligerent force, has staggered the diplomacy of Western nations and kingdoms. The question now arises what will be the Empire's attitude now that the war has closed will it be one of confirmed peace, or one of subsequently renewed aggression? The answer cannot fail, we think, to be an assuring one, from what we have seen and know of Japan's moderation and restraint, and the wisdom which in a remarkable degree has governed all her actions in the war, and will doubtless govern her course, in the paths of peace and economic progress, now that the end of the present struggle has been reached. That she has other designs than aggressive ones in the future, and will turn, with all her energies, to the development of her commerce, as well as to the building up and expanding of the internal resources and material interests of the Empire, and thus make her civilization and economic prosperity solidly Western, after the peaceful fashion of the United States, we feel sure of; and in this she will continue to exhibit her manifest intelligent moderation, sound judgment, and good sense. That we are correct in this prognostication we would fain believe; and hence may confidently dismiss all fear of future complications and trouble in the Far East, now that the present irruption and state of war have ceased to create problems for diplomacy, and when, with the Treaty of Portsmouth, all has peacefully passed into the limbo of history.

What will be the effect of peace upon Russia, disturbed as she already is in her internal affairs, is a less easy matter to forecast than in surmising the effect upon Japan. That Russia will escape grave political dangers, handicapped and repressed as she is by her governing bureaucracy, it is hardly possible to believe. Especially is it so, in view even of the humiliating lessons which the failure of her arms in conflict with little Japan has brought to her, and however much she may seek to stifle outbreak over her enormous Provinces by continued repressive acts or, by an entire change of front, in the adoption of a more timely and clement policy, not only by liberalizing her central government, but by giving her people free institutions, with freedom in developing them. Success on the battlefield she has not met with but she may have Political success in reforming her autocratic administration and the methods of her rule throughout her vast and far from homogeneous Empire. The memory of her defeat, at the hands of a once decried and despised minor Asiatic Nation will, doubtless, long be a thorn in her flesh and it will be well if she has not to look on further humiliation in seeing Japan take that eminence and rank in the Far East which

she asserted, and sought in vain to maintain, for herself. But, aside from what may be in store for Russia, there can be little doubt as to the great future that lies before Japan. As an English journal (The [London] Spectator) wisely remarks: There is no longer any doubt that a new Power of the first magnitude has arisen on the edge of Eastern Asia. Its rise has been almost miraculously rapid, for though everybody is recalling premonitions which might have taught us all something, a truth in politics is not a truth until it has been realized and acknowledged. Japan has sprung to the front in less than half a generation. The experts of the [European] Continent, political, military, and diplomatic, who have for months refused to believe what to them all was most unwelcome, now accept the evidence, and in a tone of resignation, which would be comic if it did not mean so much, admit that they have been lacking in knowledge as well as imagination. The Power which can place half-a-million of men upon a mainland separated from it by the sea, which can maintain successfully a siege like that of Sebastopol, and defeat great European armies in battles which rival in magnitude and in slaughter those of Napoleon with the Russians, or of the Germans with the French, cannot be characterized even by the stupidest of Courts as either an inferior or a braggart State. Success on the battlefield appeals to the statesmen of the Continent as it can appeal only to those who control conscript armies, while the soldiers around them regard one quality which the war has revealed in the Japanese with an admiration not untinged with fear. The Japanese officer can call on his men after a bloody battle with a confidence which even conquerors like Napoleon only secured after a long career of victory. Whether their courage is inherent in their race - which has a thread in it other than Mongolian - or whether it arises from the absence in them of any creed which makes death alarming, or whether their love for Japan has risen in the course of centuries into a furious passion, or whether all these peculiarities act together, the fact remains that the Japanese Army is composed of the kind of men who in other armies volunteer for forlorn hopes. The Russian officers, themselves commanding men of singular courage and endurance, profess themselves amazed by the daring of the Japanese, and sometimes give utterance to the half-treasonable doubt whether such men can be defeated by any troops in the world. The new Power is, in fact, acknowledged to be one of the first class, far-seeing, resolute, and possessed of immense resources for battle, and with that acknowledgment the bottom falls out of many of the data of European diplomacy. In a very short time the Japanese Fleet may be made, its advantages of position being considered, the strongest on the Pacific; and even as it is, the current of the action of European Powers towards the States on the North Pacific will be abruptly arrested. Japan may not be able to rule China, as those who believe in the yellow peril think that she will, for the pride of an ancient Empire may forbid, and the Chinese governing classes may have gone too rotten to be regenerated; but the protection of China from disintegration has already become a Japanese interest of the fundamental kind, for though her first necessity is room to expand, and China cannot find her that room, her second necessity is economic prosperity, and her own idea is that prosperity will come from a virtual, though not official, monopoly of the Chinese market. She will have no necessity to close ports while she can undersell competitors. Japan, once left at peace [as she has now been] will be an energetic trading Power, will produce a great merchant fleet, if only to feed her Navy, and will regard the Pacific as we [in Europe] think of the Atlantic, as her own waterway."

At Portsmouth, N. H., on September 5 (1905), came the sequel to the proceedings of the

Peace Conference, in the signing of the Treaty by the envoys of both nations, which brought the war officially to a close, subject only to ratification by the respective Emperors at Tokio and St. Petersburg. The final act, of affixing the signatures of the plenipotentiaries of both sides to the Treaty, occurred, as we have said, on September 5, and, when this was accomplished and duly witnessed, a salute of nineteen guns was fired at the U. S. Navy Yard on Kittery Point, adjoining Portsmouth, to mark and give eclat to the occasion. Meanwhile, inside the Conference room, relates a correspondent of the N. Y. Times, in his account of the proceedings, a remarkable scene was in progress." On signing the Treaty, and without breaking the silence that prevailed, the Russian envoy, M. Witte, throwing his pen aside, reached across the table and grasped Baron Komura's hand. His confreres followed his example, and the Russian and Japanese delegates remained for a moment in silence, their right hands tightly clasped across the conference table. The war was over. Russia and Japan were once more friends.

There was nothing stagey about this simple ceremony. It rang true, and deeply impressed the attaches and secretaries of the two missions and the invited witnesses.

Baron Rosen was the first to break the silence. Rising from his seat, the Ambassador, looking directly at Baron Komura, said a few words which one had only to hear to know that they came straight from his heart. He began by saying that he wished, on behalf of M. Witte, and in his own name, to say a few words.

"We have just signed," continued the Ambassador, an act which will forever have a place in the annals of history. It is not for us, active participants in the conclusion of this treaty, to pass judgment on its importance and significance. As negotiators on behalf of the Empire of Russia and the Empire of Japan, we may with tranquil conscience say that we have done all that was in our power to bring about the peace for which the whole civilized world was longing.

As plenipotentiaries of Russia, we fulfill a most agreeable duty in acknowledging that in negotiating with those hitherto our adversaries, and from this hour our friends, we have been dealing with true and thorough gentlemen, to whom we are happy to express our high esteem and personal regard. We earnestly hope that friendly relations between the two empires will henceforth be firmly established, and we trust that his Excellency Baron Komura, as Minister of Foreign Affairs, and one of the leading statesmen of his country, will apply to the strengthening of these relations the wide experience and wise statesmanship he so conspicuously displayed during these negotiations, which have now been so auspiciously concluded."

Baron Komura replied that he shared entirely the views of Baron Rosen. The treaty of peace which they had just signed was in the interest of humanity and civilization, and he was happy to believe that it would bring about a firm, lasting peace between two neighboring empires. He added that it would always be pleasant for him to recall that, throughout the long and serious negotiations which they had now left behind them, he and his colleagues had invariably received from the Russian plenipotentiaries the highest courtesy and consideration, and finally he begged to assure their Excellencies, the Russian plenipotentiaries, that it would be his duty, as well as his

pleasure, to do everything in his power to make the treaty in fact what it professed to lie in words - a treaty of peace and amity."

With these mutual compliments and felicitations, besides drinking prosperity to each of the two nations in cups of wine, the Conference came to an end with the signing of the protocol of this, the final official, meeting. After adjourning, the Russian envoys attended an imposing thanksgiving service at Christ Church, Portsmouth, which included a brief sermon in English by an arch-priest of St. Nicholas Russian Orthodox Church, New York City, closing with the chanting of the Te Deum in Russian.

"In the morning," continues the N. Y. Times correspondent, "the Russian and Japanese envoys called in turn upon Gov. McLane, of New Hampshire, at his rooms in the hotel, and thanked him for his courtesy to them during their stay in the State. M. Witte told the Governor that he knew personally of the great regard the Czar had for the American people, and upon his return to Russia he (M. Witte) would tell the Emperor of the hearty greeting the Russian plenipotentiaries had received everywhere. M. Witte added that he felt sure the good relations between the two countries would be maintained and knit even more closely during Baron Rosen's stay as Ambassador.

"Later, Baron Komura and Mr. Takahira paid a similar call and thanked the Governor for his kindness to them.

"Witte said to-night that the peace would have a splendid effect in both countries and would benefit the entire world. Both nations would loyally abide by the treaty and live amicably as neighbors in the future.

"The Russian envoy said he had been very much affected by the heartiness of the reception at the church this afternoon. He considered it the most notable expression of good-will he had received since he arrived in America.

"On reentering the hotel after the signing of the treaty one of the chief members of the Japanese mission said: "The treaty signed to-day may be the most important historical feature of the twentieth century."

"Baron Komura left this evening for Boston with Mr. Yamaza, Commander Takeshita, and two of the Japanese secretaries. Before leaving he gave Gov. McLane \$10,000 for the charities of New Hampshire."

The following are the provisions of the Treaty, embracing fifteen articles, and two annexed articles safeguarding special rights:

PORTSMOUTH, N. H., Sept. 5.- The peace treaty opens with a preamble reciting that his Majesty the Emperor an autocrat of All the Russians and his Majesty the Emperor of Japan,

desiring to close the war now subsisting between them, and having appointed their respective plenipotentiaries and furnished them with full powers, which were found to be in form, have come to an agreement on a treaty of peace and have arranged as follows:

ARTICLE I.- Stipulates for the reestablishment of peace and friendship between the sovereigns of the two empires and between the subjects of Russia and Japan.

ARTICLE II.- His Majesty the Emperor of Russia recognizes the preponderant interest from political, military, and economical points of view of Japan in the Empire of Korea and stipulates that Russia will not oppose any measures for its government, protection, or control that Japan will deem it necessary to take in Korea in conjunction with the Korean Government, but Russian subjects and Russian enterprises are to enjoy the same status as the subjects and enterprises of other countries.

ARTICLE III.- It is mutually agreed that the territory of Manchuria shall be simultaneously evacuated by both Russian and Japanese troops, both countries being concerned in this evacuation and their situations being absolutely identical. All rights acquired by private persons and companies shall remain intact.

ARTICLE IV.- The rights possessed by Russia in conformity with the lease by Russia of Port Arthur and Dalny, together with the lands and waters adjacent, shall pass over in their entirety to Japan, but the properties and rights of Russian subjects are to be safeguarded and respected.

ARTICLE V.- Russia and Japan engage themselves reciprocally not to put any obstacle in the way of the general measures (which shall be alike for all nations) that China may take for the development of the commerce and industry of Manchuria.

ARTICLE VI.- The Manchurian Railway shall be operated jointly between Russia and Japan at Kwang-cheng-Tse. The two branch lines shall be employed only for commercial and industrial purposes. In view of Russia keeping her branch line with all the rights acquired by her convention with China for the construction of that railway, Japan acquires the mines in connection with the branch line which falls to her. However, the rights of private parties or private enterprises are to be respected. Both parties to this treaty remain absolutely free to undertake what they deem fit on expropriated ground.

ARTICLE VII.- Russia and Japan engage themselves to make a conjunction of the two branch lines which they own at Kwang-cheng-Tse.

ARTICLE VIII.- It is agreed that the branch lines of the Manchurian Railway shall be worked with a view to assure commercial traffic between them without obstruction.

ARTICLE IX.- Russia cedes to Japan the southern part of Sakhalin Island as far north as the fiftieth degree of north latitude, together with the islands depending thereon. The right of free

navigation is assured in the Straits of La Perouse and Tartary.

ARTICLE X.- This article recites the situation of Russian subjects on the southern part of Sakhalin Island and stipulates that Russian colonists there shall be free and shall have the right to remain without changing their nationality. The Japanese Government, however, shall have the right to force Russian convicts to leave the territory which is ceded to her.

ARTICLE XI.- Russia engages herself to make an agreement with Japan giving to Japanese subjects the right to fish in Russian territorial waters of the Sea of Japan, the Sea of Okhotsk, and Bering Sea.

ARTICLE XII.- The two high contracting parties engage themselves to renew the commercial treaty existing between the two Governments prior to the war in all its vigor, with slight modifications in details and with a most-favored-nation clause.

ARTICLE XIII.- Russia and Japan reciprocally engage to restore their prisoners of war on the payment of the real cost of keeping the same, such claims for cost to be supported by documents.

ARTICLE XIV.- This peace treaty shall be drawn up in two languages, French and English, the French text being evidence for the Russians, and the English text for the Japanese. In case of difficulty of interpretation the French document to be final evidence.

ARTICLE XV.- The ratification of this treaty shall be countersigned by the sovereigns of the two States within fifty days after its signature. The French and American Embassies shall be intermediaries between the Japanese and Russian Governments to announce by telegraph the ratification of the treaty.

Two additional articles are agreed to, as follows:

ARTICLE I.- The evacuation of Manchuria by both armies shall be completed within eighteen months from the signing of the treaty, beginning with the retirement of troops of the first line. At the expiration of the eighteen months the two parties will only be able to leave as guards for the railway fifteen soldiers per kilometer.

ARTICLE II.- The boundary which limits the parts owned respectively by Russia and Japan in Sakhalin Island shall be definitely marked off on the spot by a special limitographic commission.

Here are the telegrams received by President Roosevelt from Baron Komura and the Russian envoys, after the signing of the peace treaty. Baron Komura's message reads: "PORTSMOUTH, N. H., Sept. 5, 1905. The President: I hasten to inform you that the treaty of peace has just been signed. Humanity is under a lasting debt of gratitude to you for the initiation and successful conclusion of the peace conference. I beg to be permitted to add my own thanks and sincere acknowledgments. KOMURA."

The telegram sent by the Russian envoys was as follows: "HOTEL WENTWORTH, NEW CASTLE, N. H., Sept. 5, 1905. The President: We have the honor to inform you that we have this day signed the treaty of peace with Japan. It is not for us to thank you for what you have done in the cause of peace, as your noble and generous efforts have been fittingly acknowledged by our august Sovereign. We can only express to you, Mr. President, and to the people of the United States, our personal sentiments of profound gratitude for the cordial reception you have done us the honor to extend us and which we have met with at the hands of the people in this country. WITTE, ROSEN."

In bringing our narrative of the doings of the Peace Conference and its important issues to a close, and before passing to a brief account of the origin and causes of the War, we may be permitted to note a few indications of the effect upon the two chief nations concerned of the Peace now happily arrived at. Few, we opine, will demur to the almost universal opinion that Russia has done well for herself in accepting peace, though not without a hard diplomatic struggle during the three weeks the Conference was in session. She has, moreover, done well in accepting the not onerous conditions upon which the war has been declared at an end, especially in view of the important facts that she has not been mulcted by Japan in a heavy indemnity, while half of Sakhalin Island has been generously retroceded to her. Had the war gone on, of course it might have been possible for her arms ultimately to have come out of it with less discredit than is the case at present; but there was a large uncertainty as to this, while the probabilities of her recovering her prestige on the field were, admittedly, against her. In any event, had the war continued, it would assuredly have entailed large further loss of life, as well as of treasure. There was also to be considered, the grave probability that, in spite of Russia fighting to recover her military honor, and so might have calculated upon the countenance and support of the patriotic part of the nation, she would more than likely have been handicapped by internal revolution. Socialism in Russia, we know, is now not only very general, but very bitter against the ruling power and governing classes and though the Russo-Slavophiles, who are friendly to the throne, and, as reactionaries, favor despotism and the attitude of absolutism, may be numerous and powerful in the Empire, yet the bulk of the nation holds diametrically opposite views and is largely disaffected towards Czarism and sullen. The rigor of the military system also provokes outcries against it, and has its tendency in encouraging sedition; while the intelligent among the masses frown upon press censorship and the domiciliary visits of the secret police. Yet we would not draw the picture of the state of things in the Muscovite nation any darker than we deem there is occasion for; and we are willing to admit that there are signs of Russian paternalism seeking now and then, and doubtless seeking honestly, to bring the myriads of the Empire out of the long eclipse of semi-barbarism into the light and warmth of a better day. Serfage, we happily have to admit, is gone, and though there is still an immeasurable gulf between the bureaucracy and the mass of the nation, a freer and more ameliorating influence has of late been at work in the Empire, and, but for Nihilistic conspiracies and the terrorism to the Crown of revolution and sedition, might have made greater and more beneficent progress. In spite of the need for reactionary and repressive measures - for education, political training, and self-government have not as yet had a chance to do their good work - reforms have made headway, many crying abuses have been checked, and official plundering has been largely suppressed. These are gratifying as well as

hopeful features in the present outlook, and the recent concession of a new constitution and other measures (if alleviation and reform have to be placed to the credit side of the account. Changes for the better in nations as well as in peoples, admittedly, take time to come about, and especially so in an old and case-hardened autocracy such as Russia. If her ruler means well to his people, there is all the more reason that his Empire should go on in its improving and uplifting way as little handicapped by aggressive war, with its financial burdens and possible disasters and in this view, as we have said, she has done well to accept peace with Japan and turn her energies and resources in more benign and profitable directions.

The effect of the Peace Treaty on Japan was not without its discouraging aspects, since the nation was not slow to conclude that her envoys at the Conference were diplomatically overmatched and worsted. The envoys, to be sure, should not be held wholly responsible for this, since Russia was stubborn and hard in the negotiations for peace, while the terms on which it was concluded, practically dictated by St. Petersburg, were referred to in the progress of settlement and agreed to by the Mikado himself and the elder statesmen of the Empire. Nevertheless, the provisions of the Treaty bore hard upon Japan, victor in the war though she was; and the Fates were unkind to her in depriving her of a money indemnity, to which she believed she was amply and reasonably entitled. In Tokio, as well as in Osaka, Nagasaki, and other chief cities of Japan, popular dissatisfaction over the terms of the Treaty found vent even to the extent of rioting in the streets, with demonstrations against the Japan Ministry for what was termed a humiliation and insult to the nation, deprived of the rightful fruits of victory." Popular anger showed itself not only in an inflamed sentiment against the Peace Treaty, but in public meetings of a turbulent character called to protest against the Peace settlement, and so, if possible, bar its ratification by the ruling power. These expressions of national chagrin and disappointment come only from hostile party sources, aroused by the ultra-Liberal and quasi-Socialistic elements in the nation, and hence the saner conservative body of the people denounce the popular demonstrations and endorse what has been done by the Peace envoys of the Empire. That this would appear to be the truth is indicated by quotations from an influential native journal which has reached this country, in which agreement in regard to the terms of the Treaty is wisely set forth, now that the die has been cast, and Japan has secured its great moral victory. The journal referred to observes that "The war has not been fought to gain money. Russia has been stripped of the control of Manchuria and driven sufficiently far north. More than the aim and purpose of the war has been gained by our recognized ascendancy in Korea, and every reason exists to thank our delegates and to feel specially grateful for the good offices of President Roosevelt."

The Jiji, another native journal, remarks, that it has already expressed discontent, but now that the die has been cast it hopes that the Government will make adequate provision to care for the thousands of families bereft of their breadwinners, and also for the veterans who have been permanently crippled."

The Nippon pronounces the peace which has been concluded the bitterest dose the nation was ever compelled to take. It advises the people to take a lesson from it and gain wisdom and strength to prepare against a similar contingency in the future.

Count Okuma, leader of the Progressive Party, in discussing the settlement, said he was unable to reconcile himself to the result, because the conditions preventing Russian aggression in Korea and Manchuria were insufficient.

"They leave," he said, "ample room for Russian ambition in the future. The conditions prevailing before the war are liable to repetition at any time. Both nations agree to evacuate Manchuria, but if China is unable to maintain order there Russia will have an opportunity to sow the seeds of war. Instead of removing the causes of a future dispute, the agreement leaves the conditions exactly as they were before hostilities began."

Despite these and other adverse expressions of native opinion, it is assuring to find public feeling growing calmer, and viewing the Treaty and its provisions in a saner light. "Under the vigorous defense by the conservative journals supporting the Government and a fuller and better appreciation of the situation confronting the country, the public sentiment is showing some evidence of reaction.

The argument that it was impossible for Japan to continue the bloody war merely for the purpose of securing indemnity is proving effective in allaying dissatisfaction. It is believed that when the Government is free to explain fully the conditions of the settlement and the logic appertaining to them the reaction in sentiment will largely increase.

The entire nation, however, is keenly disappointed at the outcome. Nowhere throughout the Empire has there been a step taken toward the celebration of the conclusion of peace. The radicals continue their campaign against the Government, demanding the punishment of those responsible for the compromise. The Diet, about to meet, is certain to be turbulent, and it is predicted that the Katsura Government will be forced from office."

Leaving these dissatisfied utterances, it is pleasant, in conclusion, to turn to the fervent assurances of peace and amity," indicated at the close of the proceedings of the Peace Conference, as those which Russia accepts and will abide by. Referring to these, the New York Times of September 7 (1905) editorially remarks that: The words spoken by Baron Rosen and Baron Komura at the final session of the peace conference at Portsmouth were peculiarly impressive and significant. Their mutual acknowledgment of respect and admiration as the outcome of their personal relations during the trying labors of the conference were in itself remarkable, and much more cordial and specific than the conventions of diplomacy required. When Baron Rosen spoke of those hitherto our adversaries and from this hour our friends," and expressed the hope that Baron Komura would as Minister of Foreign Affairs apply the wide experience and wise statesmanship he so conspicuously displayed during the negotiations to strengthening the friendly relations between the two empires," he went further than there was the least need to go unless he was sincere and was speaking for his sovereign. And the same thing is true of Baron Komura when he spoke of the highest courtesy and consideration the Japanese envoys had received from the Russians, and declared that it would be his duty as well as his pleasure to do everything in his power to make the treaty in fact what it professed to be in words a treaty of peace and amity."

There would seem but one further word to say in regard to the apprehended danger, at some future period, of a war for revenge on Russia's part, humiliated as she evidently feels over her successive defeats by the arms of Japan. The remarks of her envoys at the Conference, just quoted, would seem to militate any such renewal of the strife as a matter contemplated by Russia. Yet the probability of war again breaking out is in many months at present, and has been broached in Europe, chiefly by the English press, which hereditarily dreads the Muscovite nation. On this point, unlikely as we are to see another outbreak of hostilities, the New York Sun of September 6 (1905), editorially publishes the following sane argument, rebutting the notion that the Treaty just concluded is wanting in finality.

Some of the London newspapers submit that the Peace Treaty lacks finality, by which they mean that there is nothing in its terms to prevent Russia renewing the struggle when she is better prepared for war in the East than she was in February, 1904. With this view we can't agree. The Commissioners of Japan went to Portsmouth with instructions to make a peace that would not be a truce, and that seems to be the kind of peace they have made, if a reasonable construction is put upon the terms of the treaty and no rein is given to the imagination.

In the first place, Russia ceases to be a naval power in the Far East; her fortress south of the winter limit of ice is in the possession of Japan, and Russia cannot acquire an open-water port anywhere on the coast of Korea; Vladivostok could be used as a naval base only from April to November, but as Korea Strait has become a Japanese channel and La Perouse Strait has passed wholly into Japanese hands, the Japan Sea becomes a Japanese lake and Vladivostok is effectually stint in.

Any war waged in future by Russia against Japan must therefore be fought out on land; but it has been stipulated that Russia, as well as Japan, shall build no fortifications near the boundary of Korea, which country passes under the control of Japan by the terms of the treaty. All of Manchuria north of the Liao-tung Peninsula reverts to China, which held a barren title to it before the war. It is obvious that to come into conflict with Japanese troops a Russian army would have to invade the southern part of Sakhalin, which would be a difficult enterprise, since it would be necessary to ferry troops across the Gulf of Tartary. Or Russia, assuming Korea to be Japanese territory, would have to invade it by way of the Tumen River. An invasion of any part of Manchuria would bring her at once into contact with militant China reorganized by the Japanese. In fact Russia must always count on two antagonists in the Far East if she meditates a war of revenge; and under the terms of the new Anglo-Japanese treaty, if correctly reported, England would have to range herself on the side of the Asiatic allies in the event of war. Moreover, another conflict with one Asiatic Power would be madness before the Trans-Siberian is double-tracked. The Portsmouth Treaty may lack finality, as some of the English critics say, but Russia seems to be bound over hard and fast to keep the peace for a long period of time."

Chapter CLVIII

The Roosevelt Regime: IX - Interest in the Russo-Japanese War and in President Roosevelt's successful efforts in bringing about Peace - Remarkable Efficiency and Success of Japanese Arms - The Mikado's death-defying troops - The siege at Port Arthur, and naval losses on both sides - The Russian Generals Stoessel and Kuropatkin - Marshalls Oyama and Kuroki - Succession of Russian defeats in the Liao-tung Peninsula - Kuropatkin's Skill in Repeatedly Extricating his Command from Peril and in Conducting Retreats - Heroic Fighting of both Russians and Japs - The Capture of Sakhalin Island - The Peace Treaty Ends the Struggle - Origin and Cause of the War.

INASMUCH as the United States, and indeed the world at large, have been keenly interested in the Russo-Japanese War, and as our country thanks to the earnest, indefatigable efforts of President Roosevelt - has been a large and important factor in bringing the struggle to a happy close, it has been deemed well to give in these pages a brief resume of the origin and causes of the war, with some details of its chief battles and sieges, gleaned principally from correspondents and other eye-witnesses in the field. The period of strife (some twenty months), though not a prolonged one, has been full of dramatic interest; while the struggle has been a striking one in the revelation it has brought about of the undreamed of efficiency and success in the field of Japanese arms, and of the tactical skill and genius for fighting shown alike by Japanese admirals and generals in conducting the operations of the war.

Nor, worsted as they were, can the Russians be said to have done badly in the war, or that they failed to make, on repeated occasions, a stubborn and brave resistance; though that resistance availed them little before the steady onrush and persistent driving-back force of the gallant, death-defying troops of the Mikado. Formidable, as well as almost unprecedented, have been the rigor of Japanese attack and the tactical skill with which the Asiatic masses of the little Island Empire have been handled and launched, with most disastrous and often appalling effect, upon their Muscovite foes. Russian generals have again and again admitted this, though their motive in doing so may have been questionable, in the effort to exonerate themselves for failure in resisting these attacks, and also to account for the vast losses they met throughout the operations of the war. Nor is it the least remarkable feature in Japan's management of the struggle that her military administration was able to transport to Manchuria and place in the field close upon 500,000 men, whose discipline, powers of marching and fighting, and endurance of fatigue, have been the marvel of the time. Equally wonderful is the story of what Japan has achieved by her navy, not only in the number and effectiveness of the warships she put in commission, but in the havoc she did with them, in her splendid siege operations at Port Arthur, and wherever on the high seas she encountered the enemy. The method, as well as the vigor and persistence of Japan's tactics in laying siege to so redoubtable a stronghold as Russia possessed at the foot of the Liao-tung Peninsula, have well earned the praise of the ablest naval critics. The result was overwhelming to Russia's fleet in the Far East, as we see in the number of the battleships and cruisers which the Japanese were able to destroy by mines and well-directed shot within and without the harbor of Port Arthur, as well as by conflict at close quarters. What the losses of the two nations were in

ships will be best gathered by the following contrasted figures, as given in a recent summary by the Scientific America:

Of the sixteen battleships which, first and last, Russia was able to assemble in the Far East, thirteen, of the united displacement of 153,416 tons, were sunk, two were captured by the Japanese and one was interned, the total losses in battleships amounting to sixteen vessels, of a united displacement of 189,682 tons. Japan, on the other hand, out of six battleships lost two, of the united displacement of 27,700 tons, both of these vessels being sink by mines.

of armored cruisers, Russia lost five, of 38,630 tons aggregate displacement. Japan lost no vessels of this type. Of protected cruisers, six Russian ships, of 29,730 tons aggregate displacement, were sunk, and five, of 29,210 tons total displacement, were interned, or eleven vessels, of 58,940 tons displacement. Japan lost four protected cruisers, of 12,750 tons total displacement. In coast-defence vessels Russia lost one by its being sunk in battle and two were captured by the Japanese, representing a total loss of three vessels of this class, of 12,378 tons total displacement. One Japanese coast-defence vessel, of 3,717 tons displacement, was sunk during the war.

In the above enumeration we have taken account only of the more important classes of warships. There have been other losses in torpedo boats, converted cruisers, supply ships, etc., which have occurred mainly on the Russian side. The total losses in the more important ships amount on the Russian side to thirty-five vessels, of a total displacement of 299,630 tons while the loss on the Japanese side amounts to seven vessels, of 44,167 tons displacement.

In addition to this splendid showing for Japan, it should not be forgotten that, besides devastating the Russian squadron at Port Arthur, she wrecked the fortifications, obtained the surrender, and finally herself occupied, the place. She also gained possession of Dalny, the marine port and commercial town close by; won and took possession of the island of Sakhalin, though in the Peace Treaty she magnanimously restored to Russia the northern half of it; besides blockading and occupying Newchwang, and, by her military arm, driving back the Russian forces in the Liao-tung Peninsula as far north as Mukden, while freeing Korea from Muscovite menace and control.

In the operations of the Japanese fleet, during the twenty months conflict, the credit for its triumphant achievements must unquestionably fall to Admiral Togo., assisted by his able second in command, Admiral Kamimura. The Russian defender of Port Arthur in the siege operations was General Stoessel, a valiant soldier who was placed in a most exacting and trying position, and by the force of circumstances was compelled finally to surrender.

The successes throughout the campaign of the military arms of Japan are no less remarkable than those of the Mikado's fleet. Under Marshals Oyama and Kuroki, with their chief aides, Generals Oku, Nogi, and Nozu, victory has almost constantly followed the operations of Japanese arms. The Russian commander-in-chief, General Kuropatkin, though himself a true and capable

officer and a hero of the Russo-Turkish war of 1877, did what was within his power to do to stem Japan's advance into Manchuria, but was again and again defeated and compelled to fall back. The same disastrous story has to be told of the fighting throughout the war, from the period when the Yalu River was crossed by the Japanese, at the close of April, 1904, including the capture of Kinchow, the storming of Nanshan, the battle of Telissu, and the eight days fierce fighting in forcing the passes in the advance upon Liao-tung. After this came the Russian defeat at the latter point, and Kuropatkin's retreat upon Tie-ling, and the subsequent nine days conflict - a most sanguinary one - at the battle of Sha-Lio. These successive triumphs for Japan's arms proved the invincible character of the forces under Oyama and Kuroki, which not only brought victory to their banners, but took the heart out of, and, seemingly, all power of effective resistance, from the enemy. A like tale is that which has to be told of the later incidents in the campaign - of the continued successes of Japan's arms, and the successive defeats and skilful retreats of the forces under Kuropatkin. Disaster after disaster bore witness, however, to the fidelity and dour courage of the Russian soldier, and to the stolidity of all ranks in accepting defeat without a murmur, or any revolt, which might at a moment have brought about utter demoralization and the surrender of the entire Russian army. That Russia was saved from this is due to the cleverness of General Kuropatkin in extricating himself again and again from perilous situations, and, with a sort of dumb indifference, accepting defeat, yet preparing at the same time for a further stand and another battle. Nor were Russia's fortunes in the war improved by a change of commanders, since, under Linevitch, though there was more manoeuvring and repeated flank attacks to checkmate Japan's design to envelope and surround the Russian army, there was no decisive action favorable to the Russian arms, nor any strategy resorted to relieve the tedium of successive defeat. Even the repeated attempts made, to Cossack cavalry, to break through the enveloping Japanese lines proved failures of a costly character, though marked by heroic incidents.

The same story of Russian disaster followed the fighting on the Sha-liao River near Yentai - one of the greatest battles of the war - and the retreat across the Tai-tse towards Mukden, and northward to Tie-ling, on the road to Kharlim. The difficulties of retreat were the greater since the troops were exhausted by eight days severe and bloody fighting, while the roads were hardly passable for artillery. In these retreats, with the army's immolation destroyed, not slight must have been the effort of General Kuropatkin to keep his men from revolt, and yet maintain a brave though fruitless defence against the victorious foe. What could be done by encouragement, and by frequent addresses and proclamations to his men, he apparently did, and with enheartening effect, though his speeches to the troops partook at times of bombast, especially when, under the influence of the Czar, he spoke of ultimately vanquishing the enemy. Despite the discouragements of his position, that Kuropatkin was able on several occasions to assume the offensive and inflict heavy punishment on the Japanese, was greatly to his credit, though the result was in the end little to his comfort or cheering to the forces under him. These counter-attacks of the Russians prove that the Japanese had not always an easy task in coping with them, as the latter's losses in battle indicate, and the bloody scenes on plain and in trench bear witness. Very terrible, as accounts relate, were the scenes when Oyama's troops repeatedly swarmed like locusts upon the bayonets of the Russian living barriers of steel and defied death with a magnificent nonchalance. A further attestation of the fact that there was brave and heroic fighting on both sides is seen in what has

come to light of the antagonists holding each other in the highest mutual respect, while there was no ill-treatment of prisoners, on whichever side lay the fortune and hazard of war.

Nor elsewhere than in Manchuria were the Russians able to maintain their ground against the all-conquering foe. On the island of Sakhalin, which the Russians used as a penal settlement, the Japanese assault on and subjugation of the colony were further proofs of invincibility and daring. There the Russian military governor, General Liapunov, with about 70 officers and 3,200 men, was forced to surrender, and the island, as a whole for a time, passed under the dominion of the flag of the Rising Sun. In the Fall of 1904, the rainy season and the coming on of winter, happily for the time, put a stop to the slaughter, though the breathing spell, with the replacement of Kuropatkin by General Linevitch, gave the opportunity to the Russians to improve their defensive positions fronting the Japanese lines of advance at Gun-chu-ling, Hung, and Kirin. Still more fortunate was the cause that, in the following Spring humanely stayed the operations of both armies, in President Roosevelt's overtures for and ultimate success in reestablishing peace. With these overtures and their result we have already dealt, and may now draw this narrative to a close. Happily, the Peace Conference and Treaty at Portsmouth, N. H., interposed to prevent hostilities being actively resumed in Manchuria and though the Treaty terms, when known in Japan, were at first received with bitter disappointment, and even with hostile demonstrations, Peace came to both sides as an accepted, if not over-welcome, relief.

Now that we have related the history of the Peace Conference, which President Roosevelt's earnest persuasion and persistent efforts brought to a happy and notable issue, it will be interesting to revert back to and explain the origin and cause of the war and supply a brief resume of its chief battles, with other happenings of the eventful year and a half's fierce struggle. In supplying the latter, as follows, we are under heavy indebtedness, which we here acknowledge, to the London Daily Mail Year Book for 1905. The narrative, it will be seen, not only clearly and interestingly recites the occurrences of the war, with an account of its causes and origin, but adds instinctive and entertaining paragraphs on the lessons, military and naval, which the war has taught, and the international questions raised by it; with an appended summary of the "Dogger Bank outrage," which came near to embroiling Russia with Great Britain at the outset of Russia's war with Japan.

THE WAR BETWEEN RUSSIA AND JAPAN. A SUMMARY OF EVENTS AND ISSUES.

The years 1904-5 have witnessed one of the great spectacles of history - East at war with West, and the East as victor.

Russia pursued a lying and dishonest policy in Manchuria, and so doing threatened Japan's freedom. Neglecting each warning and despising its foe, it suddenly found itself hurled back by a new World Power. Christian Russia had to learn the lesson of national righteousness from so-called Pagan Japan, and all its ikons did not save it from its well-deserved disaster.

The world has been amazed at the spectacle - on the one side incompetence, on the other an undreamed-of efficiency and it is no exaggeration to say that every field of the world's work has been quickened, however momentarily, by the unique exhibition of Japan's adaptation of means to ends, its bravery, and its correct attitude.

For the past nine years war in the Far East between Japan and Russia has been inevitable. The question has been not whether it would come, but when.

The causes of the war are three in number - Japanese rights in Manchuria, the independence of Korea, and the independence of China. In all three directions the extension of Russian power is threatening Japan's existence.

The war of 1894-5 between China and Japan was fought to save Manchuria from Russian domination, and to effect the reform of China. In this enterprise Japan failed for the moment. Though she compelled China to recognize the independence of Korea, and to cede to herself Port Arthur and Liao-tung, which would have planted her firmly in Manchuria, Russia at once stepped in. Supported by France and Germany, she informed Japan that the Liao-tung peninsula (on which stands Port Arthur), if in Japanese hands, must constitute a perpetual menace to the capital of China and render the independence of Korea illusory, and by the threat of using force she compelled Japan to abandon her hard-won conquest.

The Japanese foresaw all that was about to happen, and they attempted to obtain pledges from Russia that the Czar's forces would not occupy Port Arthur or Liao-tung. They received, however, nothing but assurances that Russia had no designs whatever upon Manchuria, and when they pressed for the embodiment of these assurances in a treaty, they were told that they were insulting the good faith of Russia.

Two years later, in mid-1897, Manchuria was overrun by Russian surveying parties, building the new railway across Manchuria, and escorted by Cossacks. The moment the Japanese evacuated Port Arthur, in the winter of 1897, a Russian squadron appeared there, "merely to spend the winter months," it was explained. Japan asked from Russia and received an assurance that the Russian ships would withdraw after the winter.

But in April, 1898, it became known that China had granted Russia a lease of the place with the right to fortify it.

The Russian railway was rushed south to Port Arthur across Manchuria, in defiance of all the promises, pledges, and assurances which Russia had given to Japan forts were erected, garrisons established, and the country treated as a Russian province. Then came the Boxer rising in 1900. Japan was now ready for war she could have wiped out Russia in the Far East, troubled as that Power soon was to be by the dangerous guerilla war in Manchuria. The Japanese fleet was ready; the Japanese army only waited a sign, but by the influence of England the Japanese were induced to turn their forces to the relief of the Legations at Peking and to give Russia a respite. But the

tension produced in Japan by the Russian massacres in Blagovestchensk and the atrocities committed on the march to Peking opened a deeper gulf than ever between Russia and Japan.

After the relief of Peking, Russia supported China in resisting the punishment of the Chinese authorities who had been guilty of massacres and atrocities, and endeavored to obtain from China in exchange for this complaisance a convention securing to her special rights in Manchuria. But in this she was unsuccessful, and finally she agreed to evacuate two provinces of Manchuria on October 8, 1903. In five years she had transformed them into virtually Russian provinces.

Had Japan yielded before Russia or accepted the Russian proposals the flicker of energy and reform must have died out in China, and Russia would have once more become supreme at Peking. Behind all the Notes and counter-Notes the future of China was ever present in the mind of the two contestants.

It is unnecessary to state that this promise was not fulfilled on the contrary, Russian troops re-occupied Mukden on October 30, 1903, and immense forces were poured into the country. A plain and explicit demand from Japan that Russia should recognize Chinese sovereignty in Manchuria and embody her recognition in a definite treaty, not in one of the vague assurances she had so often disregarded, was met with the old reply that to ask this was to question the good faith of the Russian Government.

The important fact from the Japanese point of view was that Russia at Port Arthur dominated Korea, and Korea "an arrow pointed at the heart of Japan," while at the same time huge Russian forces were within striking distance of Peking.

In Korea, Japan has had to combat Russian intrigue for the past thirty years. She saw at a very early date that the Korean kingdom must fall under Russian influence unless it could be reformed and induced to follow the same path along which Japan had walked. Hence the efforts which ended in the war of 1894, when Japanese troops conquered Korea in a brief campaign. In 1895 a treaty was concluded between Japan and Russia dobanof-Yamagata protocol, by which the two Powers were jointly to control the Korean Government, taking steps to secure reform. The treaty was not kept by Russia, who landed troops at Chemulpo, got the Emperor into her hands, and attempted to obtain various concessions. On this Japan took forcible action, and Russia, being still unprepared for war, gave way. By the Nishi-Rosen protocol, concluded in 1898, Russia recognized Japan's industrial and commercial supremacy in Korea.

Two years passed, and in 1900 Russia attempted to obtain Masampho, a magnificent harbor in the south of Korea, which dominates the Japan Sea and the Straits of Korea. The Boxer rising, however, gave Russia other occupation and led her to drop this project for the time. But the moment that Manchuria had been outwardly pacified, Russia once more set to work in Korea, and concessions were obtained by M. Pavloff on the Yalu, at Yongampho, and, it is believed, at other points on the Korean coast. The same maneuvers which had been practiced by Russia with such success in the case of Manchuria were repeated in the case of Korea.

For hundreds of miles the Korean coast faces Japan. Korean territory is almost within sight of the Japanese island of Tsushima. From Korean soil Japan now draws much of her food. Korea is the last outlet on the continent of Asia for her fast-increasing population and Korea in the hands of Russia would be as great a danger to Japan as Belgium and Holland in the hands of Germany to England. Indeed, were Korea Russian, Japan could scarcely remain an independent State; she must fall into the Russian system and become a vassal dependency of the Czar.

The trouble for Japan was that possession of Korea could only be secured by her if she has command of the sea. It had plainly been Russia's intention to give the Japanese some vague rights in Korea, and so to placate them for the moment, with the intention of attacking and expelling them when the Russian fleets were supreme in the Pacific.

The third cause of war was the independence of China. For ten years China had virtually been a tributary and vassal of Russia's. But in the months before the outbreak of war the stirring of new forces in that mighty carcass had become manifest to the close observer. Japanese agents and officers were everywhere in China Chinese troops were being drilled under Japanese instructors, and it was clear that, at the instigation of Japan, China meant to make a new bid for her freedom. It was the one arm of Russia to crush this movement before it had gathered strength, to eat China leaf by leaf like an artichoke, and then to turn the Chinese millions against England, Japan, and Europe.

But Japan did not yield this time. The Diet in reply to the Mikado when he opened the Diet declared that the empire of Japan was now at its zenith. Its position is one unparalleled in the last 1,000 years. It was in that mood when Russia suggested that Korea should be divided in influence between Russia and Japan. It refused any such compromise, demanded a recognition of her preponderance throughout Korea, and its right to use it for strategical purposes. Further, it insisted on Russia's agreement to respect the independence and integrity of the Chinese Empire, to include Manchuria. And when Russia delayed and hesitated to come to a definite decision, the Japanese Minister in St. Petersburg broke off diplomatic relations and left the Neva (February 5, 1904). Three days after (8th) the first shot was fired and Japan flung itself with terrific force upon its unscrupulous foe. As Baron Suyematsu said, the war is not a conflict which had arisen merely out of a dispute between the two combatants. It is rather to be ascribed to the general revolt of all the civilized peoples of the earth against the perfidy and insincerity of Russia, who for many years has sought to outwit the other Powers.

On February 10, 1904, the Mikado issued the following Imperial rescript, giving the Japanese statement of the case against Russia: The integrity of Korea is a matter of gravest concern to this Empire, not only because of our traditional relations with that country, but because the separate existence of Korea is essential to the safety of our realm.

Nevertheless, Russia, in disregard of her solemn treaty pledges to China and of her repeated assurances to other Powers, is still in occupation of Manchuria, and has consolidated and strengthened her hold upon those provinces, and is bent upon their final annexation.

And since the absorption of Manchuria by Russia would render it impossible to maintain the integrity of China, and would, in addition, compel the abandonment of all hope for peace in the Extreme East, we determined in those circumstances, to settle the question by negotiations and to secure thereby a permanent peace.

With that object in view our competent authorities, by our order, made proposals to Russia, and frequent conferences were held during the last six months.

Russia, however, never met such proposals in a spirit of conciliation, but by her wanton delays put off the settlement of the serious question, and by ostensibly advocating peace on the one hand, while she was on the other extending her naval and military preparations, sought to accomplish her own selfish designs.

We cannot in the least admit that Russia had from the first any serious or genuine desire for peace. She has rejected the proposals of our Government. The safety of Korea is in danger. The interests of our Empire are menaced. The guarantees for the future which we have failed to secure by peaceful negotiations can now only be obtained by an appeal to arms."

The Mikado, therefore, declared war against Russia in the following terms: We by the Grace of Heaven, the Emperor of Japan, seated on the Throne, occupied by the same dynasty from time immemorial, do hereby make proclamation to all our loyal and brave subjects as follows:

We hereby declare war against Russia, and we command our army and navy to carry on hostilities against her in obedience to duty and with all their strength, and we also command all our competent authorities to make every effort in pursuance of their duties and in accordance with their powers to attain the national aim, with all the means within the limits of the law of nations."

The Czar became pacific when it was too late, and on February, 1904, published the following combined manifesto and declaration of war:

"We proclaim to all our faithful subjects that, in our solicitude for the preservation of that peace so dear to our heart, we have put forth every effort to assure tranquillity in the Far East. To these pacific ends we declared our assent to the revision, proposed by the Japanese Government, of the agreements existing between the two Empires concerning Korean affairs. The negotiations initiated on this subject were, however, not brought to a conclusion, and Japan, not even awaiting the arrival of our last reply and the proposals of our Government, informed us of the rupture of the negotiations and of diplomatic relations with Russia.

"Without previously notifying that the rupture of such relations implied the beginning of warlike action, the Japanese Government ordered its torpedo-boats to make a sudden attack on our squadron in the outer roadstead of the fortress of Port Arthur. After receiving the report of our Viceroy on the subject, we at once commanded Japan's challenge to be replied to by arms.

"While proclaiming this our resolve, we, in unshakable confidence in the help of the Almighty, and firmly trusting in the unanimous readiness of all our faithful subjects to defend the Fatherland together with ourselves, invoke God's blessing on our glorious forces of the army and navy."

After the issue, on both sides, of these war manifestoes, strife at once began, with such results as we have already seen, which proved disastrous in the extreme to Russia. When the winter of 1904-05 set in, little of eventful note happened; and though the fighting in Manchuria was renewed the war dragged while the Peace Conference met at Portsmouth, N. H. The results of the latter we have fully related, which brought the conflict in the Far East to a conclusion - an issue which was subsequently ratified at both St. Petersburg and Tokio. With the ratification of peace - thanks especially to the restraint of the Japanese Emperor and the "elder statesmen" of the Mikado's empire, who refused to be blinded by the clamor of glory - hostilities terminated, and the narrative of the war and its incidents in these pages comes here to a close.